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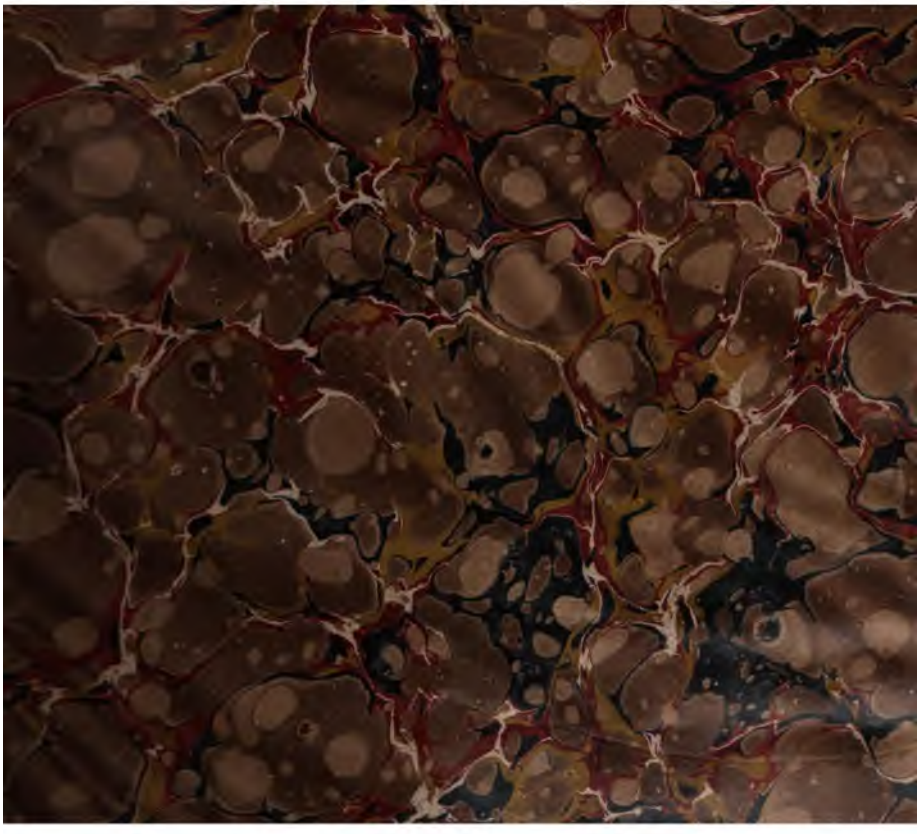

PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY,

1891-4.

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TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
1891-2-3.

I.—ON THE METRICAL GLOSSARIES OF THE MEDIAEVAL IRISH. By WHITLEY STOKES, D.C.L.

WITH the exception of the modern Irish Celts, all races possessed of an ancient literature desire to understand it, and many races, including the Greeks,[1] the Norsemen and the Irish, have, at some stage of their civilization, taken a strange delight in verse of which archaisms and wilful obscurities are the chief characteristics. It is, therefore, remarkable that the obvious aid of metre has not been oftener used to help the memories of the hearers, readers, or makers of the compositions above referred to. But metrical vocabularies of rare or obsolete words belonging to the glossarist's mother-tongue[2] are found, so far as I know, only among the Hindús,[3] the Norsemen[4] and the Irish. The last-named people possessed such glossaries as early, at least, as the beginning of the twelfth century. Thus in the vellum called *Lebor na hUidre* (the Book of the Dun), the scribe of which was murdered in the year 1105, we find, fo. 7[b], ll. 19–22:

'Múr' immed tall isind recht, 'coph' búaid, is briathar lánchert,
'dú' bale, 'dú' dúthaig lat, 'cul'[5] comet, is 'cul' carpat.

And further on, in the same column, ll. 36–38:

'Fó' ainm do maith is do míad, 'fí' ainm d'ulc *ocus* d'anríad,[6]
'án' fír, is ní for*us* fand, 'íath' mind, *ocus* 'íath' ferand.

[1] See, for example, the *Cassandra* of Lycophron, which Suidas called σκοτεινὸν ποίημα, and which the Byzantines admired so greatly; and consider the remarks of Prof. Sayce, in Mahaffy's *History of Classical Greek Literature*, on the artificial language of the Homeric poems.

[2] The metrical glossaries composed in England and printed by Wright are intended to teach the English Latin or French, not Anglo-Saxon.

[3] I am informed by Prof. Bühler that, with the exception of the so-called Vedic Nighaṇṭus, all the Sanskrit glossaries known to us are in verse. One would expect to find metrical glossaries among the Arabs. But I learn from Prof. D. H. Müller of Vienna that they have none. "The most ancient Arabic glossaries are arranged according to the *last* letters of the words. They were compiled for the use of poets, and the arrangement is intended to facilitate the composition of rhymed verses."

[4] See the *Thulor* printed in the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, ii. 423 et seq.

[5] This is *cail* in Rawl. B. 502, fo. 56[a] 2, and *cal* in H. 3. 18, p. 610[b], and H. 2. 16, col. 686.

[6] *nó ocus* d'etriad. This is the reading of Rawl. B. 502, fo. 56[a] 2.

The same quatrains are found in the Liber Hymnorum ff. 34ᵃ 2, 34ᵇ 1, and in Rawl. B. 502, fo. 56ᵃ, which vellums also belong to the first half of the twelfth century. Furthermore, in Rawl. B. 502, fo. 56ᵃ 2, and in H. 3. 18, p. 610ᵇ, we find the following quatrain:

'Diu' inchian, is coem in mod, is cían uad o senfocul,
ocus 'derc' suil fri suairc son, *ocus* 'derc' in scathobor.[1]

The following stave occurs twice in Rawl. B. 502, ff. 56ᵇ 2, 59ᵃ 2:

'Mos' ar bés robæ co cian, 'buich' ar brissiud, ni bæthchíal,
'sab' ar tren tacrait dóine, *ocus* 'oṅg' ar ecáine.

This quatrain is found in a corrupt form in the Lebar Brecc, p. 92, marg. inf., and is quoted in modernized spelling by O'Clery. See *Revue Celtique*, v. 25.

So in Cormac's Glossary s.v. bachall (LB. 264ᵃ 9–12) the following quatrain is quoted:

'Iath' ainm do chlug *con*a ḟæid, noco chelad in glanghaith,
'bach' buain ina dhor*us* tall, 'bricht' *ocus* 'bacc' is bachall.

The same quatrain is in H. 3. 18, p. 611ᵃ, the last two lines being

'bacht' buain isin dorus tall, 'bricht' minn ocus 'bach' bachall.

The Lebar Brecc, p. 188, marg. sup., has this stave:

Is 'indless' cech maithius mor, is 'suan odar' cech n-imrol,
'folaid' [ ] cech n-am*r*ai, ni ba ri nach rodamnai.

Again, in H. 3. 18, p. 611ᵇ, we find the following six quatrains:

'É' truagh in scél rodus-sgrus, uile bith ba hé a dúchus,
is é roglic ar[2] cach n-eing, an t-'é' breac dobí a mBoaing.

'Ái' caingen, is 'ae'[3] dan dron, doní cach sai co solum,
intí ba segdha ar in son bu sai can denma ar doman.

[1] The scribe adds: .i. in menb bis t*r*iasin ṅgæ ṅgré*n*e. This quatrain is also in H. 2. 16, col. 686.
[2] no fris.
[3] no ai.

'Doctus' foircthi cach rechta, isna leabraibh lancerta,
ocus 'dinn' [cáin] cach cnuasaigh, 'dinn' ainm cach fir arduasail.[1]

'Dibadh' ocus 'bath' na menn, 'ba' *ocus* 'temel' nar timcheall,
ag sloinned ega gan feall, as lór a méd ron medhrann.[2]

'Snéid' cach suaill snimach sund, 'seim' cach seang, cach sircumang,
'sab' cach soabb cach forba, ocus 'sab' cach comorba.

'Tir domhaisi' cach sliab slan, 'airbri' cach n-iumat n-iumlan,
'iath' ferann, 'iath' cloth cin coll, 'iat[h]' cloc ocus 'iath' cochall.

In the same MS., p. 612[a]:

'Mos' cach sobés sidhamail, 'mos' tuile, *ocus* 'mos' aithbe,
'mos' cach céol ciuin cíchamail, na crínann cumscar caithme.

'Robustus' cach sonairt slán, 'reos' cach bidbadh, buan a bágh,
'seis' cach sofis sloindit sain, is 'castus' cach gnim genmnaid.[3]

Is 'cái' conair cacha huird, 'aé' cach ceird na cumgaid buirb,
cain rofitir 'conruiter,' 'recht' dírech[4] na dianbruiter.

'Caissi' miscais, 'caisi' serc, mar innisit liubair láncert,[5]
doscáil nert na tromsluaig dé, dias d[i]ana[d] comdhual caisi.

'Glinne' na laegha rit lá, 'glinne' na bu bleachtmara,
ocus 'glinne' in luaide, 'glinne' sut[h][6] co sir-buaine.

Synonyms, also, were treated metrically by the mediaeval Irish. We have already had a stave on four words for 'death.' So in the Lebar Brecc, p. 92, marg. inf., we find the following quatrain on four words meaning 'good':

'Dag' *ocus* 'fó,' clu cen brath, 'so' is 'mo,' cen cob gnathach,
anmanna sin do maith mas, derb lium ni sæb in senchas.

The following specimen of a glossary of synonymous words of different genders is taken from Rawl. B. 502,

[1] is 'dinn' ainm cach ardhuasail, Rawl. B. 502, fo. 57[a] 1.
[2] Here the scribe adds: Dibad 7 bath 7 baa 7 bú 7 cel 7 bas 7 macht 7 ort 7 teme de [leg. ix ?] nomina mortis.
[3] MS. geanmnaigh.
[4] MS. reacht direach.
[5] *For* mar innisit liubair *read with* H. 2. 16, col. 692, indisith libur.
[6] .i. lacht. The above quatrains from H 3. 18, pp. 611, 612, are taken, not from the MS., but from O'Curry's transcript, an anastatic copy of which is in the Bodleian.

fo. 58[a] 2. It occurs also in Cormac's Glossary, s.v. adba othnoe:

Iss é in 'lia,' lith rolass, iar srethaib suad hi senchas,
[i]s ed 'onn' iar n-aicniud ail, is i 'cloch' iar sairdataid.

Whence we learn that *lia* 'stone' is he, i.e. masculine, *cloch* 'stone' is she, i.e. feminine, and *onn* 'stone' is 'it' i.e. neuter. Verses dealing with the synonyms for water, fire, sea, wolf, horse, shield, spear, head, eye, truth, etc., will be found infra.

Homonyms, too, were not forgotten. Thus the Yellow Book of Lecan (H. 2. 16), a MS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, contains in col. 121 the following quatrain on the four different meanings of *saeglonn* ('judge,' 'old man,' 'king,' 'column'):

'Saoglonn' brithemh, buan a blad, 'saoglonn' senoir sir-saoglach,
'saoglonn' cech ri fora du, *ocus* 'saoglonn' columnu.

The same MS., col. 693, has the following stave on the three meanings of *ferb* ('cow,' 'blotch,' 'word'):

'Fearb' as ainm do boin iar fir, *ocus* do boilg can imshnim,
ocus cen uair n-eith*igh* n-airc, da breithir can chantobairt.[1]

So we have had, pp. 2, 3, two quatrains dealing with the different meanings of *é* and *mos*, and we shall find below verses dealing with the different meanings of *triath*, *tuirighin*, *eo*, etc.

Besides metrical glossaries of obsolete Gaelic words, of Gaelic synonyms, and of Gaelic words with different meanings, the mediaeval Irish had glossaries in verse of Latin vocables. The following specimens will suffice:

'Reus'[2] ca*ch* bidba cona blaid, *ocus* 'castus' ca*ch* genmnaid,[3]
'rectum' ca*ch* ndiriug,[4] dál cirt, *ocus* 'robustus' sonirt.

Rawl. B. 502, fo. 57[a] 2.

'Condio' saillim suarccote,[5] *ocus* 'doctus' cach forcthi,
'custos' cometaid rom-char, *ocus* 'oboedens' humal.

Ibid. fo. 56[b] 1.

[1] This quatrain is cited in O'Clery's Glossary, s.v. Fearb, *Rev. Celt.* iv. 416.
[2] MS. Reos.
[3] MS. ngenmnaid, but genm[n]aid, H. 2. 16, col. 691.
[4] MS. diriud, but in H. 2. 16, col. 69, direch.
[5] suarcaide, H. 3. 18, p. 613[a].

'Fero' taircim dar cach leth, *ocus* 'ligo' ce*ch* cumrech,
'finem' in crich coir is lib, *ocus* 'nouit' rofitir.

Ibid. fo. 58[a] 2.

'Reatus' bibdanus baig, *ocus* 'demitus' digbail,
'mulgeo'[1] bligim cen baegul, is 'imber' ca*ch* ard-broenud.

Ibid. fo. 58[b] 2.

The metrical glossaries which I have now the honour to lay before the Philological Society are three in number.

I. The first is commonly called *Forus Focal*, 'knowledge of vocables,' from the words with which it commences. This glossary contains 75 quatrains, and defines about 350 words. The first ten quatrains are here given in two recensions, one from p. 395 of the Book of Leinster, a vellum in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, the other from fo. 95 of the Stowe MS. No. III., now in the library of the Royal Irish Academy. Page 395 of the Book of Leinster was written in the sixteenth century. The glossary beginning on fo. 95 of the Stowe MS. is thus described by Dr. O'Conor, *Bibl. MS. Stowensis*, 1818, vol. i. p. 52:

"Fol. 95.—*O'Duvegan's* Metrical Dictionary of Ancient Irish Words, beginning *Forus Focal luaiter libh*. O'Duvegan died old in 1372. It may be doubted whether any Dictionary of the Northern languages is older than this. The verses are 240.[2] The transcript is by Cormac og o Corrain in the beginning of the last century. But it is written with the greatest care, by one of the best Irish scholars of his age."

Upon which it is to be remarked that the colophon proves the scribe's name to have been Cornan og ó Cornín: that he wrote in December, 1734,[3] and that although native Irish scholars agree in attributing the *Forus Focal* to John O'Duvegan, there is not, so far as I know, any trustworthy evidence for such attribution. The Stowe MS. omits quatrains 56–66 both inclusive.

[1] MS. mulceo.
[2] The quatrains are 60.—W.S.
[3] Cornan og ó Cornín ro scribh sin a Mí na nodhlac *anno* 1734.

Two other MSS. have been used in forming the text, viz. a paper MS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, marked H. 2. 12, No. 6, and written in 1698,[1] and a small quarto paper MS. in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, marked 23. L. 21. Of these the former is here denoted by H., the latter by L. H. is written in an Irish hand, by Eoghan mac Gilleoin for Master Lachlan Campbell at Campbeltown, in Argyle. This scribe was grossly ignorant, and his work needs much emendation. The bulk of L. was written about 1787; but it contains four pages in the handwriting of Malachi, a brother of the late Eugene O'Curry.

Thirty quatrains of the *Forus Focal* have already been published, to wit:

a. Twenty-three by O'Reilly in his Irish-English Dictionary Dublin, 1821, *s.vv.* aidhbeis (15), Aodh (39), Art (34), caise (76), cobhra (37), colg (36), crom (40), dreimne (17), duirbh (26), eigh (20), fiodhrach (43), gabhar (19), gaodh (23), garbh (77), osar (60), pattric (19), reacaire (62), rén (42), risidhe (12), robhar (47), scuird (35), searrdha (49), snuadh (45), tinfeadh (64), troghan (14), tuaithcheall (11). The quatrain cited s.v. *gabhar* is repeated s.v. *pattric.*

b. Seven by O'Donovan in his Supplement to O'Reilly's Dictionary *s.vv.* breas (6), dreann (9), eo (5), fead (8), fo (4), ruiceadh (7), triath (2).

With these exceptions, no part of the *Forus Focal* has been published.

II. Our second glossary takes its name from its first line *Deirbhśiur don eagna inn éigsi*, 'Poetry is sister to Wisdom.' The copy now printed contains 62 quatrains, and defines about 193 words. It is taken from a photograph of the copy of this glossary in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, marked 23. L. 21. This copy contains corrections by Peter O'Connell, and was written about 1787. The various readings have been derived from the above-mentioned MS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, marked H. 2. 12, No. 6.

[1] For a loan of this MS. I am indebted to the kindness of the Board of Trinity College.

The *Derbhśiur* glossary must have existed before 1643, for Michael O'Clery used it in compiling his *Foclóir*, published at Louvain in that year.[1]

Three other copies are known :

(1) A vellum in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, marked $\frac{23}{P.\ 3}$, of which I do not know the date. This copy, says Mr. Gilbert, the learned librarian of that institution, is "written in very bad ink—almost faded—wants portion at end, and is in a poor style of penmanship." The glossary begins on fo. 19.

(2) A paper copy, transcribed at Limerick in 1768 by Andrew MacMahon, with corrections by P. O'Connell, in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, marked $\frac{23}{M.\ 16}$. The glossary (62 quatrains) begins at p. 52.

(3) Another paper copy in a large quarto MS. in the same library, marked $\frac{23}{O.39}$, in the handwriting of Michael óg O'Longan, between the years 1805 and 1832. The glossary begins at p. 179 and contains 65 quatrains.

I cannot find that any part of this glossary has ever been published.

III. Our third glossary is unfortunately only a fragment and often corrupt. It is taken from fo. 17[a] of a vellum in the British Museum, marked Egerton 90, contains 29 quatrains, and defines about 154 words. O'Curry, in his MS. Catalogue of the Irish MSS. in the Museum, says that this glossary "appears to be part of a metrical glossary called *Forus Focal*, generally ascribed to Shane Mor O'Dugan,[2] chief Ollave of Hy Maine, who died in the year 1372. This and the three following folios are in his handwriting, and are part of the 'Book of Hy Maine,' now in the possession of Lord Ashburnham."

But though the metre in which the Egerton glossary is written is the same as that of the *Forus Focal*, the

[1] See *Revue Celtique*, iv. 354.

[2] O'Conor's 'O'Duvegan.' The Irish spelling is Ó Dubhagáin.

words explained are different, and O'Curry's suggestion is therefore groundless. The writer of a prose wordroll in the Book of Lecan, a vellum in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, appears to have used a good copy of this Egerton glossary. If so, it must have existed before 1416, when, according to O'Curry, the Book of Lecan was compiled. But the occurrence in it of *braitsi*, a loan from the Middle-English *breche*, shows that it cannot have been written much before 1300.

No part of this glossary has been published.

The three metrical glossaries will now be faithfully set forth. The third is supplemented by the corresponding portion of the prose vocabulary in the Book of Lecan. Then follows an alphabetical index to the glossed words, including (*a*) references to the extant Irish prose glossaries, (*b*) *belegstellen* from the Irish literature,[1] and (*c*) such etymologies and comparisons as seem fairly probable.

I. Forus Focal.

[Ó Dubhagán .i. Sean, *cecinit.*[2]]

Book of Leinster, p. 395. (Cited as LL.)	Stowe MS. No. III. fo. 95ᵃ. (Cited as S.)
1. For*us* focul lúaidht*er* libh, a éolcha in dána dlighidh![3] gach ní anois ara bhuil ainm caidhe agaibh a thsenainm?	1. Foras focal lúaiter libh, a eolcha dhána in dlighidh! g*ach* ní a nois is ainm caidhe aguibh a ṡenainm?
2. 'Tríath' righ go rogha ndealbha, 't*r*íath' ainm do cach tigherna,[4] [is[5]] 'tríath' tond co n-il*ur* ndath, 'tríath' torc trom, is 'triath' tul*a*ch.	2. 'Tríath' rígh go rogha ndealbhna, 't*r*íath' ainm do g*a*ch tig*er*na, 't*r*íath' tonn go n-iolar a dath, 't*r*íath' turc [trom] is 'tríath' tulach.

[1] For eighty-two of these I am indebted to Dr. Kuno Meyer. He also pointed out to me the quatrain in LB. 188, cited supra p. 2.

[2] *sic*, L.

[3] dlighti, LL. dhírigh, L.

[4] tiagherrn*a*, LL.

[5] *sic*, L.

3. 'Tuirighin' rí[1] ruamna[2] gal,
'tuirighin' bre*th*eamh bláthmar,
'tuirighin' tuir fuilnges[3] tech,
'tuir[i]ghin' teangadh tuirmeach.

4. 'Fó' ainm do mhaith is do mhíadh,
'fí' ainm d'ulc ocus[4] d'aimhríar,
'án' fír, is ni forus fann,
'áoth' minn, *ocus* 'íath' ferann.

5. 'Éo' dealg *ocus* 'éo' iubar,
'éo' éigne nach eisidhan,[6]
'aedh' *ocus* 'tnu'[7] teine trá,
'bolg'[8] berna, *ocus* 'ladhg' sneachta.

6. 'Bres' is[9] 'oll' gach ní as[10] mór,
ocus 'breas'[11] gach greadhanglór.
'irchaill'[12] ursa buidhne becht,
ocus 'toicheall'[13] gach n-imthecht.

7. 'Ruiced,'[14] ni hainm gan monur,
do thógbháil is d'árdugud,

3. 'Tuirighín' rí rúamnus gal,
'tuirighín' breithemh bladhmhar,
'tuirighín' tuir fuilnges teach,
is 'tuirighín' tenga thuirmhech.

4. 'Fo' ainm do mhaith is do miadh,
'fí' ainm d'ulc ocus[4] d'aimríar,
'in' fírfios, ní foras fann,
'áoth' minn, *ocus* 'iath' feronn.[5]

5. 'Éo' dealg, 7 'éo' iubhar,
'eo' éigne nac[h] eisíodhan,
'áodh' *ocus* 'tnúth' teine thra,
'bolg' bernna, is 'ladhg' snechta.

6. 'Bres' *ocus* 'oll' gach ní is mór,
ocus 'breas' gach greadhanghlór,
'iorchuill' ursa búidhne becht,
ocus 'tóicheal' gach n-imthecht.

7. 'Ruichet,' ní hainm gan mhonar,
do thogbháil is d'airdughudh,

[1] *sic*, L. rígh, LL.
[2] ruamnus, L.
[3] fuilnges, L.
[4] is, LL. S.
[5] Identical with the quatrain from LU. 7[b] cited supra p. 1.
[6] eisighan, LL. eisiodhan, L.
[7] tnuth, L.
[8] bladh, L.
[9] *sic*, L. ocus, LL.
[10] *sic*, L. is, LL.
[11] *sic*, L. bras, LL.
[12] earcuil, L.
[13] toichim, L. and O'Don. Supp. s.v. *breas*.
[14] ruicheat, L.

is ainm 'fuirmheadh' ós[1] *g*a*ch* m*u*d
do t*ur*nadh[2] is d'ísliug*ud*.

is ainm 'fuirmh*e*th' os g*ach* modh
do thurn*ad*h is d'ísliugh*ud*h.

8. 'Fét' ainm d'innisin iars[o]in,
'áil'[3] íarraid,[4] 'foacht'[5] fiarfoigh,[6]
'riadh'[7] rith, is 'riadh'[7] s(macht gan on),
'drucht'[8] éirghi, is 'd*r*echt'[9] airchetol.[10]

8. 'Fét' ainm d'innisin iarsin,
'ail' iaruigh, fo*cht* fíaf*r*aighe,
'ría' rith, is 'ría' smacht gan on,
'd*ucht*' éirghe, is 'd*ucht*' aird*ugh*adh.

9. 'Drenn' deabhaidh,[11] is 'd*r*eann' doilghis,
'g*r*ind'[12] daingen, is 'grinn'[13] cuibh[dh]eas,[14]
'mon*ur*' gach ní doní neach,[15]
'gle' glan, *ocus* 'glé' gleithech.[16]

9. G*r*eann deab*aid*h, is g*r*eann doilghes,
'grinne' daingen, is 'g*r*inn' coibhdhes,
'monar' g*ach* ní do ní neach,
'glé' glan, is 'glé' gléthech.

10. 'Coindealg' comairle n*ach* cam,
'fuidhair' b*r*iath*ar* baile bann,[17]
'rosc' tuigsin g*ach* neich ma le,[18]
'lothar'[19] g*ach* ciall incl*o*the.

10. 'Coinnealg' comharle n*ach* cam,
'fuidher' b*r*íathar builidh bann,
'rosg' tuigsin g*ach* neith male,
'lathar' g*ach* cíall ní cleithe.

[1] *sic*, L. os, LL.
[2] thurnamh, L.
[3] *sic*, L. ail, LL.
[4] iárruidh, L. iarraigh, LL.
[5] fothocht, L. fócht, LL.
[6] fiarfaighe, LL. fiarfruigh, L.
[7] *sic*, L. ria, LL.
[8] dru*cht*, L. dracht, LL.
[9] dréa*cht*, L. d*r*ucht, LL.
[10] airiug*ud*, LL. The quatrain is thus quoted in O'Donovan's Supplement s.v. *Fead*: Fead ainm d'inisin iar soin | Ail iarraidh, fothacht fiarfoidh | Riadh, rith, is riadh smacht gan ón | Drucht ergeadh, is dreacht airchedal. | *For. Focal.*
[11] deabhuidh, L. deabhaigh, LL.
[12] grinn, L. g*r*inde, LL.
[13] *sic*. L. g*r*inne, LL.
[14] cuimhdecht, L.
[15] *sic*, L. n*ach*, LL.
[16] *sic*, L. gleithach, LL.
[17] In L. this couplet runs thus: 'Coindealg' comhairle iar sin, is 'fuighioll' briathor bhuilidh.
[18] *sic*, L. maleith, LL.
[19] láthor, L.

STOWE MS. No. III. fo. 95[b] (*continued*).

11. 'Dro*cht*' gach dubh, 'd*rocht*' g*ach* dorcha, 'éd*rocht*' gach glan g*ach* sorca,
'túaichiol' bá hainm do ghliocu*s*, is 'edtuaicheal'[1] aimhghliocu*s*.

12. 'Reisi'[2] ainm [cach] sgeil gan chaire, 'reisidhe'[3] ainm [do] sgéluidhe,[4]
'aidhbhsi'[5] céol, 'sceo' tuicsi ad chlos, 'rosal' b*r*eath,[6] 'basal' díomu*s*.

13. 'Dé' is 'deichen' g*ach* dál[7] dlea*cht*, 'fábhall' br*é*g, is 'dolbh' d*r*aóidhe*cht*,
'gart' eineach, is 'neóid' g*ach* gann, *ocus* 'seóid' g*ach* c*r*odh coitchenn.

14. 'Bolg' bó, b*r*iathar 'ferbh' anainm, 'buich'[8] b*r*isiodh is 'tethra'[9] ar bháidhbh,
don[10] bhradán is comhainm 'íach,' *ocus* 'tr*o*gán' ar bhrain[f]íach.

15. 'Bior' *ocus* 'an' is 'dobhar,' trí hanmann uisge in domhuin,[11]
'lear,' 'aibhéis,' 'bochna' bladha,[12] anmanna gach[13] árdmhara.

16. 'Faol,' 'cuib,' is[14] 'luan' ar chonuibh, a t*t*rí senainm iar sodhuin,
dha senainm ar bhúaibh bladha, 'ferbh' is 'laithri' lionnmhara.[15]

[1] éttuaichiol, L.
[2] ris, L. and O'R. s.v. Risidhe.
[3] risidhe, O'R. risighe, L.
[4] ainm do sgéalaighe, L.
[5] *sic*, L. aibhsi, S.
[6] roisiol bráth, O'R. rasal b*r*eith, L.
[7] aoi is caingen gach dáil, L.
[8] *sic*, L. buith, S.
[9] téta, S. tethra, L. teatra, H.
[10] *sic*, L. do, S.
[11] tri hanmanna duisge ar domhan, L.
[12] blagha, S. bladha, L. and H.
[13] *sic*, L. t*r*i hanmann, S., but anman do gach, H.
[14] *sic*, L. *Om.* S.
[15] lionmhara.

17. Dhá[1] senainm ar mhuic mhiadhuigh, 'féis'[2] is 'máda' moirdhiamhuin,[3]
'ceathnaid'[4] cáora, 'dreimne'[5] gal, 'séghach' is[6] 'cadhla' gabhar.

18. 'Peat'[7] ainm d'oirfidedh *gan* bhrath, 'cern' búaidh, ocus[8] 'tlas'[9] oenach,[10]
'neas' ainm ratha, lí n*ach* lag, sen-ainm na slighed[11] 'rámhad.'

19. 'Gabhar' *ocus* 'mairc'[12] is 'peall' ar na heach*aib*h cantur ann,
'paitric' cennsrián, carmad[13] 'cab,'[14] 'ulaid'[15] srathar, 'cul' carb*ad*.[16]

20. 'Grith' grián ocus 'éig'[17] esga,[18] 'colt' bíadh m*ar* agras[19] éigsi,
'lothar' édach, lí[20] n-amhra, do eineach[21] bá hainm 'easla-bhra.'

21. 'Néid' ainm catha, 'flann' [ainm[22]] d'fuil, 'lear' iomad, ainm d'áon 'úathadh,'[23]
'grib'[24] lúas, is míchert[25] in modh, 'ridnacht'[26] ainm do thiodhlacadh.

[1] Da, L.
[2] séis, L.
[3] mórdhiamhair, L.
[4] cethnaid, L.
[5] dreimhne, L.
[6] séad g*ach* slighe, L.
[7] Peit, L.
[8] is eige, S. is éag, L.
[9] tlacht, L.
[10] eineach, S., but aonach L., and cf. O'Cl. s.v. *tlas*.
[11] sleighe, S. sligheadh, L.
[12] marc, L.
[13] carma, H. is cearma, L. leg. *is carr*, as in O'R. s.v. pattric. And so P. O'Connell in marg. of L. (is carr cap).
[14] ceap, L.
[15] *sic*, L. ulad, S.
[16] carbat, L.
[17] is eige, S.
[18] is éag ésga, L.
[19] adhr*us*, S. agrus, H. adhras, L. agras, O'R. s.v. eigh.
[20] líth, L.
[21] in*n*each, S. doineach, L.
[22] *sic*, L.
[23] aon ainm uathaidh, L.
[24] cirb, L.
[25] móircbeart, L.
[26] ríghne*cht*, S. riodhnacht, L.

[fo. 96a.] 22. 'Calb'[1] crúas [is] 'naoinneall'[2] gaisgedh, 'eallamh'[3] ingnadh[4] nach aisder,[5]
'galann' gach námha[6] go nert, *ocus* 'barann' gach béimneart.

23. 'Nía' trénfear,[7] is 'mál' mílidh, 'lulghach' gach[8] láoch go bhfiorbhladh,
'cusal' gach coimhneart gan choir, 'gáodh' *ocus* 'geónadh' gérghuin.[9]

24. 'Sgál'[10] *ocus* 'arg,' lúaiter leat, sen (?) anmann[11] na bhfer go becht,
'ainner' is 'frac,' rádh gan cheilg,[12] arna mnáibh 'san tsengaoidhilg.[13]

25. 'Bath' *ocus* 'ort' marbadh fer, 'cearr' *ocus* 'ciochladh'[14] ciorrbadh,
'eanglonn'[15] gábhadh[16] nocha gó, *ocus* fuirech 'furnaidheo.'[17]

26. 'Ana' saidhbhrios[18] iarmotha, *ocus* 'una'[19] ainm do ghorta, 'duirb'[20] gach galar immalle,[21] 'easáoth,[22] ba hainm do shlainte.[23]

[1] caladh, L.
[2] is naoinneal, L.
[3] *sic*, L. calla, S.
[4] iongnadh, L. eangnadh, S.
[5] aistear, L.
[6] namhaid, L.
[7] *sic*, L. trén, S.
[8] *sic*, L. lulgach, S.
[9] gaodh is geoghnadh gach gearghoin, L.
[10] Scál, L.
[11] anmanna, L.
[12] ainder is fiachra gan cheilg, L.
[13] senghaidheilg, L.
[14] cachladh, L. ceachladh, O'Cl.
[15] easglann, L.
[16] *sic*, L. gabha, S.
[17] *sic*, L. furnuigheo, S.
[18] saidhbhreas, L.
[19] úna, L.
[20] duirbh, L.
[21] iomalleith, S. ima lé, L.
[22] easaoth, L.
[23] This quatrain, omitted by S., is taken from H. and L. It is quoted by O'R. s.v. *duirbh*.

27. 'Cuanna'[1] cnoc is 'coice'[2] slíabh, 'ail' cloch, 'tec'[3] cnaimh, is 'conn'[4] ciall,
'tla*cht*' talamh comhádhbhal cain,[5] 'tabhartha' ainm[6] túarasduil.[7]

28. Sen-ainm na t*r*íucha[8] 'fonn' tra, sen-ainm na túaithe 'forba,'[9] 'dun' ainm [do] baile, is bladh binn, is 'íath' sean-ainm[10] gach f*er*uinn.[11]

29. 'Aincis'[12] is 'miscaith' namá, dhá ṡenainm na[13] malla*cht*a, 'oráit'[14] benna*cht* ima le,[15] 'gesca'[16] bá hainm do ṡoillsi.

30. 'Cobh' búaidh *ocus*[17] bríathar borr, ainm d'feóil 'cárna' ocus[18] 'ser*c*oll,'
'díu' cían, is 'd*er*c' sú[i]l abhus, 'cul'[19] coimhéd, is 'an'[20] áoibhnios.

31. 'Faosamh' is 'cuime,'[21] ní chél, dhá ainm cumairce[22] gan lén, 'oibid' is 'úmhla' go be*cht*, dhá ṡenainm do[n] éisgidhecht.[23]

32. 'Annóid' eagluis in *g*a*c*h tan, 'sgal'[24] láoch is 'axal'[25] úasal, 'ailcne' ail[26] ar f*er*uib soin,[27] ocus[28] 'anno'[29] ainm do bliadhuin.

[1] *sic*, L. cuadhna, S.
[2] *sic*, L. coidhce, S.
[3] sec, L. teach, S.
[4] *sic*, L. cunn, S.
[5] can, L.
[6] *For* tabartha ainm, H. *has* othar ba hainm.
[7] 'othar' ainm do thuarastal, L.
[8] do thriúchad, L.
[9] na ttuath 'forbadha,' L.
[10] neas ainm díath, S
[11] 'Dún' ainm do bhaile, is biadh 'mann.' senainm 'iath' do gach fearann, L.
[12] Acais, L.
[13] do, L.
[14] oirbidh, S.
[15] 'óraoid' ar bhenna*cht* ma le, L.
[16] gésca, L.
[17] Cobh buaidh agal, L. Cuibh 7 búaidh, S.
[18] is, S. agas, L.
[19] cúl, L.
[20] is an, H. agas án, L. rian, S.
[21] coimhcheasa, L.
[22] comairce, L.
[23] éisdidhe*cht*, S. n. eusguidhe*cht*, H. éscaidheacht, L.
[24] scál, L.
[25] acsal, L.
[26] 'airtne' oil, L.
[27] ailcne óil ar chloich mar sin, H.
[28] is, S. and L.
[29] *sic*, L. ando, S.

33. 'Ara' ainm giolla gan chol, is 'airrdhe' ainm do leasughadh,[1]
'aidhmirt'[2] ar gheis, is garbh gal, *ocus* 'ainféin[3] *gach* n-iongnadh.

[fo. 96b.] 34. C*r*úaid 'art' a ṡenainm go fír, is 'anart' ainm do mhaoithmhín,
'máoin'[4] balbh, 'táoi' bodhar nach dis, 'main' *grádh* [is] 'anmain' mioscais.[5]

35. 'Fúan' brat, is 'rocan'[6] ionar, is 'stiall'[7] fúathróg ro fionnadh,
'scuird,' 'caimsi,'[8] léine *gan* on, 'obhrat'[9] bá hainm do chenbhor.[10]

36. 'Gen'[11] *ocus* 'colg,' toluibh[12] gal, dhá ṡenainm cloidhimh curadh,
'cealtair' doig*er*,[13] 'luibhne' dhe, dhá ṡenainm *gach* áirdṡleighe.

37. Ceithre hanmann[14] in scéith *gan* ḟeall 'f*r*aic,'[15] 'cobhra,'[16] 'fáilte,' 'finneall,'
'diníath' is[17] 't*r*oniath,'[18] go ttairm, don chathbharr is dá ṡenainm.

38. Anmann[19] in chinn, is éol damh, t*r*e ṡenghaoidhilg na bfil*edh*,
'trull,' 'coll,' 'itropa' t*r*om[d]a, nocha coll a chomhḟodhla.[20]

39. 'Aodh'[21] *ocus* 'd*er*c' *ocus* 'cais,' t*r*i hanmann in ruisg rionnghlais,
'bra' *ocus* 'laba'[22] n*ach* gnath gairm, don mhal*aigh* is dá ṡenainm.

[1] is airidin leasughadh, H. is airidin lesaghadh, L. is airidín leasaghodh, O'R. s.v. Garbh.
[2] airmirt, L. leg. airmit.
[3] ainbfein, H. ainmhéid, L. ainfféin, O'R. s.v. *garbh*. ainbéidh, S.
[4] maon, L.
[5] maoin grádh is anmhaoin mioscais, L.
[6] rotan, S. rocán, L.
[7] gíall, S. diall, H. stiall, L. and O'R. s.v. scuird.
[8] *sic*, L. cuimsi, S.
[9] óbrat, H. obhrat, L.
[10] cheannbharr, L. o ba hainm do cheannbhodar, O'R. s.v. scuird.
[11] Tol, S.; but H., L. and O'R. s.v. colg have Gean.
[12] tola, L.
[13] is, H. agas, L.
[14] hanmanna, L.
[15] fraig, L.
[16] caochbhrat, S. cobra, H. cobhra, O'R. s.v. *cobhra*.
[17] 7 S.
[18] dimath is tróithiath, L.
[19] anmanna, L.
[20] Tromcholl, is tropa tromdha, nach ar choll a chomhaiḟoghla, L.
[21] odh, S. = aódh, H.
[22] brá, is lubha, L.

40. 'Greann' ainm d'ulchain, líth nach locht, 'feac' fíacuil treabha[r][1] taobhnocht,
'com[m]ar' srón, 'ó'[2] clúas gan lén, 'cui[n]seal'[3] aighedh[4] nach aimhréidh.[5]

41. 'Coidhche' ascal[6] farmothá, 'eochair' thenga thagartha,[7]
'luc,'[8] bru,[9] ocus 'gúaire' folt fionn, 'gulba,' is 'bile'[10] bél bláithbhinn.

42. 'Glann'[11] gúala is 'dóid' lámh gan lén, 'scibh'[12] glac, ocus[13] 'luibhne' mér,
'lúa'[14] cos, is 'treathan'[15] troigh, ['rén'] reisi, is 'nena' ainm ordloigh.[16]

43. 'Meallach' is 'máoin' ocus[17] 'muaidh,' ionann sin is maith nó miadh,[18]
'grib' toirmeisc, [is] 'cerbhach'[19] creach, 'fiodhradh' nós,[20] 'fíreach'[21] biseach.

[fo. 97a.] 44. 'Tul' gach gnúis is íodhan ann, 'caor' cainneal,[22] is 'cúar' cam,
'abrann' olc is dirsan ann, 'blach'[23] saill is 'salar'[24] salann.[25]

[1] tubhra, L. treabair, H.
[2] éo, S.
[3] cuinnsi, H.
[4] aidhigh, S.
[5] cuinnse agbaidh nach áimhgheur, L.
[6] caoiche is coll, L.
[7] teanga thagartha, L.
[8] luch, H. and L.
[9] brú, L.
[10] *sic*, L. bil, S.
[11] glang, L.
[12] scib, L.
[13] is, S.
[14] lúagh, S. luath, H.
[15] treaghan, S. trethan, L.
[16] orluidh, S. L. has reon reisi . nean ainm ordlaigh.
[17] is, S.
[18] Meallach agas maoin is muadh, ionann sin is maith réa iomluadh, L. Melleadh is maoin agus muadh, Inann sin is maith, re imluadh, O'R. s.v. fiodhrach.
[19] toirmeasc, is cearrbhach L.
[20] *sic*, L. no, S.
[21] fioghradh nós, is fioghrach bisech, H. fiodhrach no fiodhradh biseach, O'R. fiodhradh nós, fiodhrach biseach, L.
[22] cuinneal, S.
[23] leg. bluch ?
[24] ealar, S. And so O'Br. salor, O'Cl.
[25] H. and L. omit this quatrain.

45. 'Broth'[1] ainm féola, 'flann'[2] [ainm] d'fuil, 'grith' éolus, 'fraic'[3] folt íarsin.
'conn' ainm céille iarmothá, 'turbhuidh' ainm gac[h] urbhadha.

46. 'Meamur' congna ferrdha[4] fir, is 'caisi' ainm [do] gach caingin,[5]
'ain'[6] ainm áoibhinn sáimh íarsin,[7] *ocus* 'aoín' ainm do lúachair.

47. 'Ribhar'[8] críathar, foram ngle, 'rumro'[9] radharc go ngéire,[10]
'coig'[11] ainm rúna, ní báidh bheag, *ocus* 'lú'[12] ainm do laigheadh.

48. 'Manáois' sen-ainm sleighe righ, is 'goithne' foga[13] go fír, agus 'luighne,'[14] go fír dhe, ainm na[15] sleighe díubhruic[th]e.[16]

49. 'Searrdha' faobhar go[17] ngaile, *ocus* 'serrdha' tesgaidhe,[18]
'[d]inn' ainm gach druimne déra,[19] 'fuince' ingne[20] airmghéra.[21]

50. 'Mur'[22] iomad thall isin recht, 'cob'[23] búaidh, is bríathar [lán]cert,[24]
'dú'[25] baile, 'dú' duthaigh lat, 'cul' coimhéd, is 'cul' carbad.

51. 'Os' ainm gach áirdíadh[a] amach, 'fuinche' is[26] 'criomhtan' ar sionnach,
'patán' míol múighe ma seach,[27] 'earc' mil, *ocus* 'earc' fírbheach.

[1] Brat, S. Broth, H., L. and O'R. s.v. *snuadh*.
[2] snuaidh, H. snuadh, L. and O'R. s.v. *snuadh*.
[3] frag, L.
[4] Meamar congnadh feardha, L.
[5] agas caise ainm do chaingin, L.
[6] am, S.
[7] ain ainm ciche go sáimh sin, H. áin ainm siodha go suim soin, L.
[8] Ribhadh, S. Robhar, L. and O'R. s.v. *robhar*. Robha, H.
[9] rumhra, H. romhra, L. rumna, O'R. s.v. robhar.
[10] nglére, L.
[11] Coic, L.
[12] *sic*, H. láoi, S.
[13] *sic*, H. fada, S.
[14] luibhne, H. and L.
[15] gach, L. and H.
[16] diubhraicthe, L.
[17] med, L.
[18] teascaidhe, L.
[19] dionn gach druimne adéra, L.
[20] fuinche, S. and L.
[21] aimghéra, H. áimghéara, L. and O'R. s.v. searrdha.
[22] Múr, L.
[23] *sic*, H. cobh, L. cod, S.
[24] láincheart, L.
[25] dú, L.
[26] *ocus*, S.
[27] fá seach, L.

52. Dhá senainm do láoch[1] *gan* on, 'bé' *oous* 'cé,' ní brég in modh,
'cé' fós ainm do chéile cain, 'bé' ben ocus[2] 'bé' adhaigh.[3]

53. 'Treanadh' ainm gach caoinidh[4] dhe, 'airne,' 'fod' fuirech*us*,
na ceil,[5]
'écosc'[6] cuma,[7] n*ach* cóir cleith, 'homo' duine gan[8] dichleith.

54. 'Deime'[9] ainm fescu[i]r[10] go fuin, 'teibedh' ainm [gach]
tinsceduil,[11]
'ionnsa' ainm doilghiosa dhi[l],[12] 'fobhairt' is ainm d'ion-
saighin.[13]

[fo. 97b.] 55. 'Cann' ainm leastair,[14] luai[d]ther libh, 'blosg'
ainm g*ach* gotha gléghil,[15]
'foidhi'[16] tairm no fúaim go sé, 'saithe' slúaigh[17] no séch*aidh*e.

H. 2. 12, p. 7.

56. 'Ír' deab*aidh* thall ann gach modh, is 'lia*cht*uin' ainm do
fhliuchadh,
'iarlon*n*' iarthar ambi biadh, 'inntille' least*ar*[18] no tiagh.[19]

57. 'Lés' soillse ocus[20] 'lang' meabhuil, 'lus'[21] lamh, ni lem nach
meabhair,
'líoghr*a*dh' tenga thuirmne[22] dhe, 'lu*cht*aire' saobhchoire uisce.

[1] oidhche, H., and O'R. s.v. *oe*. Dá ainm don oídche, L.
[2] is, S. and H.
[3] adhuigh, S. aghaidh, L.
[4] *sic*, L. ainm coinnmhe, S.
[5] suirech rus ngle, H. fuireachras oidche, O'Cl. gl. s.v. airne. áirne fót, fuireachras gle, L. Perhaps we should read fuirechrus nglé.
[6] eathar, S. eugusc, H.
[7] comha, H.
[8] nach, H. and L.
[9] Déine, S. Deimhe, H. and L.
[10] feascrach, L. *but in marg.* feascair.
[11] is teascc*a*dh ainm gach tionsgn*aidh*, H. is tasgar ainm tionsgadail, L.
[12] iodhna ainm doilgheasa dil, L.
[13] *sic*, H. fóbairt is ainm d'innsoighidh, L. forba ainm nintamhuin, S.
[14] leathuir, S. leastar, H. leasdoir, L.
[15] gleghlan, H. gleghloin, L.
[16] foithe, H. faithe, L.
[17] sleighe, H. sluaigh *corrected into* sluagh, L.
[18] least*arr*, H. intille leastor, L.
[19] This and the following ten quatrains are wanting in S. In L. they come next after the quatrain numbered 75.
[20] is, H.
[21] luis, L. and O'Cl.
[22] thuirmheach, L.

58. 'Mand'[1] [is] sen-ainm na hunga,[2] 'míadh' airmhidin,[3] coir cumha,
'nua'[4] úasal, 'mén' bél blaidhe,[5] is gég amlaidh suithidhe,[6]

59. 'Tucht' gach gné, ocus[7] 'braon' bocht,[8] 'aidhbeil'[9] cian[10] ocus[7] 'úr' olc:
'mocht' gach ciuin, tonn mara[11] mhóir, 'nion' tonn coitchionn accetóir.[12]

60. 'Osar'[13] eire bhios ar neach, 'ainnsi' [is] 'airgsi' gach aithfer:[14]
'ong' brón,[15] 'oircne' measan con,[16] 'onn'[17] cloch, ocus[7] 'tort' bairghen.

61. 'Pelait'[18] righ-tech, coir ros-chom, 'puincne,' is ainm do scribol,[19]
'pont' borb, 'pairt' rann ion gach tan,[20] is 'pain'[21] ainm d'aran uasal.

62. 'Rus' roghairme[dh] do ghruaid ghloin,[22] 'ruicedh' rús,[23] 'imdherg' aithfer,[24]
is 'sái'[25] suabhuis iomaseach, is 'reudaire'[26] cleirsech craibhthesch.

[1] Mann, L.
[2] A syllable wanting.
[3] níadh oirfidin, H. miadh óir fidin, L.
[4] nuadh, L.
[5] menbhel blaidhe, H. men bélblaidhe, L.
[6] is ré amhlaidh sochaidhe, L.
[7] is, H.
[8] et pauper bocht, L.
[9] leg. aidhbean, as in O'Cl. aidh bhen, L. in marg. aidhbhean.
[10] aidh bhen chinn, L.
[11] cúinthonn mhara, L.
[12] *sic*, L. nion, tonn accedoir, H.
[13] Osaire, H., but see O'R. s.v. *osar*. osair, L.
[14] ainsi *no* airgsi gan aithbhear, L.
[15] brónach, H.
[16] conn, H.
[17] on, H.
[18] Púait, H. Piláit, L.
[19] sgriboill, H. sgreaball, L.
[20] tann, H.
[21] páin, L.
[22] ghloine, H.
[23] ruis, L.
[24] aithbhir, L.
[25] 7 saoi, H. et saoi, L.
[26] reacaire, O'R. s.v. reacaire. recoire, L.

63. 'Suithnge' suilbhir sen-ainm sin, 'sín' muince,[1] 'sin' ainm slabr*aidh*,
'searpan'[2] ar geis, is garbh gal, ocus[3] 'agh' ainm daimh allaidh.[4]

64. 'Cé' talamh, is foirghiol[5] fíor, is 'teanlach' teine go fíor,
'tinf[e]ad' séimh, 'troichit'[6] gach[7] corp, ocus[8] 'teidm' gach bás bitholc.

65. 'Ur' olc, 'lios' deab*aidh* go dearbh, 'usarb' bas mhilles gach dealbh,
'ascc' díomus, is deimhin tra, is 'uamhuin'[9] ainm *gach* eagla.

66. Ni heol*aigh*,[9] ni hughdar ard, *ocus* ni file fiorgharg,
ni sencha[idh] ag nach biadh a bfios, foillsigh*idh* feasa forus.[10]

FORUS FOCALL.

The following six quatrains are from the Stowe MS. No. III. fo. 97[b]:—

67. Da ainm choitchionna gan coll, 'díth' deiredh is céol 'duchonn,'[11]
'néo'[12] ainm [na] gáoithe gloine, 'uim'[13] talamh go ttort*aidh*e.[14]

68. 'Fuid' gach fursannadh[15] go se, 'droch' díreach, 'séd' *gach* slighe,[16]
'oin'[17] cennach,[18] 'uáin' íasa*cht* án, 'fath' tes, ocus[19] 'fath'[20] anál.

[1] sin muinche, H.
[2] searbán, L.
[3] is, H.
[4] eall*aigh*, H.
[5] fuirghioll, L.
[6] troicch*edh*, L. troigh*edh*, H., but see Corm. Gl. s.v. fothrucud.
[7] gan, O'R. s.v. tinfeadh.
[8] uamhan, L.
[9] heolach, L.
[10] L. puts this quatrain before No. 65.
[11] *sic*, H. duchon, L. S. corruptly, Trí ṡenainm coitchenn gan col. díth 7 dér is dúchon.
[12] néit, S. néid, L. né, o, H.
[13] uaime, S. umh, H.
[14] ttorthuighe, L. torruidhe (*i.e.* torraighe?), H.
[15] *sic*, H. S., corruptly, Idith fúar sonn.
[16] *sic*, H. slige, L.
[17] *sic*, H. on, S.
[18] cneadhach, L.
[19] is, S. and H.
[20] fat, S.

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69. 'Ailt*ire*' sáor doghní tech,[1] 'ailt'[2] ainm tighe, 'airt'[3] *gach* leth,[4]
'aithrinne'[5] ainm do laogh bó, 'feilisc'[6] rúsg,[7] is 'meile' bró.

70. 'Bach' meisge, 'boisgeall'[8] eilit,[9] 'bir' tiobra, 'berr'[10] *gach* ngairid,
'boigill'[11] borb, 'bach' sáile serbh, 'mormuir,' moin,[12] 'bothach,' seiscenn.

71. 'Curson'[13] senainm d'árra*cht* de,[14] is ainm do chinn 'calb' cuimhne,[15]
'car[th]uid' craibhthech,[16] báidh go mblaidh,[17] *ocus* 'cast'[18] ainm do ghenmna*idh*.

72. 'Dagh' maith, 'droch' olc *ocus* gann, 'duibheall'[19] ainm do *gach* udmall,
'dúchus[20] deabhuidh, 'dibheoil[21] balbh, 'daigh' tine, 'dorr' *gach* n-agarbh.[22]

The following three quatrains are from H. 2. 12, p. 8:—

73. 'Ealg'[23] ainm d'Eirin[n], 'ealg' aghaidh, sean-ainm treoin 'earr,' gan meabhuil,
'é' brón, caire, ann rochlos, 'esconn'[24] seanoir, guth cadhus.[25]

[1] tegh, S. teach, H. tech, L.
[2] *sic*, H. ail, S.
[3] *sic*, H. iar, S.
[4] both, S. leac, H. art gach leath, L.
[5] *sic*, H. airgirne, S.
[6] fioluscc, H. feiliosce, L.
[7] *sic*, H. ruisg, S.
[8] boischeall, H. is boisceall geilt, L.
[9] geilt, H.
[10] bior, S. and L.
[11] boitheall, H. boiteall, O'R. boitheal, L.
[12] mormuinn, S. mor, muir: moin, H. mórmhúir móin, L.
[13] *sic*, H. Carsan, S. Cursón, L.
[14] do riaruigh sen, H. dársuidh, sin, L.
[15] cuimhnech, H. cuimhnigh, L.
[16] *sic*, H. aidedh craibhdeadh, S. O'R. has "*carait*, adj. religious, devout, *For. foc.*"
[17] *sic*, H. mbloidh, S.
[18] caist, S. casd, H.
[19] *sic*, H. dupeall, S.
[20] *sic*, H. dubh cos, S. dúchos altered into duchon, L.
[21] *sic*, H. dibéol, S.
[22] doir *gach* ngarbh, S. dóir gach nagh garbh, H. See O'Cl. s.v. dorr. Here ends the Stowe copy of *Forus Focal*. H. has three more quatrains, which are printed in the text.
[23] Ealcc, L.
[24] easgan, S. eascconn, L.
[25] go ccádhus, L.

74. 'Fís' taidhbhsi, 'feimhin'[1] *gach* lond, 'fuid' fua*cht*, 'irsi'[2] gach n-éttrom,[3]
'glus' solus ocus[4] 'searbh' gaid, 'fáoinell'[5] is ainm do[n] oinmhid.

75. 'Gno[d]'[6] is rinn mar dorala, 'grodhan'[7] ainm churaig[8] mara,
'giabair'[9] meirdrech, 'grech' cnu tra,[10] *ocus* 'gibne' adarc leagha.

The following stave is quoted in O'Reilly's Dictionary, s.v. *Cáise*, as from the *Forus Focal*:—

76. 'Cáisi' mioscais, 'cáisi' searc, do réir na leabhar láincheart:
ro sgaoil neart na tromṡluagh Dhé, dias dan[a] comhdhual cáisi.[11]

II. The Derbhṡiur Glossary.

23. L. 21, p. 9.

1. Deirbhṡiúr don eagna an éigsi, as córuide a coimhédsi,
si na blath óir mar eagna; cóir do chách a coimhfreagra.

2. Dearbhrathair don éigsi aird, an sench*us* raidhit righbhaird,
a bráthoir ni bhí ar forbhas, mathair í don ughdardhás.[12]

3. A n-éigsi ni bhi gan bhlas, as buime í don eolus,
ni ghlacfa *acht* solus gan sal, a dalta an[13] for*us* focal.

4. An t-éigios gidh be he féin, airdrígh ar an éigsi eiséin,
égios eadhón e gan cheas, se *gan* anṡódh[14] madh éicces.

[1] feimhin *cancelled and* féine *written under it*, L.
[2] oic, L. sirsi, H.
[3] *sic*, L. n-eittrom, H.
[4] is, H.
[5] fuinneall no fainneall, L.
[6] gno, L.
[7] grodán, L.
[8] do churan, H. churcháin, L.
[9] giabhuir, L.
[10] chnu chena, H.
[11] This quatrain is also in H. 3. 18, p. 612[a], and in O'Clery's Foclóir, s.v. cais. In H. 3. 18 the second line is mar innisit liubair láncert, which is hypermetrical. The first line re-occurs in the Derbhṡiur glossary 60.
[12] The dh inserted by a corrector.
[13] a daltan, H.
[14] ansodh, H. anṡógh, L.

5. Gach nech 'ga[1] mádh dorcha dán, as é[2] bhíos a cces chomhlán, *gach* neach go brath da mbeith a cces, do ghnáth ni ba he an t-éiges.

6. As se an t-éigios séimh sothal,[3] *der*bhbráthair[4] na ndubhfocal, as se ghealas[5] an glór dubh, madh lór a feabh*us* d'ollamh.[6]

7. Gidh be rio*cht* na[7] bfuilim féin, do dhéan glór[8] sol*us* soilléir, don ghlór as duibhe[9] ar domhan, mór *gach* tuile ar ttiomsughadh.

---

8. 'Næ' duine bemaoid ga bhrath, do bhearmaoid[10] do tra tosach, ainm dhó 'dæ' na deaghaidh soin, 'gnæ' ag feraibh na focl*aib*h.[11]

9. 'Fich' is 'grian' fearann a bfad, 'tola' is 'dlumh' da ainm d'iomad,
'díu' ainm do chían, ni cam soin, *ocus* 'mann' gach biadh bunaidh.

10. 'Baghadh' gach gealladh, dearbh[12] duit, 'gno' *ocus* 'ealg' da ainm d'ordhuirc,
'dinnis' ainm do luighe[13] lán, mar innis[14] duinn an deghdhán.

11. 'Eccosg' cuma, *ocus* 'fuath' dealbh, 'einech' aghaidh, ni hindearbh,
'dian' *gach* luath ag dul a bfad, *ocus* 'drubh' ainm do charbad.

12. 'Grib' ainm do luas, fionnuidh fein, 'iocht' is 'troicchedh' clann chnisréidh,
sloinn gan tairm,[15] *gan* lo*cht*, *gan* lén, ainm do chloinn 'corc' is 'ceinel.'

[1] aga, H. ga, L.
[2] as e, H. se, L.
[3] sotal, H.
[4] dealbhadoir, H. *der*bhrathai*r*, L.
[5] gheall*us*, H.
[6] do ughdar, H.
[7] a, H.
[8] doghen gloir, H.
[9] don ghloir is duibh, H.
[10] dobherum, H.
[11] arna focladh, H.
[12] *sic*, H. dearbhadh, L.
[13] luidhe, H.
[14] nar innis, H. mar dinnis, L.
[15] aloinidh da ghairm, H.

13. 'Bronnadh' is 'gleith' caithemh cáidh,[1] 'grant' ainm do liathadh[2] lánbhlaith,
'tort' bairghen, is 'caladh' cruaidh, mar do canadh ón chéaduair.

14. 'Fracc' lámh, *ocus* 'luibhne' mér, 'onn' is 'ailcne' cloch choimhthrén,
is[3] do chloich fós as ainm 'ail,' gan dalbh[4] ocus[5] *gan* docair.

15. 'Coart' ainm binn do bhrúghuidh, 'bár'[6] ainm do ṡaoi ṡuadhamhail,
're'[7] ainm milis do[8] *gach* modh, 'í' inis, is 'aill' uasal.

16. 'Iodhna,' is 'ceis,' ocus[9] 'cealtoir,' ar[10] ṡleaghaibh da sírleantoir,
'sult' *gach* dath da mbe fa bhladh, 'tucht'[11] gne *gach* bráth do bhunadh.

17. 'Gorm'[12] ainm d'urdhairc gan ail, 'díochmhairc'[13] goid, comhrádh cubh*aidh*,
'dile' leanmhuin, lughu bladh,[14] 'a' ard, *ocus* 'brí'[15] briathar.

18. 'Cern' buaidh, is 'cearn' fer fearrdha, 'seghadh' alladh[16] oireghdha,
'bra'[17] *gach* mala ṡeng ṡédach,[18] *ocus* 'earr' gach gaisgeadhach.

19. 'Tiomghoire' iarruidh, *nach* lag, *ocus* is[19] 'cam' gach comhrac,[20]
'rubha' guin na[21] cré*cht* corcra, *ocus* 'cécht' gach cumha*chta*.

[1] chaich, H.
[2] no léthe, *interlined*, L.
[3] *sic*, H. as, L.
[4] l. doilb.e, L.
[5] is, H. L.
[6] *sic*, H. barr, L.
[7] *In marg.* read, L.
[8] *sic*, H. da, L.
[9] is, L.
[10] arna, H.
[11] *sic*, H. cucht *uel* tucht, L.
[12] l. gormadh.
[13] diochmaire, H.
[14] lugha abladh, H.
[15] brigh, H. bridh, L.
[16] *sic* H. L. *seems to have* alladh *altered into* ialaidh.
[17] *In marg.* braoi.
[18] bráe malach, seng sheghach, H.
[19] *sic*, H. as, L.
[20] *sic*, H. comhradh, L. carad *in marg.*
[21] l. no, L. budh, H.

20. 'Cearb' ciorrbhadh, 'cerb' tesgadh *t*ren, 'bladh'[1] slán, 'bladh' baile, is binnsgél,
'gunn,'[2] bloghadh, 'gunn'[2] *br*áighe bhán, a ráidhim[3] sunn as senrádh,

21. 'Ruanuidh'[4] ainm dílios don d*e*rg, 'iar' ainm don dubh gan dlúithbhedhg,
da luadh ann amach 's amuigh, 'flann' gach ruadh, ní dath duthain.

22. 'Lang' ainm da *g*ach meabhail mhóir, innister[5] is ni heccóir,
'muchna' ainm do ghruaim gan ghean, gan stúaim, *g*an ainm, *g*an áireamh,

23. 'Falc' ainm do gach mannt*aid*h moir, innist*e*r is ni heugcóir,[6]
'follán' ainm do mhaisi amuigh, ni braisi do na béluibh.

24. 'Raiftinne' is[7] rádh *g*an ches, ainm don ghairge, glór[8] díleas, is[9] ainm do garg 'lorc,' dar lem,[10] gan ḟadhbh,[11] *g*an locht m*u*r luaidhem.[12]

25. 'Déagha'[13] sen-ainm don ghaoith ghrinn, 'lóth'[14] ainm do chlúmh,[15] ni ceilim,
'úr' gach tosach, trén a bladh, 'cria'[16] cennach, is 'ér' uasal.

26. 'Son' *ocus* 'fuach' focul feigh, 'nith' guin, 'nion' liter lánréidh,
'tebeadh'[17] ainm do bhuain bhuna*id*h, 'aoi' ainm[18] do *g*ach ealadhain.

[1] blath, H.
[2] l. gún.
[3] araidhe, H.
[4] Ruanaigh, H.
[5] *sic*, H. innistior, L.
[6] *sic* H., L. *omits these two lines.*
[7] *sic* H., Raistine (l. raisde) as, L.
[8] gairg is gloir, H.
[9] *sic* H. as L.
[10] *sic* H. ar leam, L.
[11] *sic* H. ṡadhbh, L, *but corrected in margin into* ḟadhbh.
[12] luaighsem, H.
[13] Dedhe, H.
[14] loth, H.
[15] don chluimh, H.
[16] *sic* H. criadh, L.
[17] teibhe, H.
[18] snaidhm ainm, H. ainm aoi, L.

27. 'Besccna' síth, 'besgna' bérla, 'tugaid'[1] adhbhar a dhenmha,[2] gin motha na féagmais sin, go bfionnmaois[3] m*ur* ta a thuigsin.

28. 'Iairchena' osin amach, 'ceachoir'[4] ionann í is lathach, 'annach'[5] as ainm grinn do ghlan, aga ghairm as binn do bhunadh.

29. 'Loc'[6] ainm d'ionadh, sonn[7] go se, 'aoide' ionann í is óige, 'cé' talamh, is ni dlúth[8] dhamh, ionann 'úr' *ocus* uasal.

30. 'Forchaomhnagair,'[9] comhrádh glan, ionann is *gach* ni fédhtar,[10] 'adchoda'[11] dlighedh dleaghair,[12] do siredh[13] a senleabr*aibh*.[14]

31. 'Riaradh'[15] do dhúthch*us* as ainm, 'feib' feabhus cách dha[16] chomhghairm,
'feibh' ionann e *ocus* amhoil, in da gne[17] do ghabhabhoir.

32. Ealadha[18] is caingen cubhaidh, is dlighedh n*ach* duaghamhoil,[19] ainm doibh a ttriur 'aoi' g*an* ail, a ngnaoi gan liudh ar lo*cht*aibh.

33. 'Loscc' bacach, 'coscc'[20] tegusg tenn, 'adh' dlighedh, is 'dlúth'[21] inneall,
'táidhe' goid do chomhloit crodh, 'nuall' ainm d'urdhairc 'na farradh.

34. 'An' is 'rann,'[22] 'ban' is 'binne,'[23] anmonna íad d'fírinne, athairm g*ach* laoi ni leaghor,[24] agas 'aoi' ainm d'foircheadul.

[1] tuig*ed*h, H. tugaidh, L.
[2] an deamna, H.
[3] *interlined* l. do bhermaoid, L. go bfhedmaois, H.
[4] ceacar, H.
[5] andag, H. annuigh, L. annach, O'R.
[6] Dog, H.
[7] sén, H.
[8] dlugh, H.
[9] Cor caomhna gair, H.
[10] ionan gach ni feuchar, H.
[11] *sic*, H. adhcoda, L.
[12] deagair, H. dleaghoir *altered into* dleaghor, L.
[13] is readh, H.
[14] *sic*, H. shenleabhoir *altered into* shenleabhor, L.
[15] Bácad, H.
[16] ga, H.
[17] l. an da ghne, L.
[18] Ealad, H.
[19] dúaghamhuil, H.
[20] *sic*, H. cosg, L.
[21] dlú, H. dlugh, L.
[22] rún, L. rann *truth*, O'R.
[23] ar is rann bar is binne, H.
[24] atairm gach laoi gach lágur, H.

35. 'Gubha' caoinedh, ciadh do char,[1] '*techta*' dligeadh, 'art' uasal,
'meall' aoibhinn, *ocus* 'fód' fios, máoidhim *nach* óg do airmhios.

36. 'Cern' caitheamh,[2] 'ong' teallach te, is 'sión' cathoir nua nimhe,
is 'násadh' oird*orc* re headh, sásadh nar chomhloit cineadh.

37. 'Forchongra'[3] furáiliomh[4] féin, 'ellgheadh'[5] adhlacadh aighmhéil,
dochím go gar séimh seadhach, 'ail'[6] mín, is 'féigh' fairgsionach.[7]

38. 'Sgill' obann, gan[8] taom taoisi, 'suin'[9] cluthor[10] no caoinmhaisi,[11]
'gáid'[12] iarr*aid*h no guidhe ghrinn, diamhair *gach* duine adeirim.

39. 'Séire' proinn, oilemain[13] lán, deghḟear 'cur' can[14] marchomhrádh,
'deiltre'[15] dée draoidheachta án, d'aos uidheachta 'na sechrán.

40. 'Tuarasdol' luighe *gan* lén, is 'clannadh' gach sádh sírthrén,
'gnaoi' ainm d'aoibhinn *gan* ail, 'gnaoi' ag feraib ar na focluibh.

41. Da ainm don chlaoine col*aigh* 'ciol' is 'cle'[16] re a ccanamhain,
's edh aderar re linn 'laith,' a sénadh[17] linn as lánmhaith.

42. 'Us' *gach* sloinneadh, doirbh an rádh, 'ealladh'[18] aisgidh *nach* adhnár,[19]
'duar' *gach* rann dána *nach* dubh, aga radha ann don ollumh.

[1] cia do chur, H.
[2] *sic*, H. cathair, L.
[3] For conghair, H. Forchongair, L.
[4] forail*edh*, H.
[5] eilligh, H.
[6] ail *altered into* ailghean, L.
[7] do chim go réidh séimh seaghdha ailmin is feigh fairesiona, H.
[8] gan *altered into* agas, L.
[9] sun, H. sáin, *in marg.* svin, L.
[10] clutar, H.
[11] *sic*, H. cáoinmhnisi, L.
[12] góid, H. gáidhe, *in marg.* guidhe, L.
[13] gíuillean madh, H. oileamain *altered into* dil leanmain, L.
[14] deith*fer* corrcan, H.
[15] teillt*er*, H.; *but see* O'Cl. s.v. *deilltre*.
[16] cilis cleith, H.
[17] innsenadh, H. an (*altered into* a) sénadh, L.
[18] eall*amh*, H. *in marg.* ealladh no eallamh, L.
[19] aghnar, H. adhnair, L.

43. 'Uinnsi' ionann e *ocus* atá, 'neimheadh' *gach* dán da ndernta,
'ciol' bás is 'biodhbha' leatrom, is 'iodhna' *gach* eineachlann.[1]

44. 'Cuislionnach,' ergna re cách, as ainm e don ḟeadánach,
'sliocht' do *gach* céill adcluine, is 'ciocht' réidh *gach* rionnuidhe.

45. 'Eislinn' esinneall, ni bréag, ionann 'cul' *ocus* coimhéad,
'athréidhe'[2] sa thairm go bráth,[3] 'ceile' as ainm do gach oglách.

46. 'Datán' ainm *gach* oide ḟinn, 'dathnuid'[4] *gach* buime bhélbhinn,
'fisleadh' annamh[5] biadh fo bhladh, 'gnia' *gach* mac sethor solamh.[6]

47. 'Coimdhe'[7] *gach* tighearna tenn, 'cealt' ainm d'édach *gan*[8] ḟuigheall,
cách da[9] ghairm is[10] trom an tréd, is[10] ainm 'com' do *gach* coimhéd.

48. 'Séimh' beag, 'airm' baile ar bun,[11] 'forba' lead*radh*, 'mál' uasal,
mar bhíos *gach* dal gan deghail, 'mál' cios aga chruinnioghadh.[12]

49. 'Slaibhreadh'[13] ainm do choibhche is cáir, 'muaidh'[14] maith sech soithin[15] siordháil,
da ainm don choimhidea*cht* cain, 'sáil' ocus[16] 'caoimhthea*cht*'[17] chubhaidh.

[1] eineclann, H.
[2] aithreighe, H.
[3] *In marg.* aithreidhe sa ghairm go brath, L.
[4] dathnaidh, H.
[5] *sic*, H. fis leadh ainm l. anamh biad, *with the letters and word* leadh ainm l. *cancelled, and underneath are the words* fios gach dath da mbiadh 7c. L. So O'R. fis *colour, dying, tincture.*
[6] feat[h]*ur* folamh, H.
[7] *sic* H. Coimhdhe, L.
[8] re, H.
[9] ga, H.
[10] *sic*, H. as, L.
[11] dar liom, H. ar lumh l. bun, L.
[12] cuimhniughudh, H. chuimhniughudh *in marg.* l. chruinnioghadh, L.
[13] slabradh, H.
[14] muaidh, L. *but with the* i *cancelled.*
[15] *sic*, H. *In* L. soithin *is cancelled and* oscon *written under* sech *and* so.
[16] is H. *and* L.
[17] l. coimh(thecht), L. caoimthus, H.

50. 'Féith'[1] ar eladhain[2] ainm dhi, 'troigh' ar thurghabhail ngréine,
'fofor'[3] ainm[4] do thobar thrén, 'sloighre' *gach* cloidhiomh cruaidhghér.

51. 'Dron' *gach* dírech, breth *nach* brég, *ocus* 'comruir'[5] *gach* coimhéd,
ba[6] he an sgél nach bu gan[7] greim, *ocus* is gach dirim 'dreim.'[8]

52. 'Mairne' brath, ni cóir a cheilt, 'gno' is[9] ainm do[10] *gach* oirdheirc,
tairm[11] fa bláth is daingne dhi, 'airbhe'[12] is[13] 'fáth' da ainm d'aisde.

53. 'Uath' ainm d'úir, diamhair an dath,[14] 'foilerbadh'[15] *gach* bás brónach,
ionann 'ceis' is cuairt re a rádh, is suairc *gach* gné don ghabhlán.

54. 'Cǽ' is 'dǽ,' ciodh diamhair in de,[16] da ainm tighe a mbia daoine,
'taithmheach' *gach* scaoilidh go scéimh,[17] is maoidhemh 'aithnech' eiséin.

55. Ráidh re cumairce[18] *gan* chol, 'snaidh*ed*h,' 'faoisidin,' 'faosamh,'[19] ionann 'dionn' is[20] maith mhórdha, d'ardḟiaith na mionn mbláthórdha.

[1] Feidh, H.
[2] ealaghain, L.
[3] *In marg.* fophor.
[4] for forainm, H.
[5] *sic* H. coimhrin, L.
[6] budh, H.
[7] gan*n*, H. *and* L.
[8] 7 is dréim gach dírimh, H. et dreim ann (*cancelled*) *gach* dirim (*altered into* adirim).
[9] *sic* H. as L.
[10] *sic* H. da, L.
[11] atairm, H.
[12] airbhre *in marg.* no airbhe, L. airbhre, H.
[13] *sic* H. as L.
[14] *sic the corrector of* L. *for* d'uir . . . dath *the original scribe wrote* don dath diamair rath. H. *has* uath ainm diamhradh an dath.
[15] *sic* the corrector in margin: the original scribe wrote failearibadh. H. has folearbhadh.
[16] *sic* H. Cæ is doe (*no* dæ) diamhair dhe, L.
[17] *sic* the corrector in margin: the original scribe wrote sgaoileadh go séimh.
[18] Cáidh re comairce, H.
[19] *sic the corrector of* L.: *the original scribe wrote* snaidh*ed*h faosamh faoiside. H. *has* 7 snaoidhe faosamh fáoisidhe. See O'Cl. s.v. faosamh and O'R. s.v. *faoiseadh* and *snaidhim* 'I protect.'
[20] *sic* H. as, L.

56. 'Fuan' ainm do bhrat bhíos fa bhladh, 'eo' ainm do *gach* maith moltar,
'eo' ainm do *gach* fert abhos, 'sgeo' is[1] ainm do gach agus.[2]

57. 'Daoe'[3] teghdhuis, deilm[4] gan on, 'bath' is 'ibath' is 'diobhadh,'[5]
fregra*idh*[6] an triar don bhás bhea*cht*, grianfios as gn*áth*[7] do chloisdeacht.

58. 'Asccal' iomagallamh[8] ann, 'uaghbha'[9] togbha re taghall,[10]
gréas[11] n*ach* cclos a mach go mion, 'mos' bés, *ocus* 'buich'[12] brisedh.

59. 'Dremhan' ainm do Dhemhan dubh, 'oirdhero' ainm d'follus[13] uasal,
'robuist'[14] coimhéd, 'dagh' m*aith* már, 'aidhbhsi' ceol *ocus* crónán.

60. 'Caisi' miosgois, 'caisi' serc, 'droch'[15] *gach* dorcha go duibhchert,
'óibid' umhla, 'ceo' sechna, *ocus* 'beo'[16] gach buainchethra.

61. 'Tinne' saill[17] *ocus* méith mór,[18] 'acobhar'[19] saint *go* síothlógh,[20]
'déimh'[21] no 'demhal' díoghbhail[22] sin,[23] sgél go mbrígh *gach* dháil[24] bun*aidh*.

[1] *sic*, H. as, L.
[2] ogus, H.
[3] Dé, H.
[4] *sic* H. delmh *nó* delbh, L.
[5] *The* th *of* báth *and the* i *of* ibath *inserted by the corrector*. ba *ocus* bath *ocus* diobhadh, H.
[6] *sic* H. freagraigh *corrected into* freagraidh, L.
[7] ni gnath sa chiall, H.
[8] iomagalladh, H.
[9] uadha, H.
[10] tadhal, H.
[11] grés, H.
[12] buith, H., *and* L. *has* buith *in marg.*
[13] *sic* H. dollum *corrected into* d'ollus, L.
[14] *sic* H. robruisd *corrected into* robuisd, L.
[15] drocht, H.
[16] béo fás, H.
[17] *sic* H. Teine soill, L.
[18] no méith mhóir, H.
[19] acobair, H.
[20] ro chóir, H. *et sic* L., *but* síoth lógh *in marg.*
[21] dréim, H. dreimh, L., *but corrected into* déimh.
[22] diabhail, H. diabhal *corrected into* díoghbháil, L.
[23] *om.* H.
[24] sgel go mbáodhail mbrónach, H. sgel. gach mbrídh *gach* dháil bun*aidh*, L.

62. 'Cudh'[1] cenn, *ocus* 'cudh'[2] iudhbhairt, agus 'buth' bith
bláithionruic,[3]
an[4] derbhchest amhlaidh gan ail, labhruidh brígh[5] inbhar
mbriathruibh. Deirbhśiur.

III. The Egerton metrical Glossary.

Egerton 90, fol. 17ᵃ 1.

1. . . . . [fo. 17ᵃ 1] is gel 'caindlech,'[6]
'arco'[7] lochor do Dia a dul, *ocus* 'menmarc' gach emuaineadh.

2. 'Rang' mæl buidhi lom gan lag,[8] 'ris'[9] faisneis, 'ribar' criathar,
'sol' grian, 'lugna' esca and, 'salt' leim otersa (?) aderam.

3. 'Segamla' gach blectas bog, 'samh casc araid[10] na cumagh,
'snath'[11] folt, nocho scele lium, 'smer' teini [ocus] 'fuaid'
fuighell.

4. 'Seist' meodhon-læ, is '[s]ceng' lebaidh, 'sorb' locht, 'sin'
cruind cæmnegair,
'slab' cumang, *ocus* 'coid' coill, 'segh'[12] fiadh istuig (?) mar
thuirmim.

5. 'Sáth' biadh, 'sen' lín fiadha amach, 'serr' gach[13] n-og is
gach n-uallach,
'tell' fuaim mar doglach goglan, 'ti' brat,[14] [*ocus*] 'borr' bruchtadh.

6. 'Turba' gach buiden bindsi, 'fuaim' tobeim, 'toth' ban-indsci,[15]
'tuarad' cuid adeire dun, 'builí'[16] go deimin drochrun.

[1] *sic*, H. Cudh *nó* cuth, L.
[2] cuth, H.
[3] *In marg.* ordhuirc.
[4] a, H.
[5] brigh, H. bridh, L. Then in L. follows this prayer in an Italian hand: Oremus. Absolve quaesumus Domine animam famuli tui Hugoni ab omni vinculo Delictorum: ut in Resurrectionis Gloria inter Sanctos & Electos tuos resuscitatus respiret Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.
[6] is gell cainlæch, Eg.
[7] erca, Eg.
[8] laga, Eg.
[9] fis, Eg.
[10] cascaraid, Eg.
[11] leg. snuath?
[12] seth, Eg.
[13] seirgach, Eg.
[14] tibrath, Eg.
[15] toa atinsi, Eg.
[16] baili, Eg.

7. 'Bro' beimneach, *ocus* 'ur' olc, 'baigliu'[1] læg allaidh[2] ardrod,
'bascall' geilt, is 'baislech' dam, 'band' liathroid, 'aisdrech' umal.

8. 'Bracht' beoil, 'brac'[3] lamh, is 'brann' ben, 'braichem'[4] damh allaidh armer,
'bas' barr nach fuilgend fingal, is 'cuimling'[5] gach cait[h]irgal.

9. . . . . ach,
is cnath furnaigi re 'foir,' is 'culmaire' gach cairbtheóir.

10. 'Ceinntecol' *t*rialladh[6] go tric, 'consal'[7] comhairlech cæmhglic,[8]
'duar' rand, 'duar' gac[h] toradh tend, 'iach' bradan, 'solam' sliseng.

11. 'Drenn' garb, 'del' síne mosech, 'teim' dorca, is 'drocht' gach ndirech,
'ai' a hæn, nocho n-echt[9] echtga, ocus 'cecht' gach cumachta.

12. 'Ealga' in Eire re haichne, *ocus* 'eidel' urnaigthe,[10]
'at' sescba, ni lesg ale, 'gann' easgra, *ocus* 'esc'[11] uisce.[12]

13. 'Icht'[13] ceinel, 'erc' nim gidh nar, 'flesg' bun fich, [is] 'lægh' lind ban,
'feirend' c*r*is cengail gu coir, 'fís' do cennaigh in canoin.

14. 'Fochnadh' lasamnach lægaidh, 'fual' gach uisci e domain,
'troced'[14] corp, [is] 'lí' moladh, maith ni bi omain ardr. . .

15. 'Gamh' geimreadh, 'pit'[15] proind nach mor, 'caidh' idan nocha na nodh,
'fod' faidech, is 'les' let*r*om, *ocus* 'fén'[16] gac[h] feiret*r*om.

[1] buiglui, Eg.
[2] allaigh, Eg.
[3] brach, Eg.
[4] braici, Eg.
[5] amling, Eg.
[6] leg. truailledh?
[7] comsal, Eg.
[8] -gleic, Eg.
[9] necth, Eg.
[10] urnacti, Eg.
[11] esg, Eg.
[12] uisgi, Eg.
[13] Ucht, Eg.
[14] oroced, Eg.
[15] fid, Eg.
[16] fe, Eg.

16. 'Aig' fuacht, 'fol' bonn, is 'gam' ben, 'gabar' solos ga slainneadh,
'lua' breb, 'gil' an sugad seng, 'gníth' guth munadh nach milfem.

17. 'Grot'[1] goirt, 'gnó' cuidmide[2] clæn, 'gnai' ségda*cht*,[3] 'clamar' gach aer,
'gaire' gairsecle[4] go grod, is 'bairseaca' gach baeth-rod.

18. 'Prann' tonn mara, maith in t-ainm, 'pui[n]cni' sgreabull, re scíam[5] gairm,
'pain' bairgen,[6] *ocus* 'pairt' penn, 'ping*ur*' [saland],[7] gus aib*inn*.

19. 'Fuideran' inar masedh, 'braitsi'[8] asan re airem,
'iar' dubh, 'fur' urlum re hedh, 'rucht' mer, ní cle da coirgeadh.

20. 'Feib' marsin, 'dú' baili blaith, 'dumach' dorcha gan dimbaigh,
'fecur' brecc nach rosena sund, 'lang' fled *ocus* 'cro' cumung.[9]

21. 'Eangach' gres gusmhar go rath, 'druimclí' gach legthoir lagach,
'sillidh' ben doni tuaicle, ní bi sel *acht* saeb fuaichthi.

22. 'Rath' cor, *ocus* 'mothla' mæth, 'cliste'[10] urlamh . . . ni hæth, dena sloindte gar na slecht, is 'droingcedul' gach naid*echt*.[11]

23. 'Dlomodh' fuagra, 'commaim'[12] ben, 'buas' a ainm bolg,
'boindi' blaithgel,
'tap' oband, 'torc' craidhi coir, 'ge[i]s' guidhi, is olc gach 'égcóir.'

[1] gnoth Eg., but see Corm. Gl. s.v. gruiten.
[2] gnodh cuidni, Eg., but see Corm. Gl. s.v. gnó.
[3] sægdacht Eg. but see LU. 109a 41 (gnae .i. ségda).
[4] gairsech Eg.
[5] resgíam Eg.
[6] bairgein, Eg.
[7] Cf. Pingair .i. saland, L.Lec. Voc.
[8] braidci Eg.
[9] crumung Eg.
[10] clisdi, Eg.
[11] This couplet is obscure and prob. corrupt.
[12] comuaim, Eg.

24. 'Dear' ingen, *ocus* 'uath' uir, 'buanann' buime go bláith ciuin,
'bracht' [buain], 'bairene' cat,[1] 'bil' mong, 'brac' lam, 'oidsen' sin sloindem.

25. 'Ficell' . . . signum gu se, 'bus' topais, is ord aichne,
in sceil crid guma[2] cnedhach, *ocus* 'gr[e]id' gach gaisgedhach.

26. 'Brac' min, 'bí[ach]' fæbur ferdha, 'múr' gach (n-imm)ed ilardha,
'basc' gach d*e*rg adeire a ndan, 'blim' sili, 'buidhi' ballan.

27. 'Briar' delg óir, 'bruinnech'[3] mathair, 'cod'[4] buaid, 'corc'[5] finda fataig,[6]
'fuid' fuacht *ocus* 'croch' gach n-ard, 'cern' buaid, is 'loth' gach langarg.

28. 'Cath' doaim[7] is 'ort'[8] orgain, 'ciar' dub, 'coth' biad, blaith ordain,
'cum' gach cis, 'laemdha' nach lag, ...

29. 'Coing' lenmain, 'cumlachtaidh' orc,[9] 'clairiu'[10] fodhail re fochmorc,[11]
'crumduma' ottrach,[12] 'cel' nem, 'cil' clæn, ni mor do muinedh.

[1] bairci cath, Eg.
[2] Read, perhaps, guba.
[3] druinech.
[4] cob Eg.
[5] torc Eg.
[6] Eg. adds *congeir* or *cengeir* (the second letter is doubtful).
[7] corrupt.
[8] ord Eg.
[9] cumlachtaigh arc, Eg.
[10] claire Eg.
[11] fachmorc Eg.
[12] crumdauba odtrach Eg.

Supplement.

Here follows the part of the prose vocabulary in the Book of Lecan, fo. 155[a] 3—156[b] 1, which corresponds with the metrical glossary in Egerton 90:

Geal .i. caindleach. Arca .i. lochar do Día. Meanmarc .i. smuainead. Cich .i. ger. Ris .i. faisnes. Ribar .i. *c*riathar. Sol .i. *g*rian. Lugna .i. esca. Salt .i. leim. Smer .i. tine. Seist .i. medonlai. Sgeng .i. lebaig. Sorb .i. lo*cht*. Sin .i. cruind. Saith .i. biad. Serrach .i. cach cnocc.[1] Turba .i. buidean. Fuaim .i. tobeim. Tot[h] .i. bainindsci. Tuarad .i. cuid. Builí .i. drochrun. Bro .i. bemnech. Ur .i. olc. Baidbliu .i. læg allaig. Bascall .i. geilt. Baisleach .i. dam. Band .i. liathroid. Brachta .i. be[oi]l. Brac .i. lam. Brann .i. bean. Braici .i. dam allaid. Bas .i. barr. Cuibleang .i. cathirgal. Car .i. toit. Cicht .i. fidhidoir. Culmairi .i. cairptheoir. Ceindtegal .i. t*ur*ailead. *Con*sal .i. comairleach. Duar .i. rann. Duar .i. cach torad. Iach .i. bratan. Dreann .i. garb. Greann .i. ulcha. Deal .i. sine. Tem .i. dorcha. Drocht .i. direach. Cecht .i. c*umachta*. Feidil .i. urnaidi. Gand .i. easc*ra*. Easc .i. us*ce*. Fochnada lasamnaith. Fual .i. us*ce*. domain. Lí .i. molad. Gam .i. gemrad. Pid .i. proind bec. Caid .i. idan. Aid .i. fuacht. Fol .i. bond. Gamh .i. bean. Gabar .i. sol*us*. Lua .i. breab. Gni .i. gut[h]. Clámor .i. air. Prand .i. tond. Pain .i. bairgen. Pairt .i. pean*n*. Pingair .i. saland. Faideran .i. inar. Fuindchi .i. feandoc. Braitsi .i. asan. Iar .i. dub. Fuinchi .i. sindach dub. Dú .i. baile. Lang .i. fleag. Cro .i. cumang. Rath .i. cor. Bus .i. tobais. Gred .i. gaisgeadach. Dlomad .i. fuac*ra*. Comaim .i. bean. Dear .i. i*n*ga.[2] Uath .i. ur. Bracht .i. buain. Bairene .i. cat. Bil .i. mong. Briar .i. delg oir. Bruineach .i. mathair. Cod .i. buain *no* buaid. Corc .i. cenel no finda. Finit dona dubfoclaib.

[1] leg. n-6cc.
[2] leg. ingen.

Glossarial Index.

List of Abbreviations.

Asc. gl.	Ascoli, Glossarium palaeo-hibernicum, pp. xvii–cxl.
AU.	The Annals of Ulster, vol. i. ed. Hennessy, Dublin, 1887.
Amra Chol.	The *Amra Choluim chille* (from LU. and LB.), ed. Crowe, Dublin, 1871, and (from LH.) in *Goidelica*, London, 1872, pp. 156–173.
BB.	The Book of Ballymote. Facsimile, Dublin, 1887.
Bk. Arm.	The Book of Armagh, a MS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin.
Bk. Fen.	The Book of Fenagh, ed. Hennessy, Dublin, 1875.
Bk. Rights.	The Book of Rights, ed. O'Donovan, Dublin, 1847.
Corm.	Cormac's Glossary, printed in *Three Irish Glossaries*, London, 1862.
Corm. Tr.	O'Donovan's Translation of Cormac's Glossary, Calcutta, 1868.
D.	*Derbhśiur don E'cna*, the metrical glossary printed supra, pp. 22–31.
E.	The metrical glossary printed supra, pp. 31–34. from Egerton 90.
Edin. xxxviii.	A MS. in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.
Eg. 88. Eg. 1782.	Egerton MSS. in the British Museum.
Ff.	*Forus Focal*, the metrical glossary printed supra, pp. 8–22.
Fél.	*Félire Oengusso*, the Calendar of Oengus, Dublin, 1880.
FM.	Annals of the Four Masters, ed. O'Donovan.
GC².	Grammatica Celtica, second edition, 1871.
Gild.	The Lorica of Gildas, printed in *Irish Glosses*, Dublin, 1860, pp. 133–151.
Goidel.	*Goidelica*, London, 1872.
H. 2. 15. H. 3. 18. H. 4. 22.	MSS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, containing unpublished glossaries.
Harl. 432. Harl. 5280.	Harleian MSS. in the British Museum.
L.	A MS. in the library of the Royal Irish Academy marked 23. L. 21.
Laud 610.	A MS. in the Bodleian, described by Todd, Proceedings of the R. I. Academy, ii. 336–345, and by O'Donovan, Book of Rights, xxviii—xxxiii.
Laws.	Ancient Laws of Ireland, vols. i.–iv. Dublin, 1865–1879.
LB.	The *Leabhar Breac*, Facsimile, Dublin, 1876.

LH.	The Liber Hymnorum, a MS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, the Irish in which is printed in *Goidelica*, London, 1872.
Lism.	The Book of Lismore, a MS. belonging to the Duke of Devonshire, described in Lism. Lives, i.e. *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, Oxford, 1890.
LL.	The *Lebar Laignech*, or Book of Leinster, Facsimile, Dublin, 1880.
L.Lec. Voc.	The prose vocabulary (of about 570 words) in the Book of Lecan, ff. 155[a]–157[a].
LU.	The *Lebar na hUidre*, Facsimile, Dublin, 1870.
Mart. Don.	*The Martyrology of Donegal*, Dublin, 1864.
Misc. Celt. Soc.	Miscellany of the Celtic Society, Dublin, 1849.
MR.	The Battle of Magh Rath, ed. O'Donovan, 1842.
O'Br.	O'Brien's Irish-English Dictionary, 1st edition, Paris, 1768: 2nd edition, Dublin, 1832.
O'Cl.	O'Clery's Glossary. Louvain, 1643. Ed. by Arthur W. K. Miller, Revue Celtique, vol. iv. pp. 349–428, vol. v. pp. 1–69.
O'Dav.	O'Davoren's Glossary, printed from Eg. 88 in *Three Irish Glossaries*, London, 1862, pp. 47–124.
O'Don. Supp.	O'Donovan's Supplement to O'Reilly's Irish-English Dictionary.
O'Flah.	O'Flaherty's Glossary, now in the Bodleian, marked MS. Ir. e. 1.
O'Moll.	O'Molloy. Grammatica Latino-hibernica, 1677.
O'Mulc.	O'Mulconry's Glossary, H. 2. 16, col. 18–col. 122.
O'R.	O'Reilly's Irish-English Dictionary, Dublin, 1821.
Rawl. B. 502.	A twelfth-century MS. in the Bodleian, described by Macray, *Catal. Codd. MSS. Bodl.* Part v. fasc. i. cols. 719—722.
Rawl. B. 512.	A MS. in the Bodleian, described in Trip. Life, pp. xiv–xlv.
Rev. Celt.	Revue Celtique, Paris, 1870–1890.
Salt. R.	Saltair na Rann, Oxford, 1883.
Sg.	The St. Gall glosses on Priscian, ed. Ascoli, 1880.
Stowe XIX.	A MS. formerly belonging to the Stowe library and now in that of the Royal Irish Academy.
Three Frags.	Annals of Ireland. Three Fragments, ed. O'Donovan, Dublin, 1860.
Trip. Life.	The Tripartite Life of Patrick, Rolls series, 1887.
Wb.	The Würzburg glosses on St. Paul's Epistles. Printed in *The Old-Irish Glosses at Würzburg and Carlsruhe*, Hertford, 1887.
Wind. Wört.	Windisch's Wörterbuch, Leipzig, 1880.

á (MS. a) *height*, D. 17. So Corm. s.v. *arad*. *A* .i. ard, Stowe XIX, L.Lec. Voc. As vowel-flanked *s* is lost in Irish, *á* 'height' may be cogn. with Lat. *asa*, *ara*: so *altus* with *altaria* (*altare*). Two other homonymous words are *á* 'chariot' cogn. with Skr. √*ās* 'to sit,' and the *ἀπ.* λεγ. *á* 'mouth,' gen. sg. Trip. Life, p. 140, l. 11, with Lat. *os*, *ōris*.

acais *curse*, Ff. 29, note 12. acais .i. aor no mallacht, O'Dav. 48. *virulence*, gan ágh, gan accais, gan urcoid, MR. 294. tug se acais do *he cast a slur on him*, Coneys.

accobar N. *desire*, D. 61. Z^3. 222: ririr accobur' a sula *he gave up his eye's desire*, Amra Chol. 71; from *ad*+*cobar*.

adchota *personal law*? D. 30. This is prob. a verb,=atchota, LL. 345[b] 38, and L.Lec. Voc., though it is explained as a noun in the Brehon laws cited by O'R. s.v. adcoda .i. dlighead dligheas neach d'faghail no do geibh neach.

adh *law* D. 33. So Stowe XIX, L.Lec. Voc. and O'Cl. ni hada .i. ni dligeda, Amra Conroi. A deriv. adae or ada .i. fas occurs.

aed *fire*, Ff. 5. So Corm. and H. 3. 18, p. 63[b]. áed tene, LU. 45[a] 30, and see infra s.v. *smer*. acc. amal aed (.i. tenid) tre fithicen, LU. 109[a] 35. Cognate with W. *aedd* 'calor, studium,' Gr. *αἶθος*, Lat. *aedes*, *aestus*, A.S. *âd*. *Aed* 'eye,' Ff. 39, is doubtless the same word. So *aed* .i. suil, O'Cl. *adam aed* .i. adam śúil 'my two eyes' .i. im chind, LL. 208[a] 27. mu da n-aed .i. mo dá śuil, Amra Senáin.

ag *stag*, Ff. 63, properly a bovine animal. agh .i. bó, O'Cl. ag allaid 'cervus,' a neut. stem in *s*, pl. nom. acc. aige alta. dual nom. it é da n-ag ata cainium robatar inn Éiri, Eg. 1782, fo. 76[b]. Cogn. with W. *ewig* 'hind' from *agîkā, Skr. *aja-s*.

1. ái *one*, E. 11: Old-Ir. *ae*, "adjectivis pronominabilibus *cach* (*cech*), *nach* (*na*) aeque adjunctum ac *oin* unus," Asc. gl. xvii. 'one, person, individual,' do cech ái, LL. 254[b] 50, do cach ae, O'Don. Supp. The forms *ái*, *ae* point to an Old-Celtic *aivo-s*=Gr. *οἶος*, Cypr. *οἴϝος* 'alone,' O. Pers. *aiva-* 'one,' Av. *aẹva-*, *ōiva-*, Skr. *ēva* 'alone,' 'only,' and (with a different suffix) *ēka-s*, 'one' just as the Old-Ir. *óin* 'one,' W. *un*, points to Old-Celtic *oino-s*=Gr. *οἶνος*, *οἶνη* 'the ace on dice.' Lat. *ūnus*.

2. ái F. *science*, D. 26. 32, ai .i. ealadha, Stowe XIX. oe .i. elada, L.Lec. Voc. *art* (dán) pp. 2, 3, *doctrine*, D. 34. Sg. nom. dligid aí astud, LL. 345[d] 32. gen. iar cantain a ái .i. a éicsi, LL. 186[a]. iar fuithir grene .i. iar ṅdagthir inna ai (.i. inna eicsi) grianda, Rawl. B. 502, fo. 60[b] 2. This word seems to occur in *ae freslige*, *ai idan*,

names of metres, and cf. a n-aae ána .i. a ndúana 7 a ndrecht[a] 7 a n-admolta, Rawl. B. 502, fo. 62ᵃ 1.

3. ái *law*, D. 32, Stowe XIX.=O.H.G. *êwa* Gesetz, Norm, Skr. *ēca* 'course.'

4. ái *a suit*, p. 2. D. 32. Sg. nom. ae caingen isin tsengaedeilg, LB. 238ᶜ 54. gen. airbert aoi iarna hastadh '*to plead the cause after binding it*,' O'Don. Supp. acc. inti aighiss in ae, *ib.*

aibéis, F. *sea*, Ff. 15. aibeís .i. muir O'Cl. sg. gen. lebheann na haibheise, Lism. 117ᵃ 2. acc. forsin n-aibheis n-anbhail nemhforcennaigh, ibid. perh. from an Old-Celtic **abensi-s* ex **abhent-ti-s*, as *séis* infra, from **sensis*, **sent-ti-s*. Cognate with Ir. *abann*, Lat. *amnis* (from **abnis*), etc. A somewhat similar word, *abis*, is borrowed from Lat. *abyssus*. ind abís mór inro inclannad dliged circuil (gl. circulus abyssi magni), LH. 12ᵇ. abisus scientiae .i. abis fessa, LB. 196ᵃ, pl. acc. abissiu, Ml. 51ᵈ 8. In LB. 230ᵇ *áibéis* is twice used for *abis* : ataat (scil. the fallen angels) hi fudomain áibéssi : i n-ábéis na teined suthaine ichtair iffirnn : cf. D. C. Purg. i. 146.

aidben (MS. aidhbeil) *remote*, F. 59. adben .i. etircian, H. 3, 18, p. 75ᵃ, and so O'Dav. 65, O'Don. Supp. aidhbhean .i. imchian nó fada, O'Cl. .i. olc no deoraidh, O'Cl. ónd Athain aidben anair, *from the far-off Athens, from the East*, LL. 215ᵃ 46.

aidbse *music*, Ff. 12, D. 59. So O'Cl., Corm. s.v. adann, LU. 5ᵇ 8. aidbsi .i. aircetal, O'Dav. 47. (a)idbse .i. ainm do chíul *nó* chrónán dognítheis ermór fer nErend immálle, *a name for the music or burden which the greater part of the men of Erin used to make together*, LH. 34ᵇ 1 (Goidel. p. 156). aidbsi .i. corus cronain, LU. 5ᵇ 5.

aidmirt, airmirt. See airmit infra.

aig '*cold*' (rather *ice*), E. 16. Máthair etha aig, máthair saille snecta, *ice is mother of corn, snow is mother of bacon*, LL. 345ᵃ 9, gen. bissi ega *icicles*, lit. *fingers of ice*, bommand ega *hailstones*, lit. *bits of ice*. W. *iâ*, O.N. *jaki*, A.S. *gicel*.

1. ail F. *stone*, Ff. 27, D. 14. So O'Cl. sg. gen. ailech, a *c*-stem, connected by Fick with Lith. *ůlà* 'Felsen.' Why not with ἄλιψ· πέτρα, Hesychius? It has been connected with πέλεκυς and *paraçu*, as Lat. *saxum* with Ags. *seax*, O.H.G. *sahs*; Skr. *áçman*, with ἀκμή; and Ir. *art* 'stone' with Med. Lat. *artavus*. But then we should have had **elech*.

2. ail *smooth, gentle*, D. 37. Compd. ail-menmnach, LU. 87ᵇ 11.

áil (two MSS. ail) *asking, seeking*, Ff. 8. So O'Cl. ail .i. abair no dliged no guide, O'Dav. citing ail dame dibhse, gen. ic cunchid ail

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no aisc, LB. 216[a] 31. The length of the *a* is established by dund *áil* (gl. ad supplicandum) Ml. 40[b] 44, the denom. verb *ailim* .i. guidim, Stowe XIX, better *áilim* 'I entreat,' *áils-i*, *álius* 'rogavit,' Bk. Arm. 18[a] 1, 18[a] 2, as well as by the *o* of the cogn. W. *add-oli* 'to adore.'

ailcne *a* (*little*) *rock*, *stone*, Ff. 32, D. 14. So Stowe XIX. Alccne .i. ail bec .i. digabtach indi is ail, H. 3. 18, p. 74[c]. A dimin. of *alec-*, the stem of l. *ail*. A form *ailce* also occurs.

aill *noble*, D. 15. So L.Lec. Voc., O'Dav. 49 and O'Cl.

ailt *house*, Ff. 69. So O'Cl. and H. 4. 22, p. 61[b]. sg. dat. ro dosuidigthi i n-oen ailt, Salt. R. 5158. alt .i. teach, O'Dav. 54, who cites *is ae alt conae clú* 'it is his house that preserves fame,' and *toingthi fo ailt neimhi* 'swear by the house (vault?) of heaven.' O.Br. *costad alt* (gl. aeditui). May come from *(*p*)*altā*, which has been connected with Lat. *palātum* 'vault, palate.' If so, *alt neime* would be a close parallel to Ennius' *palatum caeli*. But the connexion is very doubtful.

ailtire *architect*, Ff. 69. So H. 3. 18, p. 74[c], s.v. *ailt*, O'Dav. 54 s.v. *alt*, and O'Cl. æltaire 7 sair, LL. 29[a], æltaire 7 rathbuige, LL. 29[b], 39. Cogn. with *ailt* q.v. and the verb cor' *altar* mo fert-sa lat, LL. 269[a] 16.

ain *pleasant*, Ff. 46. See 2, an infra.

áin *rushes*, Ff. 46, O'Cl. and now written *aoin*. Sg. gen. scena buana aíne, Laws iv. 310, dat. robatar gríanana .... essarda do áin, LL. 263[a], fon ain, fon tuige, Laws i. 140, acc. dia táidled in n-úir no in n-áin forsa laiged Mártain *if he touched the mould or the rushes whereon M. used to lie*, Rev. Celt. ii. 400. From **iaini-* cogn. with Lat. *iūni-culus*, *iūni-perus* and *iūncus* from **ioiniculos*, **ioini-pero-s*, **ioini-co-s*.

aincis *a curse*, Ff. 29. aingcis, O'Cl.; a sister-form of *acais* supra.

ainféin *unusual*, *strange*, Ff. 33. anfén .i. ingnad, H. 3. 18, pp. 63[b], 638. áinfén, LU. 83[a] 8, seems a different word.

ainner *a woman*, Ff. 24. ander .i. ben, ainder .i. bean, H. 3. 18, pp. 64[a], 635[b], aindear, O'Cl. pl. n. aindre 7 ingenrada 7 maccaeme, LL. 109[b] 10, dat. andrib, LU. 81[a] 3. W. *anner* 'heifer,' O.W. *enderic* (gl. vitulus). Windisch compares Gr. *ἀνθηρός*.

ainnse (leg. áinsed?) *blame*, Ff. 60, ainsed .i. ainmhedh no imdergadh, O'Dav. 47, citing ní ainsid enech ruirech ná ollaman *the honour of a chief or an ollave was not reproached*. Cognate are *áinsem* (accusatio), *áinsid* (accusativus), and the verb *tainsither* 'is reproached, censured,' O'Don. Supp.

airbhe *a kind of poem*, D. 52. So O'Cl. Hardly a mistake for *airbert* .i. aircetal, aircetal, O'Dav. 49.

airbri, *abundance*, p. 1. So in H. 3. 18, p. 611^{b}. airbri .i. immad, LL. 311^{b} 12. airbhre .i. sluagh *a host, army*, O'Cl. (pl. dat. airbrib, Salt. R. 716. LL. 281^{a} 21. LB. 131^{a} 48. acc. rohairbriu, Amra Chol. 33), may be the same word.

airgse (aircse?) *blame*, Ff. 60. Cogn. with *aircis* .i. éaccaoine, O'Cl.

airm *place*, D. 48. So O'Dav. 54 and O'Cl. cia airm sund hi tá Cuchulaind? LU. 68^{a}. Other exx. in Asc. gl. xxvii.

airmit (MSS. aidmirt) *prohibition, tabu* (geis), Ff. 33. So Corm. s.v. Diarmait, and O'Dav. 51.

airne *watching*, Ff. 53, *watching at night*, O'Cl. arne Fingin, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 109^{a} 2=airne Fingein, Stowe MS. 992, fo. 46^{a}, feacht n-aen dia mboi F. aidchi tṡamna in Druim Finghein i n-airne, *ibid.*, O. Ir. *aire, forair, frithaire*, and the *areanos* of Ammianus Marcellinus, 28. 3, may be cognate.

airrde (airidin?), leasughadh, Ff. 33. Prob. corrupt.

airt *side, direction, point* (of the compass), Ff. 69, better *aird*, Wind. Wört., áird, O'Br., Gr. ἄρδις?

aisdrech *humble*, E. 7. Seems wrong, for *aistrech* (derived from *aistar*,[1] 'journey,' 'error:' gan aisder, gan oil, Bk. Fen. 242, cethri mogaid mor aistir, ibid. 370), means 'unsteady,' 'inconstant,' Rev. Celt. xi. 128. aisdirech 'far-travelled,' Misc. Celt. Soc. 374.

aithnech *boasting*, D. 54. Prob. corrupt (leg. *máidmech* 'vain-glorious?). Hennessy renders aderim rib gu haithnech, Bk. Fen. 74, by *I say to you, knowingly*.

aithrinne *calf*, Ff. 69. So in H. 3. 18, pp. 63^{b} and 638. athirni .i. lóeg, LU. 8^{a} 25. aidhrinne, O'Dav. 48.

1. an *truth* (*true*?), D. 34. .i. fir, H. 3. 18, p. 633^{b}, and Stowe XIX, p. 30^{a}.

2. an (án?) *pleasantness* (aoibhnios), Ff. 30, 'an adj. *pleasant*, O'R. seems the same word.

3. an *water*, Ff. 15. So O'Cl. an-bruich [leg. an-bruith] .i. uisci 7 broth, Harl. 5280, fo. 11^{b}. Cf. Gaul. *anam*, paludem, Endlicher's Glossary, Kuhn's Beitr. vi. 227.

án *truth* (*true*?), p. 1, Ff. 4: a mistake for 1. *an*?

ana *wealth*, Ff. 26, better ánae, Trip. Life, 118, a masc. stem in *-sio*. For exx. see Asc. gl. xxxv. Seems cogn. with *ops, opes*, ἔφνος, *apnas*.

[1] The sister-form *astar* occurs in LB. 7^{a} 15.

an-art *soft*, Ff. 34. See art.

an-gnaí (?) *fault*? D. 32. Prob. corrupt: cf. *angid* 'wicked.'

an-main *hate*, Ff. 34. leg. anmuin, the opposite of *muin* = O.N. *munr* 'mind,' 'love,' or anmáin = anmaoin, O'Br.

annach *clean*, D. 28. andag .i. glan, anannag .i. innglan, Stowe XIX, andad .i. glan, anandac .i. nemglan, L. Lec. Voc., for met a n-ánannaic, LB. 258[b] (where it is a subst.). neamh-annach *impure*, O'Don. Supp. annac *guiltless*, O'Don. Supp.

annóit *church*, Ff. 32. So L.Lec. Voc. O'Cl. and Stowe XIX, a *mother*-church, O'D., whose explanation is supported by the gloss in H. 3. 18, p. 74[c], Andoit .i. eclais doét in aile as cenn 7 is tuiside (.i. tus). This is *andoóit* in Bk. Arm. 18[a] 2, andoit, O'Dav. 71, s.v. ceim. Low Lat. *antitas* antiquitas, Ducange.

anno *year*, Ff. 32. Borrowed from dat. or abl. of Lat. *annus*.

aprainn (MS. abrann) *evil*, *alas*, Ff. 44. appraind LU. 45[a] 5. apprinn O'Mulc. ba abrain[n], Trip. Life, 190, l. 6, used as an interj. Apraind ná básа for mo nirt de sede, LU. 78[b], 29.

ara M. *gillie*, Ff. 33. And so in the gloss on *Dán do Bhrian na múrtha*. na haraidh .i. na giolladha, Betha Finnchua. Cf. Skr. *arati-s*, Gr. *ὑπ-ηρέτης*. Seems the same word as the t-stem ara *charioteer*, sg. gen. arad, LU. 64[a]. Compd. ban-ara *maidservant*, O'Br., daor-ara *slave*, ib.

arco (MS. erca) *I beseech God*, E. 1. arco fuin dom Dia, Corm. and H. 3. 18, p. 63[b]. Seems=Skr. *archāmi*. But Windisch brings *arco* from **parcō*, cogn. with Skr. *praçna*, Lat. *preces*, Goth. *fraihna*, *frah*.

ard-broenud (gl. imber) p. 5. Compd. of *ard* 'high' and *bróenad* verbal noun of *bróenaim* 'I shower,' a denom. from *broen* 'a shower': dech do sínaib ceo, ferr a brathair bróen, LL. 345[a] 14, 15. bróen dérg, LU. 90[b] 18.

arg *a man*, Ff. 24, prop. *champion*, *hero*, Corm. and H. 3. 18, pp. 63[a], 80[a], 541. ar argg (.i. laech) niad (.i. trenfer) ropsam fartail, LL. 208[a] 30. argg .i. anrath, LL. 311[b] 25. etir argaib erritib .i. anradaib, LU. 47[a] 9. Cogn. with Gr. *ἀρχός*. Hence *argan*: sg. gen. déis ár n-argain uais, LU. 9, marg. sup. and *argdha*, O'Br.

art *hard*, Ff. 34. art 7 anart cruaid 7 maoth, O'Mulc. 56. From A.S. *heard*? Or is it the same word as *art* 'stone'?

art *noble*, D. 35. So Corm., L. Lec. Voc., Stowe XIX, and O'Cl. Eochaid art .i. uasal, LL. 393[a] 53.

asc *pride*, Ff. 65, from *at-ko-? cf. *ataim* turgeo.

ascal *conference*, D. 58,=axal .i. imacallaim, O'Dav. 56, axul .i.

imagallmha, H. 3. 18, p. 628. pl. gen. ba eola axal n-aingel, Amra Chol. 47. acc. ranic axalu la arbriu archangliu, ibid. 33.

at sescba, E. 12, seems corrupt. *at* 'milk,' *sesc-ba* 'dry cows.'

athréide? aithreighe? D. 45. Corrupt.

axal *noble*, Ff. 32. So H. 3. 18, p. 74c. Perhaps for *ascal, *at-klo? See *asc*, supra. *Axal* is the name of an angel in Corm.

ba, baa *death*, p. 3. So H. 3. 18, p. 611b, and O'Cl. fit díbad 7 (ba)th 7 ba 7 teme ic sluinn epilten, LH. 26b, 1 (Goidel. 162).

bacc (*var. lec.* bach) *crozier*, p. 2. So Corm. bacc buana finime (gl. ligo), Sg. 62b 10. Compd. *fid-bocc* (gl. arcus ligneus) Sg. 107b 1.

bácad, D. 31, note 15. Obscure and prob. corrupt.

1. bach *drunkenness*, Ff. 70. So O'Cl. *madness*, O'Dav. 56. Comp. all-bach, LU. 106b 31. bach-lubhra *grog-blossoms*, Coneys.

2. bach *sea, salt-water*? Ff. 70, seems corrupt. Read *boch*, and cf. *bochna* 'sea'? Compd. boch-thonna, LB. 118b.

bacht (*var. lec.* bach) *reaping*, p. 2, better bocht, as in O'Cl.

bágad *a promising*, D. 10, verbal noun of *bágaim*. "Robágus," ol se, "fíad Fergus comrac fri Coinculainn imbárach," LU. 68b 39. Bágais Fallamain ná ragad arcúlu co hEmain, LU. 78b 6. bágais Cúchulaind co ndingned samlaid, LU. 75a 25: a denom. from bág .i. briathar *word*, O'Cl. pl. n. ar ṅgnima ropsat mára, ar ṁbaga ropsat beca *our deeds were great, our words were small*, LL. 208a 34.

baigliu *a fawn*, E. 7. So O'Cl. This word occurs in the following quatrain (LL. 200a, last two lines):

Atchonnarc braichem is brú	I saw a stag and a doe
ocus báigliu eturru,	And a fawn between them:
sochaide rodéch immach,	A multitude which looked outside,
ocus brech ica marbad.	And a wolf killing them.

bairene *cat*, E. 24. A *female* cat acc. to Corm., a *white* cat, acc. to O'Dav. 58 and Laws, i. 150. braicne, O'Br.

bairsecha *foolish talk*? E. 17. *bairsighe* 'brawling, scolding,' O'R., who gives a number of cognate words, *báirseach* 'a scold or shrew,' *bairseoir* 'a scold,' etc. *báirseacht* 'satire,' O'Br.

baislech *doe*? *stag*? E. 7. So L.Lec. Voc.: baislec[h] .i. eilit, O'Dav. 57. baisleach .i. dam allaidh, Stowe XIX, p. 30a. baisleach .i. damh, O'Flah. *an ox*, O'Br.

ban *truth*, D. 34. So O'Cl. In H. 3. 18, p. 633b, Stowe XIX, p. 30a, and in L.Lec. Voc. *ban* is glossed by *fir* 'true' or 'truth.'

band, bann, *a ball*, E. 7. So Corm., L. Lec. Voc. and O'Cl. Hence

perhaps the adj. *bannach*: súil glas bannach, LU. 113^{b}, 3. Hardly cogn. with Lat. *funda* 'sling,' from **fonda*.[1]

bar *a sage*, D. 15. So Corm., L.Lec. Voc., LB. 101, and H. 3. 18, pp. 65^{a}, 663. Cobthach cloth . . . breo (.i. noem) bar .i. sui, LB. 101, marg. inf. bar. .i. sai, LL. 377^{b} 16. From **bharo-s*? cf. Lat. *hariolus* 'soothsayer'?

barann *a blow*, Ff. 22. So O'Cl. ní fuircéba-su and fer rosasad . . . a béim, a bruth, a barand, LU. 58^{b} 41, lin a barann mbuan, Salt. R. 7934. Cogn. with Lat. *ferio*, O.N. *berja*, Skr. *bhara* 'fight,' Lit. *barnìs*, Slav. *branĭ*.

bas *top*, E. 8. So L.Lec. Voc. bas .i. barr, O'Flah. A contraction of *bathas*, *baithes* 'crown'? The 'bras .i. barr,' of Stowe XIX, p. 30^{a}, seems wrong.

bás M. *death*, p. 3, note 2, Wb. 15^{b} 28, gen. báis. Transferred to the slain: etir bas 7 ergabail *both killed and prisoners*, AU. 912. Cogn. with the verb *beba* 'mortuus est' and the noun *bath* infra. Fick connects Lat. *fatuus*.

basal *pride*, *arrogance*, Ff. 12. So O'Br. baiseal .i. diomas, O'Flah. Derived from *bas* supra? Cogn. with Lat. *fastus*?

basc *red*, E. 26. So Corm., O'Dav. 62 and O'Cl. So also H. 3. 18, pp. 65^{b}, 624, 560^{b}, O'Flah and O'Br. Possibly cogn. with Lat. *bacca* from **bat-ca*.

bascall *one maddened by fear*, E. 7, and L.Lec. Voc. baisgeall .i. gelt, Stowe XIX, p. 30^{a}. baiscceal .i. geilt, O'Flah. [b]oisgell .i. geltan, H. 3. 18, p. 64^{b}. Doghní boiscill dia bhibhdhaidh, *he makes a 'boscell' of his foe*, Dán do Bhrian na múrtha.

1. bath *death*, p. 3, D. 57. So Corm. s.v. baten, and H. 3. 18, p. 65, col. 1. mórbas bath dom-ré, LU. 119^{b} 30. Hence *bathach* (gl. moribundus) Sg. 59^{a}. A cognate verb, *bathar*, occurs in Amra Chol. 129.

2. bath *manslaughter*, Ff. 25. Cogn. with Gallo-Lat. *batuere*, *batuâlia*, Fr. *battre*, *bataille*, A.S. *beadu*.

1. bé *night*, Ff. 52. be .i. aidche, Stowe XIX, p. 30^{a}. be .i. ai[d]che, L.Lec. Voc. Cogn. with Gr. *φαιός* (from **φαισος*?) *dusky*.

2. bé N. *woman*, Ff. 52. So Corm. s.vv. Buanann, Bé Néit, L.Lec. Voc., Stowe XIX, and O'Cl. be .i. ben ut dicitur Bé-bind .i. ben find, LH. 16^{b}. cid as messo ban? ni *ansa*: Bé

[1] So *sunt*, *avunculus* are from *sont*, *avonclos*. There seems no ground for regarding *funda* as borrowed from *σφενδόνη*.

chairn, LL. 346[a] 30. *Bé carna* and *bé n-imroma* are glossed by *merdrech* (= meretrix) in L.Lec. Voc. sg. voc. a bé co mbail, LL. 260[a] 4.

béo *cattle*, D. 60. So O'Cl. Identical with *béo* = Lat. *(g)vivus*, Skr. *jîvá-s*, Goth. *qius*: cf. the Eng. expression *live-stock*, O.N. *kvikvendi*, Ir. margad bíd, margad beo-craid, LL. 216[a] 53. beo-almai, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 112[a] 1.

berr (MS. bior) *short*, Ff. 70. So H. 3. 18, pp. 64[b] and 633[a]. Hence the verb *berraim* 'I clip.' W. *byrr* brevis. From a pre-Celtic *bherso-s* cogn. with Skr. *hrasva*?

1. béscna *peace*, D. 27. So O'Cl. bescna .i. sith no bearla, Stowe XIX, p. 30[a], L.Lec. Voc. O'R.'s *beascnadh*. nembéscna *strife*, O'Don. Supp.

2. béscna the *language* of a people, *a nation*, D. 27. Cogn. perh. with Skr. *bhāshā* 'speech.' This is O'Cl.'s *béscna* 'every country or every land wherein are languages.' He quotes the Calendar of Oengus, Ep. 318, *atbath in cach béscnu*. So in the Auraicept na nÉces, Eg. 88, fo. 63[a], 2: gach son fordorcha robui in gach besgna 7 in gach berla fofrith ionad isin Gaidilc *every obscure word which was in every country and in every district found place in the Gaelic*. As to the use of *lingua*, *langue* and γλῶσσα for 'nation,' see Ducange. bélra *a parish or district*, O'Br. and see LB. 132[b].

bíach *penis*, E. 26. So H. 3. 18, pp. 51[b], 626, and O'Cl. biach dorí riastradh oili *a penis which will reach another's vexation*, O'Dav. 57. Another example is in the following quatrain ascribed to Conall Menn, Eg. 1782, fo. 64[a]:

Dia tí Luingsich don Bannda, cona trichait cét imme,
gellfaith, cid lebur a bhiach, Cellach Liath Locha Cimme.
If Loingsech come to the Bann with his thirty hundreds around him,
He will make submit, though long his penis, Cellach the Grey of Loch Cimme.

In LL. 43[a] 5, *da biach bar baill bróe* is glossed by duo testiculi eius circa molam. Hence biachachd *priapismus*, O'Br.

bibda, miswritten bidba (gl. reus), p. 4, D. 43. bibdu báis, Wb. 1[d] 15. pl. n. bibdaid (gl. obnoxii) Ml. 134[b] 1. bibdid 45[b] 10, gen. bibdad 43[d] 12. Hence *bibdamnact*, Wb. 1[d] 15. O.W. *bibid*, M. Bret. *bevez*.

bibdanas, MS. bidbanus (gl. reatus), p. 1. So Corm. Tr. 147.

bil *hair*, *mane*, E. 24. So LL. Voc. Borrowed from Lat. *pilus*,

as *bellec*, *bóc* 'kiss,' and *brolach*, from *pelliceus*, *pācem* and *prologus*.

bile *mouth*, Ff. 41. O'Cl.'s *bil* .i. bél is prob. an error.

binne *truth* D. 34, derived from *binn* 'true,' O'Br.

1. bir (MS. bior) *water*, Ff. 15. So O'Cl. s.v. *bior*.

2. bir *a well*, Ff. 70. So Corm. s.v. *biror* and O'Cl. s.v. *bior*. Prob. identical with 1. bir.

1. blá (MS. bladh), *healthy*, D. 20. bla .i. slan, O'Dav. 60. blá .i. slan, O'Cl., from *mlā, cogn. with Lat. *melior*, Gr. *μάλα*? In the Laws this word means *exempt*.

2. blá (MS. bladh) *a place*, D. 20. So O'Dav. 56 and O'Cl.

bligim (gl. mulgeo), p. 5. From *mligim cogn. with Ir. melg, mlicht *milk*, blichtach *milch-cows*, LU. 68ª 31, Lat. *mulgeo*, Gr. *ἀ-μέλγω*, O.N. *mylkja*. For exx. see Wind. Wört. 400.

blim *spittle* (of a dead man), E. 26. Hardly cogn. with *γλαμάω*, *γλαμυρός*. Rather a corruption of *blinn*, *blind*, Corm., and H. 3. 18, p. 65ᵇ, cogn. with *βλέννα* 'mucous discharge,' *βλέννος* 'slime,' and *βλεννός* 'drivelling.'

blosc *voice*, Ff. 55. So H. 3. 18, p. 623. It also means *sound*, *noise*: roclos blosc-béimnech a chride, LU. 80ª 1. muadh-bhlosg .i. mor-thormánach, O'Cl., s.v. muadh. From *bhlozgo-s = Gr. *φλοῖσβος*, and cf. Lith. *blázgu*, *blázgėti*.

bluch (MS. blach) *bacon* (saill), Ff. 44 and O'Cl. *fatness*, O'Br. Cogn. with *blong*, LB. 217ᵇ, 77, 79.

bochna *sea*, Ff. 15. Hence tarbhochnach *transmarine*, O'Br. V. supra s.v. *bach*.

boigill *rude*, *savage*, Ff. 70. This seems corrupt. Read *boitill, cogn. with boiteall *pride*, and boiteallach *haughty*, *savage*.

boinde *smooth*, *white*, E. 23. brat bóinni odarda, LB. 216ª.

boiscell *a hind*, Ff. 70. So O'Cl.

1. bolc F. (MS. bolg) *gap* (berna), Ff. 5. léim dar boilg, LL. 263ᵇ 30. W. *bwlch*, Br. *boulc'h*.

2. bolc (MS. bolg) *cow*, Ff. 14. Perhaps from Lat. *bucula*, with metathesis of *l*.

borr E. 5, where the gloss *bruchtadh* is obscure. As an adj. *borr* means 'great,' 'haughty'; as a subst. 'grandeur,' 'pride.' Ri betha buirr, Salt. R. 4453, for gablaib crand broach ṁborr, LL. 43ª 9. in tonn baeth bhorr, LL. 88ᵇ 41. Compds. borr-bíast, borr-buiden, borr-óclaech, Wind. Wört. 401. panathir brecc-borr, *a spotted great panther*, Rawl. B. 502, fo. 45ᵇ. From *borso-*, *bhorso-*, cogn. with Lat. *fastus* from **fars-tus*?

bothach *bog, fen*, Ff. 70. So O'Cl. brugh bothach-mhór, Rawl. 487, fo. 14^{b} 2. From *bu-t-āko-. Cogn. with Lat. *imbuo* (*in-buo*) *I wet, moisten.*

bótt *fire*, v. infra, s.v. *smer*. bod .i. teine, L.Lec. Voc.

bra *eyebrow*, Ff. 39. bra, braoi, D. 18. brae, LH. 2^{a}. dubidir re bran a brae, LL. 44^{b} 27. dí bróí duba dorchaide, LU. 55^{a}—55^{b}. da bra dóile dubgorma osna rosca sin, LB. 219^{a}. Compds. bra-dorcha, LL. 266^{b} 43, brá-dub .i. malachdub, LL. 266^{a} 22. O.Ir. **brui* = O.-Slav. *bruvi*, Gr. *ὀ-φρύς*, Skr. *bhrû*. From the same root comes the Gaulish *briva* 'bridge,' from **bhṛvâ*.

1. brac *flour* (rectius *malt*), E. 26, Corm. s.v. brocoit, the Welsh equivalent of Ir. *braich*, gen. *bracha*, Laws, i. 128. sg. dat. cess no da chess lana do braich 7 do arbur biid, LL. 286^{b} 35. aire *secht* n-ech do braich 7 biud, ibid. 37. acc. mar miles mulend muad-braich, LL. 86^{b} 21 = múadmraich, LU. 106^{b} 34. Hence the name Mrachide, AU. 726. Gaul. *brace*.

2. brac F. *hand*, E. 8. 24. So Corm. s.v. braccille, L.Lec. Voc. adam braicc .i. adam láim *my two hands*, LL. 208^{a} 28. From Lat. *bracchium*, whence also W. *braich*.

1. bracht *sap, fatness*, E. 8, and so Corm. s v. anfobracht. bracht .i. sug no beoil, L.Lec. Voc., H. 3. 18, p. 663. daceird bracht cu feic (.i. saill furri corrici a fiacail), LL. 208^{a} 12. Hence the adj. *brachtach* 'fat.'

2. bracht *a breaking, cutting* (*reaping*?), E. 24. bracht .i. bris[e]adh, Stowe XIX, p. 30^{a}. .i. briseadh .i. buain, L.Lec. Voc. From **bhrag-to*, cogn. with Lat. *fra-n-go, frac-tu-s*, Goth. *brikan*.

braen (broen?) *poor* (?), Ff. 59. Some mistake here: *bróinech*, LU. 106^{b} 19, *braonach* .i. brónach *sorrowful*, O'Cl., may be connected.

braichem (MS. braici) *stag*, E. 8=braicheamh .i. damh alluidh, O'Cl. See quotation at *baigliu* supra.

braitse *hose*, E. 19. braitsi .i. asan, Stowe XIX, p. 30. pl. bristighe, O'Br. From Mid. Eng. *breche*.

brann *woman*, E. 8. So L.Lec. Voc. Cogn. with *brú* 'womb,' gen. *bronn*.

brech *wolf* = Skr. vṛka. See quotation at *baigliu* supra. Compd. Brechmag.

1. bres, F. some kind of *noise*, Ff. 6. breas .i. gach greadhan no gach glor, O'Cl. sg. acc. mar 'tchuala Míchol in mbreis conrúala in aluag 'mon tegdais, Salt. R. 5969.

2. bres *great*, Ff. 6. So O'Cl. bress, O'Don. Supp.

brí *word*, D. 17. So O'Dav. 57 and O'Cl. bri .i. briathar, LL.

187[a] 58, L.Lec. Voc., and Stowe XIX, p. 30[a]. pl. n. conid de atáat na brí se, LL. 287[b], 9.

briar *a golden brooch*, E. 27, *weighing an ounce*, Corm. and H. 3. 18, p. 541[b]. *briar* .i. delg, O'Dav. 56, and H. 3. 18, p. 64[c]. Identical with the Eng. *brér*, now *brier*, *briar*. But which language was the borrower is not clear.

bricht *reliquary*? *diadem*? p. 2, = breacht .i. mind, L.Lec. Voc.

bro *cutting*, *abusive*, E. 7. bro .i. beimnech, Stowe XIX, p. 30[a], .i. beimneach, Edin. xxxviii. bró, O'R.

bronnad *consuming*, D. 13. So L.Lec. Voc., O'Cl. bronnadh .i. scaileadh no cnamh, H. 3. 18, p. 609, and O'Don. Supp. sg. gen. breth brondta ithe aidche *judgment as to eating corn at night*, O'Dav. 60. dat. do longad 7 do brondad cacha bíd. LB. 217[c]. The cogn. verb *bronnaim* occurs in Fíacc's hymn 8 (ní bronna), in LU. 100[b] 6 (is ed robronnad frisna cóic fichtiu bargen sin), and in LL. 344[d] 50 (robronnat na rothrebat).

broth *flesh*, Ff. 45. So O'Cl. Cogn. with *βορά* and Lat. (*g*)*voro*.

brú *doe*. See quotation at *baigliu* supra, and cf. the Messapian *βρένδον* · *ἔλαφον*, Hesychius.

bruinnech *mother*, E. 27. So Corm., and H. 3. 18, p. 65[c]. Na bi bruinnech balb (*his*) *mother was not dumb*, O'Dav. 56, ba hí a bruin[n]ech ro oilestar Mac De *it was his mother that nursed God's Son*, ibid. 61. Derived from *bruinne* 'breast,' or *brú* gen. *bronn*, 'womb.'

bú *death*, p. 3, note 2. So H. 3. 18, p. 611[b].

buanann *nurse*, E. 24. Buanann muimme na fiann, Corm.

buas *belly*, E. 23. Cogn. with Gr. *φύσκα* and N.H.G. *Bauch*? buas innbea 'entrails,' O'Dav. 56.

buich *a breaking*, p. 2, Ff. 14, D. 58. So H. 3. 18, p. 615[b]. Probably a verb: buich .i. robris, LU. 5[b] 27. rocehaes gair co mbuich, Amra Chol. 39. buich bron cerd Cuind *grief routed Conn's division* (i.e. the northern half of Ireland), Amra Chol. 130.

buide *churn*, E. 26. W. *buddai*, for *muide* (=Lat. *modius*), *muddai*. sg. dat. im-mudiu bic i mbid ass, LL. 286[b], 49. dobeir a dí láim fon mudi, LU. 53[b], 12.[1] So *buime*, E. 24, LL. 378[a] 24. *buimme*, BB. 31[b] 4, for *muimme* 'nurse.' However, the *b* of *buide* is possibly right, and the word may be cogn. with Lat. *fidelia* and Gr. *πίθος* for **φίδος*.

buile *an evil secret*, E. 6. So L.Lec. Voc. 'an evil design'

[1] A part of a harp was also called *mude*. See LU. 8[b], 41.

O'R., as if there was some connexion with *βουλή*. Cf. buaile a nomine *bolin* .i. consilium, H. 3. 18, p. 80^{b}.

bus .i. topais, E. 25. Both lemma and gloss are obscure to me.

buth *world*, D. 62. budh, O'Br. If this be right, cf. Gr. *φύσις* (from **φυ-τι-ς*), Skr. *bhū-ti-s* 'existence,' *bhū-mi-s* 'earth.' But the dat. dual *bathaib* in the line maithi uli du dib bathaib, *all the nobles of the two worlds*, Bk. Fen. 160, where it rhymes with *rathuib*, seems to show that *buth* is a mistake for *bath*.

cadla *goat*, Ff. 17. So O'Mulc. 279 and O'Cl.

caer *candle*, Ff. 44. So H. 3. 18, p. 626 (*caer* .i. caindell). caor *a flame, fire*, O'Don. Supp. caer thened hísinn aidche, LL. 207^{b} 29. pl. n. cáera crethir comraicthe, LU. 91^{a} 20. Cogn. with Goth. *skeirs* 'clear,' A.S. *scir*, Eng. *sheer*, √*skí* 'to shine.'

1. cái (MS. cáe) *house*, D. 54. So Corm., and H. 3. 18, pp. 66^{b}, 633^{c}. Compounded: cerdd-chae (gl. officina) Sg. 51^{a}. Cogn. with Low Lat. *caya, cayum* domus, Gr. *κεῖμαι*, Vedic *çayá* Lager, Ruhestätte, √*çī*, Goth. *heiva-*, Eng. *hive*.

2. cái *path*, p. 3. So Corm., L. Lec. Voc, and see Laws, i. p. 32, where the words *gilla dom-ainic ar cae* (a lad came to me on the way) are misrendered by 'a youth protected me on the way.' ar caoi .i. ar slige, H. 3. 18, p. 210. aróen contiagmais ar cae, LL. 44^{b}. nir' lensat cai na *con*air dun primslig*id* immach, BB. 407^{a} 4. for óen-chói, LU. 65^{b} 28. Cognate verbs are o shunn cai Helesseus ar cel, *hence Elisha went to heaven*, Salt. R. 7223, and in O'Dav. 52 and 71, s.v. cae: aracae osar sinnser *the younger goes before the elder*, and perh. *ro-chim*. Cf. Corn. *ke* 'go,' pl. *keugh* 'go ye'; Lat. *cio, cieo*; Gr. *κίω, κίνυμαι, κῑνέω*.

caid *pure, chaste*, E. 15. So Corm. and O'Cl. Frequent in Fél. Cogn. with Lat. *castus* from **cad-to-s*. Another caidh .i. uasal, O'Dav. 72.

cail *protection*, p. 1 note, cail .i. comét, H. 3. 18, p. 66^{b}, LLec. Voc. and Corm. s.vv. bracille, caile, culpait, cerchaill. comad moidi a cail, Bk. Fen. 414, which Hennessy renders 'That the higher might be their fame.'

caimse (MS. cuimsi) F. *shirt*, Ff. 35. caimmse Corm. caimse, H. 3. 18, p. 67^{a}. pl. n. teora caimsi, LU. 94, l. 14. Borrowed like W. *camse*, Corn. *cams*, A.S. *cemes*, from Low Lat. (Gaulish?) *camisia*. Cognate are N.H.G. *Hemd* and Skr. *çamulya*. Whence is W. *hefis*?

caindlech *bright*, E. 1. Frequent in Fél. rosc cainlech glas, LU. 130^{b} 25. Derived from *caindel*, LU. 89^{b} 14, and this borrowed from Lat. *candela*.

cais *eye*, Ff. 39. So O'Cl. From **kas-ti*. The Irish cognate verb is *ad-chiu* (*ati-kesiô) 'I see'; pass. pret. sg. 3 *ad-chess*: √*kes*, of which the so-called Skr. √*caksh* is a reduplication, Windisch, in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, xxi. 425.

1. caise *cause*, Ff. 46. cáis, O'Br. cás .i. caingen .i. a cáusa, H. 3. 18, p. 66ᵃ.

2. caise *love*, p. 3, Ff. 76. caisi, D. 60. So H. 3. 18, p. 612ᵃ, and O'Cl. From **kas-tio-*. *cais* 'love,' *mis-cais* 'hatred,' are from the same root *kas*, perh.= Skr. √*kash* 'to itch'?

caisse, *hatred*, p. 3, Ff. 76, D. 60. So H. 3. 18, p. 612ᵃ, and O'Cl. From **cat-tio-*, cogn. with Gr. κότος, or from **cad-tio*, cogn. with Goth. *hatis*, Eng. *hate*. A shorter form, *cais*, occurs in Amra Chol. 51: Tar cais cain-denam *for hatred* (*return*) *well-doing*, and cf. *miscais*, infra s.v. neoit, gen. *miscsen*, LL. 344ᶜ 34. The W. *cas* 'hateful,' *casedd* 'hatred,' are the British cognates.

calad *hard*, D. 13. So L. Lec. Voc. O'Dav. 65, and H. 3. 18, p. 663ᵃ. calath, LU. 106ᵇ. caladh .i. gand, Stowe XIX, p. 39ᵃ. Compd. caladgela, H. 2. 16, col. 716. W. *caled*, Br. *calet*. Kluge connects N.H.G. *held* from *haleþ. The Ir. *calma* 'brave' is nearer in meaning.

calb (calbh, O'R.) *hardness*, Ff. 22, cognate with *calad*.

calb *head*, Ff. 71. So L. Lec. Voc. and H. 3. 18, p. 615ᵇ. do chalb re cloich, O'Br. gen. sg.: Deaith doerchrau i crichaib cain cailb .i. diaith .i. ni haith doerchra[n]sat mo ṡuile hi caincrichaib mo chind . calb .i. cend, LB. 241ᵃ. dat. adam aed (.i. adam ṡuil) im chalb (.i. im chind), LL. 208ᵃ 27. Lat. *calva*, *calvaria*?

cam *combat*, D. 19. So Corm. and O'Dav. 64, 71, 103. midach teora cam *a brave of three combats*. Borrowed either from A.S. *camp* or (as K. Meyer thinks) from a prehistoric form of O.N. *kapp*. The spelling *caam* in Bk. Arm. 13ᵃ 1 ('lignum contensionis quod uocatur *caam* apud gentiles) has not been explained.

cann *a can*, Ff. 55. So Corm. s.v. *esconn*. An early example is *cann airgit*, Bk. Arm. fo. 17ᵃ 2. Borrowed from A.S. *canne*, F.

cap *chariot*, *cart*, Ff. 19. So Corm. s.v. capall, and L. Lec. Voc. *hearse*, *bier*, ructhar i capp .i. i carr, LU. 6ᵇ 30. In H. 3. 18, p. 624, *cap* is glossed by *cróchar* 'bier.'

cárna *flesh*, Ff. 30. So Corm. and O'Cl. cuirm ocus carna, Corm. s.v. orc tréith. cárna samaisci do indarggain, LL. mír do charnu, Corm. (Laud 610), s.v. imbas forosnai. ní ba lám laich lethas carna caurad, LL. 87ᵇ 43. noco n-érnába cern ná cárna dít asind áit hi tudchad, LU. 86ᵃ 20. bá ech, ór, argat 7 carna, FM. 1088.

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carna, cuirm, cnoimes, cadla | it e ada na samna, *fleshmeat, ale, nut-mast, tripe, these are the dues of All Saints' Day*, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 98^{b} 2. sg. voc. a charna crum, LB. 253^{a}. Compd.: a chomla do thirm-charnu, LB. 215^{a}. Cogn. with Lat. *caro*.

carthóit (MS. caruid) *pious*, Ff. 71. So H. 3. 18, pp. 66^{a} and 634^{b} (*carthóit, cardot*), and O'Cl. (*cartoit*). Bai carthait, (Boí) cardait, Amra Chol. 76. The noun *cartoit*, Corm., like W. *cardod*, is borrowed from an oblique case of Lat. *caritas*.

cast *chaste*, Ff. 71. So H. 3. 18, pp. 66^{a}, 613^{a}, 634^{b}. Bai cath, bai cast, Amra Chol. 73. From Lat. *castus*, as *castóit*, Trip. Life, xvii, from *castitātem*.

castus, p. 1. From Lat. *castus*.

cath doaim, E. 28. Both lemma and gloss are obscure.

1. cé *night*, Ff. 52, acc. to H. and O'R. From **skaiā* (cf. Skr. *chhāyā*, Gr. *σκιά*), as *caech* 'blind,' from **skaiko-s*.

2. cé *companion*? Ff. 52. So O'Cl. .

3. cé *earth*, Ff. 64. D. 29. So O'Cl. Hardly from *qhjô, cogn. with Gr. *χθών χθο-νός*, Skr. *kshâ*? Is it due to a misunderstanding of the common phrase *for bith ché ?*

cechair *a slough*, D. 28. So O'Cl. Acc. to O'Dav. 69, the upper part of a *cechair* is marsh; and the lower water; while in the case of a *lathach*, the upper part is water, and the lower mud. conid corastar dar droichtiu· ind liss isin cechair, LL. 117^{b} 35. cobair bó hi cech*air*, LB. 204^{b} 19. cobair cethrae ar choin 7 cechair, Harl. 5280, fo. 38^{a}. ceachair *dirt, filth*, O'Br. Hence the adj. *cecharda*: nirpsa grenach cecharda, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 112^{a} 2. The Skr. *çákan* and Gr. *κόπρος* may be cognate.

cécht *power*, D. 19, E. 11. cecht .i. cumachta, Stowe XIX. Sk. *çakti*, √ *çak*. O.N. *háttr*.

1. ceis *spear*, D. 16. So O'Cl. From **kes-ti*. Cogn. with Gr. *κέστρος*, Lat. *castro* (from **castrum* knife), Skr. *çastra-m*.

2. ceis cuairt, *circuit, visit*, D. 53, = ceis *cu*rit, L. Lec. Voc. From **ked-ti*, cogn. with the verb *ceisim* (ro ceis romna n-áes .i. ro cheimnige i rosomaine na aese, Rawl. B. 502, fo. 62^{b} 2), and this with Lat. *cado, cedere, cessare*, Gr. *κεκάδοντο*, Zend *çad* gehn, verlassen, fallen (Justi).

1. cel *death*, p. 3, note 2. So Corm., L Lec. Voc. and O'Cl. fá foa doluid for a cheal, LL. 370^{d} 23. Dochuaid for cel . . . for slicht sen, Salt. R. 3685. not-chuirfe in flaith ar cel, LL. 278, marg. inf. Cf. O.N. *hel*.

2. cel *heaven*, E. 29. So Corm. and O'Cl. O shunn cái Heleseus

ar chel eter noebu for noeb-nem, Salt. R. 7185. Borrowed from Low Lat. **cĕlum, caelum.*

céle *servant*, D. 45. So O'Dav. 63, O'Cl. and see O'Don. Supp. s.v. *céile Dé* 'servus Dei,' anglicised *culdee.* ceile caich a comhair a chomdedh *the servant of every one in his lord's presence*, O'Dav. 63. dlegar don ceile denamh drechta im dun na flatha *the tenant is liable to make a* drecht (?) *round the chieftain's fort*, O'Dav. 78. See also LU. 68ª 13, 16, and 74ᵇ 9. Compd. sóir-chele (gl. libertus), Wb. 10ª 23. Perhaps originally identical with *céle* 'socius.'

celt *raiment*, D. 47. So Corm., H. 3. 18, p. 66, and O'Cl. Anglicised *kilt.* celt asas tréu, LU. 95ᵇ 38. imdatuigethar celt clithargarb, LU. 95ᵇ 25. dechelt, Corm. Hence *celtar*, LU. 79ᵇ 20, celtair, H. 3. 18, p. 66ᵇ, and *celtach* 'kilted,' Bk. Fen. 78.

celtair *spear*, Ff. 36. D. 16. So O'Dav. 68. pl. n. co mbeodutar celtra catha Caier! Corm. s.v. gaire: dual n: dí cheltir ina laim, LU. 133ᵇ 26. Cognate is díceltar, LU. 133ᵇ 44=diceltair *the shaft of a spear without an iron on it*, Corm. s.v. gaire. W. *paladr* 'hastile,' Gr. *πέλτη* and *πάλτον shaft, pole.*

cenél *children*, D. 12, rather means *kindred*, and is=W. *cenedl* gens, genus, natio. Hence *cenelach*, Wb. 23ᵈ 32. Cognate with the Ir. verb *cinim* 'I spring from, descend,' O'Don. Supp., the verbal noun *ciniud*, and the noun *cine* (leg. *cined*?) 'a tribe,' O'Don. Supp.

cenntecol .i. triallad, E. 10. .i. *tur*ailead, L. Lec. Voc. coin*n*tegal .i. truaill*ed* 'corruption,' Stowe XIX. These glosses are due to a misunderstanding of Cormac's ceinticul .i. combrec rotruaillned ann .i. cenical (*it is*) *Welsh that has been corrupted therein, to wit*, 'centecul.' He explains it as 'a name for wool whereof they make a blanket.' So H. 3. 18, p. 67ª s.v. centecul, and see O'Cl. s.v. cinnteagal. The Middle-Welsh form is *kenhughel*, Welsh Laws, i. 308, where the translator says, that *cynnygl* (as he modernises *kenhughel*) is "literally 'wadded'; perhaps a gambeson." From a Low-Lat. **contegulum*?

ceo *besides*? D. 60. Scéo 7 ceo 7 neo trí comoccomail Goideilggi, LL. 26ª 1, and see Amra Chol. 73 (ceo ni coirm, céo ni sercoll).

1. cerb *slaughtering, wounding*, D. 20. sg. gen. crothid conchend catha ceirp, LU. 47ᵇ 22. mac in chirb, is é a bés guin, LL. 148ª 14. Apparently identical with 2. cerb.

2. cerb *cutting*, D. 20. So O'Cl. cerp .i. teascad, O'Dav. 63. An adj. *cerb, cerp* 'keen,' occurs in Salt. R. 891, 4767, 6913, 8087, the verb *nos-cerband* in LU. 109ª 23, and the participle

cerbtha in LU. 56[a] 12 (beit cuirp cerbtha, cainfit mná, *bodies will be hacked, women will wail*).

1. cern *victory*, Ff. 18, D. 18, E. 27. So O'Cl. pl. dat. do cernaib .i. do buadhaib no do gnímhuibh, Amra Conroi, H. 3. 18, p. 49. pl. nom. mór a cearna fria tuireamh, *Dán do Brian na múrtha*. gen. is tú láech na cernd 7 na comram, LU. 100[b] 17. Hence cernach, LL. 294[b] 12. cearnach .i. buadach *victorious*, Stowe XIX.

2. cern *a man*, D. 18. So O'Cl.

3. cern *act of consuming*, D. 36. So O'Cl.

cerr *a lopping*, Ff. 25. So O'Cl. Cognate with cirrbed, Bk. Fen. 216, and the verb ro cirred iarom ind lám sin, LU. 98[b] 2, cirrfitir colla, LL. 254[b] 24.

cerrbach *plunder*, Ff. 43. So O'Cl.

cetnait (MS. and O'Br. ceathnaid) *a sheep*, Ff. 17. So O'Dav. 62. roearba rocetnaitt comair a tigi teacht ina lias *he ordered a big sheep near his house to come into her fold*, O'Dav. 72, s.v. comair. This seems a dimin. of *cet*, the dat. pl. of which *cétoibh* (leg. *cetaibh*) is glossed by cáiridh [leg. cáirigh] finda in H. 3. 18, p. 49. He nce *cetaimni* .i. cáiridh [leg. cáirigh], Duil Laithne 117.

ciar *black*, E. 28. So Stowe XIX, p. 30[a], and O'Cl. pl. acc. fri ſalla ciara .i. fri demna .i. elta duba demoniorum, Brocc. h. 91.

cichlad *a lopping*, Ff. 25. ceachladh .i. ciorrbhadh, O'Cl.

cicht (from *qviktu-) *engraver*, D. 44. So in H. 3. 18, p. 66[b]. cicht .i. geibire .i. rindaire. cicht .i. geibiach, Stowe XIX. cichtæ .i. geibiach .i. rannaigh [leg. rinnaighe], O'Dav. 63. Cogn. with *Pictus* 'Pict,' and perh. W. *pwyth* 'stitch.'

1. cil (MS. ciol) *wrong*, D. 41, E. 29. So Corm., L. Lec. Voc. O'Dav. 66, and O'Cl. *partial, false*, O'Don. Supp. Compounds are *leth-chil* and *cil-breth*.

2. cil (MS. ciol) *death*, from *celu, D. 43. So O'Cl. co tarrlaic faodb fír cil *so that he gave a truly deadly shot*, O'Dav. 64.

clairiu *division*, E. 29. So Corm. clairiudh .i. roinn, O'Cl. claireadh .i. foghail (leg. fodail) no sgáoileadh, O'Flah.

clamar *satire*, E. 17. .i. áir no escuine, H. 4. 27, p. 67. clamar .i. aír, Stowe XIX. clamor .i. air, L. Lec. Voc. Borrowed from O.N. *klám-orð* 'a libel in verse.' Cogn. with *clámaithe* 'reproach,' LB. 228[b] 11. The Ir. *glám* (in the phrase *glám dicenn*) is either borrowed from or cogn. with O.N. *klám* 'foul language.'

clandad *thrusting*, D. 40. So O'Dav. 70 and O'Cl., L. Lec. Voc. and H. 3. 18 cited in O'Don. Supp. s.v. *clannsad*. Verbal noun of *clandaim*—nos-clanna in sciain ind, LL. 269[a] 23; corthe no-

chlantais intan bad maidm n-imairic, LU. 86^{b} 42; clannsad cleatha doghra thrid, BB. 31^{a} 26—borrowed from Lat. *planto*, whence also W. *plannu* 'plantare, serere.'

cle *wrong*, D. 41. So O'Cl. Seems derived from cil q.v. But perhaps the *e* is long and *clé* would then be identical with *clé* 'sinister,' W. *cledd*, Goth. *hlei-duma*.

cliste *ready*, E. 22. cliste *active*, *swift*, O'Br. laoch cliste, O'Don. Supp. s.v. leirg: cliste ar a láimh deis chlé, marcach ainchlisde, O'Br. A living word: *fear cliste* 'a clever, sharp, smart man,' O'Growney. Cogn. with *clisid*, O'Dav. 70, s.v. cleth, and the s-pret. *clissis*, LU. 69^{b} 13.

cloch, F. *stone*, p. 4. Prob. cogn. with calad, q.v.

coart *landholder*, D. 15. So O'Cl. and see O'Dav. 62. coairt, Corm. hi coairte .i. i mbriugaide, Rawl. B. 502, fo. 62^{a} 1.

cob *victory*, Ff. 30, 50, coph p. 1, E. 27. So Corm., O'Dav. 63, and O'Cl. So also H. 3. 18, pp. 67^{a}, 634^{a}. Hence the name *Cobthach*. The Gaulish names *Cob-launo*, *Cob-nertus*, *Cob-nerta*, *Ver-cobius* are also prob. cognate. Fick connects O. Norse *hap*, Eng. *happy*, Skr. *çag-má* 'powerful.'

cobra *shield*, Ff. 37. So O'Cl. pl. gen. tri maic Uislend cobra ṅgarg, LL. 114^{a} 35.

coemthecht (=com-imm-thecht) *accompanying*, D. 49. sg. dat. i coimthecht dagdóine, Wb. 16^{d} 2. Hence *coemthechtaid* 'attendant.'

coic *a secret*, Ff. 47. So Corm., O'Dav. 63, s.v. coig, and Stowe XIX. ni cuala coic nuin *he heard not an evil secret*, H. 3. 18, p. 61^{a}. coig .i. run, LL. 393^{a} 53. coic .i. comairle *counsel*, H. 3. 18, p. 66^{c}, and coigli .i. comairli, O'Dav. 63. coicle .i. folach *concealment*, ibid. 61^{a}, may be cognate.

coice, coidche (O'Br.'s cóice) *mountain*, Ff. 27.

coidche *armpit*, Ff. 41: reading doubtful. L. has *caoiche is coll*. A gloss in a note to Fél. Aug. 4, on the line *Molua macc oche*, preserves another word for 'armpit': "*ocha* apud ueteres *ochsal* dicitur prius," where *ocha* may be cogn. with Lat. *oculus*.

coimmdiu (*com-mediot-) *lord*, D. 47. So O'Dav. 72 and O'Cl. sg. gen. coimded, Wb. 9^{c}, Ml. 26^{b}. dat. coimdid, Wb. 8^{b}, 27^{c}. acc. cóimmdith, Sg. 29^{b}. Cogn. with Ir. *midiur*, Goth. *mita*, Gr. *μέδοντες*, *μήστωρ*, *μῆδος*.

coindelg *counsel*, Ff. 10. So O'Cl. and O'Don. Supp. sg. gen. fer condilc fír, Trip. Life 210. acc. contúaset ǽs na brudni uli a condelg, LU. 93, line 15.

coing *a following*, E. 29, 'a going together,' O'R.

coit *a wood*, E. 4. So Corm. s.v. Sailchoit. Borrowed from O W. *coit*, now *coed*. Cogn. with Goth. *haithi*.

colg F. *sword*, Ff. 36. So Corm. and O'Cl. ní for braigtib dam ná bó clóithir colg (.i. claideb) mo ruanado, LL. 277ª 28. colc oc mo choilc-se, LU. 5ᵇ 10. The spelling *calg* (= W. *caly* veretrum, Br. *calch*) seems more correct. calg dét, LU. 87ᵇ 18.

coll *head*, Ff. 38. So O'Cl. and O'Br. gen. cuill: daceird bracht cu feic a cuill .i. a carpait, LL. 208ª 12, whence it seems that *coll* means 'jowl.' The dat. and gen. pl. seem in the phrases dicetul do chollaib cend, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 114ᵇ 1, dicetal di cennaib coll, Laud 610, fo. 57ᵇ. Hardly borrowed from A.S. *ceaſl*.

colt *food*, Ff. 20. So Corm. s.v. asgalt, and H. 3. 18, p. 615ᵇ. cen cholt .i. cen biad, LU. 8ᵈ. eter cond sceo colt .i. enech no biad, LB. 241ª. Literally, perh., *something cooked*, cogn. with Lat. *caleo*, Skr. *çṛta*, Lith. *szíltas*.

com-étaid (gl. custos) p. 4, cometid la mmaccu (gl. paedagogus) Wb. 19ᶜ. From *com-ét* 'servatio,' GC.² 793, 871. Compounds are *cúl-cométid* and *fos-chométaid*.

comm *covering*, *shelter*, *protection*, D. 47. sg. dat. i cóm argit gil, LB. 233ᵇ. acc. tabar com (.i. coimhed) dún, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 35ª. A sister-form *coimm* occurs in FM. 1599, p. 2140 (*ba coimm ria gcioth dosum*), the dat. sg. of which is frequent in the expression *fó a choim*, LU. 68ª 10, and see Lism. Lives, 2025, 2027, 2398, 2396. It is the Irish reflex of Gr. *κόμβος*, and is cogn. also with Lat. *cingo*.

com-máim *wife*, lit. *yoke-fellow*, E. 23. So L. Lec. Voc. and O'Dav. 70. commam, Trip. Life 14. sg. gen. comaime, LB. 198ª, dat. da chommaim, Bk. Fen. Hence *commámus* 'matrimony,' sg. gen. commamsa, O'Dav. 70. From *com*=Lat. *cum* and *máim*, cogn. with *mám* 'jugum.'

commar *nose*, Ff. 40, =commor .i. sron, O'Cl. Meaning doubtful. In LL. 108ª 30, it seems to signify some other part of the body: comtar ecnáig a thruim 7 a glainene for ettegail dar commur a chraes 7 a bragit. So in LU. 15ª 23: ar cend cáid comarli, ar commor moradbal.

comrair F. *case*, D. 51. comrair taiscedai, Bk. Fen. 12, better comrar (gl. capsa) Sg. 36ª, 92ª, LU. 114ª 32. ata comrar chloche i mbi and hi talam, LU. 134ª 3. a muintorc argit for a chomrair, *ibid.* l. 6. comrar conga cach cethra, LL. 293ᵇ 19. Metaph. comrar dana, LL. 187ª 15 and Rawl. B. 502, fo. 62ᵇ 2. is hi trá comrair chrabuid leosum, LB. 10ª 15.

conn *sense*, Ff. 27, 45. So O'Cl. and Stowe XIX. arnacha ndecrad a chond nach a chiall, LU. 79[a] 35. sg. dat. asa cund, LU. 48[b] 11. bid crad da ce[i]ll is da cond, Bk. Fen. 246. acc. tucussa dóib serc mo chride 7 mo chond, LL. 302[b] 34. is fín romedair in sluag co mbátar cen chond cen chéill, LL. 282[a] 1. Perhaps cogn. with Gr. *κοννέω*.

conruiter, p. 3=conróiter, Amra Chol. 13, 43, where it is glossed by *cain rófitir, no rochomét*. The *con* is cogn. with *καινός*, Lat. *re-cens*.

consal M. *counsellor*, E. 10. So Stowe XIX. pl. gen. Ni cumangar a rim a ngradaib 7 a ceimendaib ar imat a consal . . . 7 a ndiuice 7 a centure *it is impossible to rehearse them in ranks and in degrees because of the multitude of their consuls . . . and their dukes and their centurions*, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 87[a] 1. acc. cónsala, LB. 157[b]. From Lat. *consul*. So Ir. *irchónsal*, LB. 180[b], from Lat. *proconsul*, as *Erpoint*, LL. 222[b], 232[a], from *Propontis*.

1. corc *clan*, D. 12. So O'Cl. and H. 3. 18, p. 66[c]. O.Ir. *corcu*: in populo Korku Reti, Adamnán's Vita Col. ed. Reeves, p. 89. de genere Corcu-Chonlúain, Bk. Arm. 11[b] 1. in regiones Corcu-Temni, *ib.* 13[b] 2. de genere Corcu-Theimne, *ib.* 15[a] 2. Corcu Dubni, LL. 292[a] 47=Corco Duibne, ib. 277[b] 22. in chland Corco Laigde, ibid. 210[a] 51. in fines Corcu Ochland, Trip. Life 94. macc Ríme noeb Chilli Chorcu-Roide, *ib.* 138. i tir Corcu-Themne, *ib.* 122.

2. corc (MS. torc) *hair*, E. 27. So L. Lec. Voc. Cogn. with Gr. *κάρ*, Lat. *crinis*? or with *κέρκος* 'tail?'

cosc *instruction, correction*, D. 33, sg. gen. coisc, cuisc. cosc .i. tegosc, Stowe XIX, p. 39[b]. dat. cosc: teit-seom cosin n-araid dia chosc, LU. 64[a]. Hence *técosc, tinchosc* 'instruction.' *ro-coscad* (gl. correptus est), W. *cosp*. From *con*+$\sqrt{seq}$.

cot (*a cutting*) *victory*, E. 27. cod, L. Lec. Voc. and O'Br. Form and meaning doubtful. Cotan .i. laoch 'hero,' Duil Laithne 38, may be derived, and Gr. *κεντέω*, *κόντος*, may be cogn.

coth *food*, E. 28. So Corm. and O'Cl. coth cibum .i. biadh ar in berla amuil asberar cothugud na n-indile, Harl. 432, fo. 3[b] 1, and see H. 3. 18, p. 634[a].

cria *buying*, D. 25. So L.Lec. Voc. and H. 3. 18, p. 633[b]. But *cria* is a verbal form from *crenim*=Skr. *krīṇāmi*, and means 'emas': ni ria, ni cria do dodhamnu, *thou shalt not sell, thou shalt not buy, to or from an unqualified person*, such as a thief or a little child, O'Dav. 79 and Laws, iii. 58.

crích F. (gl. finem) p. 5, now *crioch*. Windisch connects this word with κρίκος and *circus*.

crimthann (MS. criomhtan) *fox*, Ff. 51. So L. Lec. Voc, O'Cl. and Mart. Don. p. 160, where the author says that *criomtann*, in the hard Gaelic (*Gaoideilg cruaid*), is the same as 'fox.'

cro *narrow*, E. 20. So L. Lec. Voc. cro .i. timargain, H. 3. 18, p. 51[b], H. 4. 22, p. 62[a].

croch, *high*, E. 27. croch gach n-ard 7 gach n-inn, H. 3. 18, p. 67[c]. Cogn. seems *croich* .i. uachtar bainne 'cream,' O'Dav. 68.

crum-duma *dunghill*, E. 29. So Corm. who cites cin chon crumduma *a crime of a dunghill dog*. crumdub .i. ottrach, O'Dav. 63. The literal meaning seems 'worm-heap,' from *cruim* = W. *pryf*, Skr. *kṛmi*, Lith. *kirmi-s*, and *duma* cogn. with Gr. θημών, θωμός, Eng. *dam*.

cúanna (MS. cuadhna) *hill*, Ff. 27. So O'Cl. and O'Br. Cogn. with O.N. *húnn* 'knob'? The W. *cwn*, *cynu*, *er-chynu*, and the Old-Celtic *cuno-* and Ἀρ-κύνια (ὄρη) are from the same root, with which Windisch (Kuhn's Beitr. viii. 40) connects O.H.G. *hûn* 'giant,' pl. *hûni*. Or is it from √*qeup*, whence Lith. *kaúpa-s* 'heap,' O. Pers. *kaufa* 'mountain'?

cúar *crooked*, Ff. 44. So O'Cl. ras-tarraing da corranaib crúaidi cuara, LL. 230[a]. cuar-sciath, Rawl. B. 502, fo. 47[a] 1. pl. n. cúar-scéith, LU. 87[b] 17. Hence the verbal noun *cúarad*, LL. 236[a] 13.

1. cud (cuth?) *head*, D. 62. So Corm. s.v. descud: cud .i. cenn, Duil Laithne 4. cudh no cuth, O'Cl. lea hanail ho chud, LU. 128[b] 10. caut .i. cenn, H. 3. 18, p. 67[a]. cuth, O'Br. for-cuth, ib.

2. cud (cuth?) *an offering*, D. 62.

1. cuib *dog*, Ff. 16. .i. cú, O'Dav. 71, s.v. cinnes, and O'Cl. mu chuib (.i. mo chú) asa hó, darchinnius (.i. darlecius) co dían mo chuib .i. mo choin, LL. 208[a] 12. In the Amra Conroi, H. 3. 18, p. 49, cuim .i. cú is perhaps the same word.

2. cuib *word*? Ff. 30, or is it a sister-form of *cob* 'victory,' q.v.?

cuime *protection*, Ff. 31—leg. cuimne, as in O'Br. = O. Ir. coemna, caomhna, O'Cl.

cuimleng F. *combat*, E. 8. gl. agon, Gild. 19. cuimling .i. comrac H. 3. 18, p. 624. sg. dat. i comling, Trip. Life 566, acc. doroine cuimleng, note to Fél. Apr. 19. pl. acc. cumlenga, LL. 54[a] 5.

cuinsel *face*, Ff. 40. cuinnseal, O'R. A sister-form is *cuinnsi* .i. aghaidh, H. 3. 18, p. 639. cóinso, LU. 87[b] 11. cúinsiu chórad,

LU. 106a 7. coindse .i. drech, H. 3. 18, p. 67a, and O'Don. Supp., and see O'Dav. 62, s.v. cucht.

cuislennach *piper*, D. 44. pl. n. cuslennaig, LL. 261a 30. gen. pl. cuslennach, LU. 88b, 97b. Derived from cuisli .i. crand ciuil, L. Lec. Voc. and Stowe XIX. gen. pl. cuislenn: bindfogur na cuislend, LU. pl. acc. na cuislenna (gl. venas), Gild. 222. So *σύριγξ* is used of any duct or channel in the body.

1. cul *protection*, p. 1. Ff. 30, 50. D. 45. So H. 4. 22, p. 67, and Stowe XIX. cia beith do iar cul, *though he might have it under his protection*, Laws, i. 150. A sister-form *culu* occurs: doberind culu (.i. comet) ar gart (.i. ar einech) Find, Ll.. 208a 31. These words, like *culaid* 'raiment,' are cogn. with N.H.G. *hülle*.

2. cul *chariot*, p. 1, Ff. 19. 50. So Corm., H. 3. 18, p. 60b, O'Cl. cúl, L. Lec. Voc. culu (.i. cul .i. carpat) tría neit (.i. cath) LU. 6b 24. fonoad (.i. ro immanad) col carpait dún and, ol se, LU. 122b 38. atchlunim cul carpait, LL. 83a 11. Compd.: culgaire na carpat, LL. 109b 23. O.Slav. *kolo* 'wheel, circle.' Lat. *colus*, Gr. *πόλος*.

culmaire *chariotbuilder*, E. 9. So H. 3. 18, p. 66b, and O'Cl. Also *charioteer*: is culmaire .i. is cairptech, LU. 109a 40. culmaire .i. cairptheo[i]r, Stowe XIX. culmairi .i. cairptheoir, L.Lec. Voc. culmhaire *wheelwright*, O'Br.

cum *a vessel*? E. 28. Used topographically: ingen Díníl o Chum Dínil i crich Corco Duibne, LL. 277b 22, where *cum* is =W. *cwmm* 'vallis, convallis.' Gr. *κύμβη*, *κύμβος*, 'cup,' N.H.G. *humpen*.

cumlachtaid *pig*, E. 29, is rather a *sucking-pig*, Corm. comlachtaid, O'Dav. 62, where seven other words for 'pig' are given.

cum-rech N. (gl. ligo), p. 1. cumrech, sg. dat. cuimriuch, pl. n. cuimrecha, is a noun, not a verb, and means 'bond, fetter.' The cogn. verb is *conrig*, pres. ind. sg. 3. *conrig* (gl. alligat) Ml. 23c 2.

cunn *sense*, Ff. 27, a sister-form of *conn* q.v. Cogn. with *cunnlacht* 'wisdom.'

cur M. *hero*, *champion*, D. 39, also caur, LU. 85b 32, 114a 41, LL. 106b 9. sg. gen. da súil churad i cind in chlaim atas-cím *a hero's two eyes I see them in the leper's head*, LL. 303b 14. caurad, LU. 77b 33. pl. n. cauraid, LL. 106b 11. curaid, LL. 256a 16. Compd. curath-mír. Hence caurata, LU. 80a 28. Cogn. with W. *cawr* gigas, Corn. *caur* in *caur-march* (gl. camelus), Skr. *çavīra*, *çūra*, Gr. *κῦρος*, *κύριος*.

curson *a sage* (arracht de *image of God*?), Ff. 71. So H. 3. 18,

pp. 66[a], and 634[b], H. 4. 22, p. 67, and O'Cl. curson e a mbéasoibh brúghadh, *Dán do Bhrian na múrtha*, 116. The *carson* of the Amra Senáin, LB. 241[a], is perhaps a mistake for *curson*.

cusal *strength*, Ff. 23. *courage*, O'Br. Hence perh. the adj. cossalach, LU. 96[a].

dáe *house*, D. 54. So O'Cl., who quotes *rioghdhae* (*rig-dae*) 'palace.' daoe, D. 57. Possibly cogn. with *θαιμός· οἰκία*, Hesychius, Osc. *fámaum* 'to dwell,' Skr. *dhāman*.

dag *good*, p. 3. Ff. 72, D. 59. So Corm. s.v. aingel; droch do drochaib, dag do dagaib, Corm. Tr. 61 and H. 3. 18, pp. 68[b], 634[c]. Roir dam .x. ratha (.i. lis), .x. treaba (.i. tighe) dagha (.i. maithi no cona ndilius feibh), Amra Conroi. Derb dag i mba, Amra Chol. 46. W. *da*. Can it be cogn. with Gr. *ταχύς* (from **θαχύς*), compar. *θάσσων*, as (acc. to Collitz) *ἠύς* is = Skr. *áyú*? Generally used as a prefix, another form of which is *deg*.

daig *fire*, Ff. 72. So Stowe XIX and H. 3. 18, pp. 69[b], 635[a]. a *t*-stem, sg. gen. muir ndaiged, Salt. R. 910. Molling lassar daiged, LL. 305[b] 25. sg. acc. argain fri daigid cech n-aidchi, LL. 107[a] 21. pl. dat. go ndaighthibh .i. go dteinntibh, O'Cl. Skr. *√dah* from **dhegh*, **dhogh*, Lit. *dègti* 'to burn.' Goth. *dags*. A.S. *dæg*, the bright, warm part of the twenty-four hours.

datán *fosterfather*, D. 46. So O'Dav. 73. dadán, O'Don. Supp. Oengus an Procchai, datan Dermatai, *Uath Beinne Etair*, 70. daitean .i. oide, O'Flah. datiucán, LL. 279[a] 13. datan, O'Br. dimin. of **dat*, a child's word, like W. *tâd* 'father,' Eng. *daddy*.

datnait (MS. dathnuid) *foster-mother, nurse*, D. 46. So O'Dav. 73, s.v. datan; dathnaid, O'Br.; but dadnait, O'Don. Supp. is perhaps the right spelling. If so, cf. Gr. *τήθη grandmother*, from **θήθη*, and Lith. *dëdė*.

dé *division*? Ff. 13. Cogn. with the form assumed by the numeral *two* as a prefix.

déga (dede?) *wind*, D. 25. The only similar word with this meaning is *daghar* .i. gaoth, O'Cl. and O'Flah. daugar augrach ben daire *the oakwood's wife is a warring wind*, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 52[a] 2. dághar, O'Br.

deichen *division*? Ff. 13. Cogn. with *dechur* 'difference, distinction,' Ml. 26[b] 1.

deiltre (deilltre?) is explained, D. 39, by "gods of wizardry for travellers astray." O'Cl. has only *deiltre* .i. *dee draoidhechta*. O'Br. wrote *dé-iltre*.

déim *taking away*, D. 61. deim .i. oní is demo .i. digbaim, H.

3. 18, p. 614[b]. 'lack, want,' O'R. cuil deim de eot, cuil deim de formut, Amra Chol. 105. From *de*+*emi*-.

deime *evening*, Ff. 54. deme, Corm. do deime .i. dorchadas, H. 2. 16, cited O'Don. Supp. s.v. diorna. deimhe .i. dorchadus oidche 'darkness of night,' O'Cl. Derived from *deim* 'dark.' The *demithir* cited by Windisch as perhaps compar. of *deim*, is a mistake for *déinithir*, compar. of *dían* q.v.

del *teat*, E. 11. .i. sine bó, Corm. deal .i. sine, Stowe XIX. cf. oc a diul *sucking her*: Gr. θηλή, Lat. *fellare* (*fēlare*), O.H.G. *tila* fr. **dela*.

demal *a taking away*, D. 61. See *deim*, but qy. if this is not a mistake for *démál* .i. demon, H. 3. 18, p. 69[b].

der F. *daughter, girl*, E. 24. So Corm. Tr. 61, Stowe XIX, H. 3. 18, p. 69[b], and O'Cl. Helech der Fubthaire find, LL. 164[b] 4. Petronilla der Petair, LB. 85. Compd. leis-dhear *stepdaughter*, O'Br.

1. derc F. *eye*, Ff. 30, Ff. 39, p. 2. So H. 3. 18, p. 81[a], and O'Cl. pl. nom. tuilsiter mo derca .i. mo súli, LL. 208[a] 7. dat. en co nertaib nual dar dercaib slúag sær .i. usce dar súilib soercland ocom chainiud, *water over the eyes of nobles bewailing me*, LU. 119[b] 21. Compds. cammderc (gl. strabo), Sg. 63[a] 4. fliuchderc (gl. lippus), Sg. 24[a] 8. Cogn. verbs occur. Cf. Skr. *dṛç* 'eye,' Gr. δέρκομαι, δέδορκα= *-darc* in Ir. *ad-con-darc* conspexi.

2. derc *a mote in a sunbeam*? p. 2.

dían *swift*, D. 11. dian .i. oband, Stowe XIX: a common word, compar. *déniu* and *déinithir* (combo déinithir bróin mulind) which is miswritten *demithir* in the facsimile of LU. 111[a] 11. *denithir* Ml. 57° 12. Cogn. with Gr. δίεσθαι, Skr. *dīyāmi*.

dí-bad *death, extinction*, p. 3, D. 57. So Corm., H. 3. 18, p. 68° and O'Cl. fó díbad .i. maith a epiltiu, Amra Chol. 31: cen díbad, Colm. h. 44. do dibad innti na tol collaide, LB. 168[b]. co dibadh n-aurdlighidh, O'Don. Supp. Compd. erdíbad, LU. 109[b] 112[a].

di-beoil *dumb*, Ff. 72. So O'Cl. dibeóil .i. cin urlabra, H. 3. 18, pp. 68[b], 634[d]. The *dibidul* .i. balb of Stowe XIX seems a mistake for *dibeoil*.

díchmairc *theft*, D. 17. So O'Cl. Rather seems to mean anything taken from the owner without his permission. Dic[h]mairc .i. cin athcomairc 'without asking,' Corm. Tr. 60. diam dichmairc .i. can fiarfaig*id* d'fir bunaidh *without asking* (*leave*) *of the owner*, Harl. 432, fo. 11[a] 2. cach dichmarc .i. cach errach berar o neoch

cin athcomarc, thus rendered in Laws, ii. 353, "every forced relief or loan which is taken from one without asking permission." sg. gen. omun díchmairc, LB. 260^{b} 86.

dígbail (gl. demitus) p. 5 = di-gabáil, inf. of dí-gabaim. gen. fis dígbala in uilc-sin, LB. 246^{b}.

dile *a following*, D. 17. Verbal noun of **do-lenim*. The simplex *lenit* 'adhaerent' occurs in Wb. 29^{a} 23. the perf. sg. 3 *lil* in LU. 68^{a} 41. pl. 3 ro leltar, LU. 114^{b} 15. W. *di-lyn*, *can-lyn*, sequi. Cf. the forms from the Skr. √*lī* 'cling' in Whitney's *Roots*, etc. p. 148.

díniath *helmet*, Ff. 37, diniath, O'Br. Perh. = dín niath *a champion's protection*? For *din* cf. tair dar ndín, a Muiri, LL. 308^{b} 41 : ba dín do nochtaib, Amra Chol. 85. For *niath*, see nía infra.

1. dinn (dind?) cain cach cnuasaigh p. 1. dinn .i. aibhinn, *delightful*, O'Dav. 79. .i. aibind, Stowe XIX. uas domun dind, LU. 50^{a} 2.

2. dinn *hill*, Ff. 49. So O'Dav. 79. Used metaph. in Amra Chol. 27 : bai dind oc libur leig. gen. denna, LU. 9^{a} 33. pl. dat. in dinnib .i. i telchaib, Fiacc's h. 44. Compd. dinn-senchas.

3. dinn (dind?) *prince*, p. 1, D. 55. A metaph. use of 2. dinn *hill*.

dinnis *oath*, D. 10. So H. 4. 22, p. 60^{b}, O'Dav. 79 (dinnus) and O'Cl. sena[d] iar n-aititiu, leith-fiach la dindis a sodain *denial after acknowledgment, half-fine with oath* [*is incurred*] *for that*, Laws iii. p. 108, l. 8.

dírech *straight, direct*, p. 1, from díriuch, dí-riug (gl. rectum), p. 1, *dê+regu-s.

díth *end*, Ff. 67. So O'Dav. 79. literally *death*; *destruction*: iar ndith Conaire, LU. 46^{a} 8. dith co haen 'death of all save one.' rena dith .i. ria ec, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 104^{b} 1. cen díth n-óighe, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 69^{b} 1. Lat. *lētum*, from **dētum*, and *dēleo*, from **dē-dēo*? Skr. √*dā* abschneiden.

díu *long*, p. 2, Ff. 30, D. 9. So O'Cl. Borr. from or cogn. with Lat. *diū*. díu-derc ndér *long look of tears* occurs in LU. 7^{b} 16.

dlomod *act of manifesting, proclaiming*, E. 23. dlomud .i. fogradach, Stowe XIX. Verbal noun of *dlomhaim* .i. foillsighim, O'Cl. dlomas (gl. ait) Ml. 30^{b} 19, imper. sg. 2 dlom .i. abair no indis no raid, L. Lec. Voc., O'Dav. 75, 77. Fél. Aug. 7. Sep. 13. Oct. 12. *dlomnais* .i. labrais, Stowe XIX, seems an error for *dlomais*.

dlum *abundance, plenty*, D. 9. So L. Lec. Voc. and O'Cl.

dlumh .i. umad, Stowe XIX. dluim .i. imadh, *ibid.* dluim .i. imad, O'Dav. 73. Perhaps this occurs (spelt *dlom*) in LL. 147[a] 31: intan atracht in mac cona dlom ferge fair.

dlúth *a warp*, D. 33. dlúth (gl. stamen), Sg. 14[b]; certle dlútha *a ball of thread.* The expression *dlúth agus inneach* 'warp and woof' is still, I am told, living.

dobur *water*, Ff. 15. So O'Cl. dobur Corm. dobur .i. dorca nó uisce, Stowe XIX. L. Lec. Voc. W. *dwfr.* Gaul. *dubro-n*, whence *Douvres* (Seine-et-Marne). Compd. *dobar-chú* 'otter'=W. *dwfr-gi.*

doctus *learned*, p. 3. Borrowed from Lat.

doe, dae *human being*, D. 8. doe .i. duine, Corm. Tr. 61. dáe, O'Cl. daói, O'Br. ropo doi n-eit, Rawl. B. 502, fo. 62[b] 1. dae uais .i. fear uasal, *Dán do Brian na múrtha.*

dóit *hand*, Ff. 42. So O'Cl. sg. gen. fail mo lama is mo doitti, Bk. Fen. 400. dual nom. nirbdar dermaill a dí dóit, LL. 43[a] last line, and see Corm. s.v. Cerball; pl. nom. doti, LB. 190[b], dat. doitib (gl. manibus), Gild. 164. dobertha ailge arda foa doitib co ru scaich slaide na ngénnti, *high stones were put under his hands till the slaughter of the heathen had ended*, LB. 259[a]. Compd. dóit-gel, LB. 218[b].

dolbh *wizardry*, Ff. 13. So O'Cl. gen. ni hi deog cen damna nduilb, *Aided Finn*, 61. acc. tre dolb draidheachta, *Battle of Ventry*, 576. Cogn. with *dolbhaim* 'fingo,' whence laeg doilbthe, LL. 210[a] 38, 43. naithir doilbthe, LB. 121[a]. in nath cetha dolfe [dolbthe], Rev. Celt. i. 40, and doilbecht .i. draighecht, Stowe XIX.

dorr *rough, harsh*, Ff. 72. So O'Br. Still living, applied to a person of rude manners.

drecht *chant*, Ff. 8. pl. nom. drechta .i. duana no laide 7 roscada, O'Dav. 72. canitar drechta, LU. 43[a] 32. gabtha a ndúana 7 a ndrechta 7 a n-admolta doib, LL. 263[b] 1. gen. fir denma drecht 7 nath 7 admolta Ulad, LL. 109[b] 12. a duaraib drecht, O'Dav. 72 s.v. duar.

dreim F. *a company, a party*, D. 51. Also *dremm.* sg. gen. fodáig na dreime, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 111[b] 1. acc. cor-romarbsat dreimm moir, AU. 1018.

dreimne *valour* (gal), Ff. 17. Rather *fury, fierceness*: sg. dat. for dremniu na farrce, LU. 84[b] 21. i ndremni in drecain, LL. 86[b] 28. Derived from *dremun* 'fierce,' 'mad,' monur ndremun, Petrie's Tara 178, dreaman .i. dasachtach, Stowe XIX. Hence O'R.'s "*dreimne* s. a cock," the Latin *gallus* having some resemblance to the Irish *gal.* co dremna, Salt. R. 8282, co ndremnai 8346.

dremun *the Devil*, D. 59. Seems inferred from such passages as the following from LB. 176, marg. inf.:

Trede dremun is mo col,	Three mad things whose sin is greatest,
doman, Deman *ocus* ben :	World, Devil and Woman:
cipe nos-cara ar bith ché	Whoever loves them in the present world
hic Mac Dé niscon-ta nem.	Hath not heaven with God's Son.

1. drenn *quarrel*, Ff. 9. So Corm., O'Dav. 73, and H. 3. 18, p. 541[b]. drenn .i. depaidh, ut est drennach .i. deptach, H. 2. 15, p. 82. Hence dreandad .i. deabaid, Stowe XIX. Compd. drenngalach, Salt. R. 944.

2. drenn *trouble, affliction*, Ff. 9. buan in drenn, Bk. Fen. 366.

3. drenn *rough*, E. 11. So Corm. drenn cach croda, O'Dav. 63. drenn .i. garbh, H. 2. 15, p. 184. dreand .i. garbh, Stowe XIX. drend .i. garb, *ibid.* dothâet sunda budni drend do chosnam insi Herenn, LL. 109[a]. Hence dreandud .i. gruamacht, Stowe XIX.

1. droch *straight*, Ff. 68. So Corm. s.v. drochet, O'Dav. 73, H. 4. 22, p. 61[a], and O'Cl.

2. droch *bad, scanty*, Ff. 72. droch .i. cach n olc, Corm. W. *drwg*. Mid. Br. *drouc*.

1. drocht *straight*, E. 11. So H. 3. 18, p. 653, L.Lec. Voc. and Stowe XIX.

2. drocht *black, dark*, Ff. 11, D. 60, note 15. drocht .i. dorca, Stowe XIX. Derived from *droch* .i. dorcha, D. 60 and O'Cl. (borrowed from A.S. *deorc* ?), or is it inferred from Mid. Ir. *édrocht* 'bright, shining' = O. Ir. *ětrocht*, q.v. ?

dron *straight*, D. 51. So. L.Lec. Voc., O'Dav. 79, and O'Cl. droing-cedul, E. 22, = dron-chetul. Cf. Aed atnoi ule oll-doine dron-chetal, Amra Chol. 115, dron-cherdach .i. am díriuch im eladain, LL. 187[a] 7. The compounds *dron-mas, dron-mind, dron-oll* occur in Salt. R.; but here the first element may be *dron* 'firm,' dron .i. daingen, LL. 311[b] 18,—as in for múr dron Dune Delga, LL. 154[b] 12.

drubh *chariot*, D. 11. So O'Cl. and O'Br. The latter has a "*drubhóir* cartwright or coach-maker."

drucht *a rising*, Ff. 8. Seems a mistake for driucht=driuchd, O'Br.

druimcli *a reader*, E. 21. This is the seventh and highest order of wisdom; see O'Curry's *Lectures*, p. 495. It is probably a metaphorical use of *druimmchli* (gl. laquear) Sg. 54[a].

1. dú *place*, p. 1, du Ff. 50, E. 20, Stowe XIX. dú .i. baile L. Lec. Voc. and Stowe XIX. co dú 'ubi,' Trip. Life, p. 4. l. 5. ata Dia in cach dú, LL. 281^{b} 38. Perh. *δῶ*.

2. dú *meet, proper, fit, due*, p. 1, Ff. 50. So O'Cl. Ní dú dúib fornert for tuathi dábar fulang, LL. 238^{b} 19. As a subst. doberar dam co tinniu dóib cona dú di chormaim dia feiss, LL. 247^{b} 6. Borrowed from O.Fr. *dû*=Lat. *debutus* for *debitus*. Hence *dúal*.

1. duar *fruit*, E. 10. So L.Lec. Voc. and Stowe XIX.

2. duar *quatrain*, D. 42, E. 10. So Corm., L. Lec. Voc. and Stowe XIX. O'Dav. 72, H. 2. 15, p. 184, H. 3. 18, p. 68^{a}, and O'Cl. Da mbeth an tis (.i. an fer) ag tinm dhuar (.i. tuicsin focul no rann), H. 3. 18, part 1, p. 210.

duchonn *music*, Ff. 67. So O'Dav. 63 (loinniucc no ceol), duchann, O'Cl. na hingena . . nobítís ic ámrán 7 ic dúchund, *Togail Troi*^{2} 1086. do gabail a ndrecht 7 a nduan 7 a nduchonn, *Oided mac n Usnig*, 7.

dúchus *a quarrel*, Ff. 72. Cogn. with O'Cl.'s *duchonn* .i. cogadh.

duibell *restless*, Ff. 72. So O'Dav. 73 and O'Cl. But in H. 3. 18, p. 68^{b} *duibell* is explained as 'lightning' (*saighnén*).

duirbh *sickness*, Ff. 26.

dumach *dark*, E. 20, is prob. a mis-spelling of *dubach*: sam dubach .i. dorcha, Rawl. B. 502, fo. 62^{a} 2.

dún N. *stead* (baile), Ff. 28, gen. dúne, properly *walled fortress*. W. *din*, Gaul. *dūnos*, *dūno-n*. A.S. *tún*, Eng. *town*, N.H.G. *zaun*.

1. é *sorrow*, Ff. 73. é *sad*, p. 2. huile bith ba hæ hé *the whole world which was his* [*was*] *sorrowful*, LU. 8^{b} 34, glossed by *he* .i. trúag. é mo scél, Goid. 165. Originally an interjection = N.H.G. *ei*. As a subst. oncoin ainble .i. e 7 eit, Harl. 5280, fo. 74^{b}, marg. inf.

2. é *salmon*, p. 2. *hé*, LL. 12^{b} 42. Better éo, q.v.

é-cóir (*unjust*), *evil*, E. 23. ecóir, LL. 57^{b} 33. sg. gen. do dígail ar n-écora, LL. 220^{a} 30. From the neg. prefix *an-* and *cóir* = *coair*, Ml. 48^{a} 8.

écosc *form, shape*, Ff. 53. D. 11, .i. cuma, O'Cl. habitus, Z^{2}. 67. sg. gen. écosca, LL. and LU. passim.

éic (MSS. eíge, éag) *moon*, Ff. 20. éig, O'Cl. éag, O'Br., who also has *idiréig* 'change of the moon.' May perh. be from **pengi-*, cogn. with Skr. *pâjas* glanz, lichtschein, Gr. *φέγγος* (from **σπέγγος*, Bugge, K.Z. xx. 39), mod. Gr. *φεγγάρι moon, moonshine*, and O.H.G. *funcho*, now *Funke*.

eidel *prayer*, E. 12. edel, Corm. eidil, H. 2. 15, p. 184.

einech *face*, D. 11. So Corm. s.v. gaire. gen. enig. Compds.

eneclann, enech-gris, enech-log, enech-ruice. Old-Corn. *enep* (gl. faciem). Cogn. with Gr. *ἐν ωπή*.

eislinn *unsafe*, D. 45. eslinn, Sanct. h. 15.

elar *salt*, Ff. 44. MS. and O'Br. ealar. See salar infra.

1. Elg *Ireland*, Ff. 73, and so O'Dav. 81. Elga, E. 12. Ealga, O'Cl. sg. acc. aon cairde fon Elg n-aragar *one treaty of peace is established* (lit. *fastened*) *throughout Ireland*, O'Dav. 81. gen. morthimchell insi Elgga, LL. 207^{b} 2. Hechtair Elgga .i. Herend, LL. 45^{a} 28. rígan iarthair Elgga, LL. 81^{b} 41. etir fini find-Elga, LL. 88^{b} 12.

2. elg (leg. elc?), *face*, Ff. 73.

3. elg (leg. elc?) *noble*, D. 10. .i. oirrdric, L.Lec. Voc. ealg .i. oirdric, Stowe XIX. ealg .i. oirdheirc, O'Cl.

ellad or ellam *gift*, D. 42. Treidi ara carthar escara: gnas, ellad, erlabra *three things for which a foe is loved*: *use*, *gift*, *eloquence*, H. 2. 17, p. 184^{a}. O'Cl. explains ellam (eallamh) by 'a dower (*coibche*) which is got in hand': ellom roguid ben Gedhe for a ceili *the dowry which G.'s wife asked of her husband*, BB. 251^{a} 3.

ellam *a wonder*, Ff. 22. *wonder*, *astonishment*, O'Br.

ellged *burial*, D. 37. So O'Cl. eillgheadh.

engach *a vehement attack*, E. 21. In trath erges Aed engach, Bk. Fen. 374, where Hennessy renders *engach* by 'valiant.' O'Clery's *anghach* 'noisy, talkative' (LB. 222^{b} 5) must be a different word.

englonn *danger*, Ff. 25. A doubtful word: S. explains it by *gabha* 'smith.'

1. éo M. *pin*, *brooch*, Ff. 5. So Corm. s.v. Emain, and O'Cl.: éu óir and, *a brooch of gold therein*, LU. 68^{b} 8. int-éo óir, LL. 81^{b} 2. cia aithem éo? *what is the sharpest of pins*? O'Dav. 81.

2. éo M. *salmon*, Ff. 5. So O'Cl. rot-bia éu .i. bratán, LU. 67^{a} 26. Corruptly é: Am hé il-lind, LL. 12^{b} 42. sg. gen. *iach*, Brocc. h. 72. acc. *ich*. pl. n. lingit ich bricc *speckled salmon leap*, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 119^{b} 2.

3. éo *yewtree*, Ff. 5. So O'Cl. Also *tree*. In Fél. March 3, and O'Dav. 81, *eo* is glossed by lignum .i. crand; and see Corm. s.v. uball. Rop éo uasind fid, ropo rígda ind rail, LL. 147^{a} 32. eo Mugna, LL. 200^{a} 14. Cogn. with, or borrowed from, A.S. *éow* = O.H.G. *iwa*.

4. eo *a grave*, (fert), D. 56. éo, O'Br.

5. eo *good*, D. 56. Old-Celtic *avi*-? Gaul. *Avi-cantos* = O. Br. *Eucant*, Gr. *ἐύς* from *ἐϜις*, Goth. *avi* in *avi-liud* *χάρις*. *εὐχαριστία*, Fick, Bezz. Beitr. i. 58. Lat. *avere* seems cognate. Skr. √*av*.

eochair *tongue*, Ff. 41. So O'Cl.

ér *noble*, D. 25. So O'Dav. 47, 81, and O'Cl. er .i. uasal, L.Lec. Voc., Stowe XIX. is éu othair ér Emna, LU. am sruith uasal hér, LL. 4[b] 25. ér-ellam .i. adbul ellam, gloss on Colm. h. 49. Seems abstracted from the intensive prefix in *ér-chían*, etc.

1. erc *bee*, Ff. 51. So O'Cl. Compd. eirc-bheach *wasp*, O'Br.

2. erc *honey*, Ff. 51. So O'Cl.

3. erc *heaven*, E. 13. So Corm. Tr. 67, O'Dav. 81, and O'Cl. Arm. *erkin* 'heaven.'

err M. *champion*, Ff. 73, D. 18. err (.i. trenfer) faebur (.i. claideb) fland, LL. 43[a] 10. eirr (gl. curruum princeps), sg. gen. gníma erred, LU. 114[a] 21. pl. nom. errid .i. trenfir, LL. 312[a] 8. Hence erredacht, LU. 113[b] 29. Cogn. with Gr. *ἄρσην*, Zend *arshan*.

esc *water*, E. 12. So Corm. s.v. inesclonn, Stowe XIX and O'Cl. s.v. eascra. Compd. esc-ong, esc-ongon *eel*, lit. *watersnake*. The acc. sg. of a cognate word occurs in a note to Fél. June 17: oc leim do dar aroile escai i Luachair Dedad *as he was leaping over a certain water in L. D.* *Esc* is = Ptolemy's river-name Ἴσκα. From **(p)id-kā*, perhaps cognate with *πῖδαξ*, *πῑδύω*. So O.W. *uisc* may come from **(p)eidka*.

esconn *an old man*, Ff. 73, = easconn, O'Cl. qy. *a dotard* (es + conn q.v.).

es-slabra *generosity*, Ff. 20. Tri aib adannat serg: gnuis, aslach, easlabra, H. 2. 17, p. 183[d]. bochta co n-eslabrai, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 37[a] 1. easlabra (.i. enech) Guaire, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 60[b] 1. ar easlabhra is ar aoide, *Dán do Brian na múrtha*.

es-sáeth (MS. easáoth) *health*, Ff. 26. So O'Cl., who writes *eassaoth*. The contrary of *saeth* 'sickness,' which is cogn. with Goth. *sair*, A.S. *sár*, Eng. *sore*.

etriad, p. 1. Meaning obscure to me.

etrocht (MSS. édrocht) *pure, light*, Ff. 11, is rather *shining, bright*. pl. nom. aurchíche aurnochta etrochta, *bosoms naked, shining*, LU. 107[a] 1. dat. rug-etrachtaib (gl. praeclaris), Ml. 37[d] 3. Hence the abstr. etrochta, LU. 27[b] 38, 29[a] 19, 29[b] 3, 33[b] 45, 34[a] 11. sg. dat. etrachtai, Ml. 84[b] 1. From **etar-rog-to-*, cogn. with Skr. *rajata* 'white.' So innrocht .i. nemfollus, O'Dav. 100, is from **an-rog-to-*.

é-túaichil *not astute*, Ff. 11, where it is erroneously explained as a substantive: éttuachail .i. aimhghlic, O'Cl. The opposite of *túaichil*, q.v.

fáball *a lie*, Ff. 13. So O'Cl. and H. 2. 15, p. 182; but it rather

means a fable or romance. gen. sg. i cend na fáible, LB. 217a. incipit do ḟábull [leg. ḟábaill] *ibid.* Borrowed from Lat. *fābula.*

fáel (MS. faol) *wolf*, Ff. 16. Lucifer is called in fáil feochair fir-thuachaill, Salt. R. 1670. sg. acc. amal fáel fó chairib, *like a wolf among sheep*, LL. 258b 10. Compd. fael-chú 'wolf,' with which Rhys would equate W. *gweilgi* (i.e. *gwael*+*ci*) 'sea.' A cognate *t*-stem occurs in Irish : amal fóelaid etir cháircha, Tog. Troi[2] 1433. Arm. *goil.*

fáilte *shield*, Ff. 37, from *val-tio-, cogn. with Skr. √*val, valate*, and Gr. *Fέλυτρον.*

fáinell (fóinell?) *fool*, Ff. 74. Hence O'Cl.'s fáoinnealach .i. oinmid, corrupted in O'Davoren's feanelach .i. oinmit, and O'Br.'s 'faoineálach, adj. *foolish, silly.*' faindelach .i. oinmit, Corm. Tr. 81. Dligid foindelach fuacra, LL. 345d 24. Cognate is fóindel 'wandering.' dat. sg. for fainiul, LU. 4a 16, for foindiul 7 sechran, LB. 175a.

faithe (foithe, foidhi) *sound, noise*, Ff. 55. sg. acc. corro alsat faithi fiangaiscid impi, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 111a 1.

falc (leg. failc?) *gap?* D. 23. failc .i. manntaighe, O'Cl.

1. fath *breath*, Ff. 68, fáth, O'Br. urkelt. *va-to. Cogn. with *feth* 'aura' and Gr. *ἀ-Fήτης wind.* Skr. *vāta.*

2. fath *heat*, Ff. 68. So O'R. faith, fáth, O'Br. I have not found the word elsewhere.

fáth *a kind of poem*, D. 52. So O'Cl. ar mo fath .i. ar mo aiste, Rawl. B. 502, fo. 61a 1. is tre ḟír *flatha* fácaib cach dám mochta inna ṡuidiu iarna sæthur co fáthaib fiss fri forcetul féthamail, LL. 293b 27–29. W. *gwawd* 'panegyric.' Cogn. with A.S. *wóð*, O.N. *óðr, song, poetry, metre*, Ir. *fáith* 'prophet,' Lat. *vātes*, Goth. *vōds* 'mad.'

fec F. *tooth*, Ff. 40. So O'Cl. Sg. dat. and acc. *feic*, Wind. Wört. 538. Ir. *fec* (now *feac*) a kind of *spade*, and Lat. *vanga* 'mattock' may be cognate.

fecur? *speckled*, E. 20. Prob. corrupt. The line in which this word occurs is hypermetrical.

1. feib, *goodness*, D. 31. feibh .i. maith 'good,' O'Cl.; but it is explained as a subst. in H. 3. 18, p. 667a: feib .i. marsin no feabas. co ro molaim ríg as cach feib imbí, LU. 124a 23. co feibh ndelbha, FM. 1004. Hence *feba, febas* 'goodness.' Cogn. with Gr. *ἰγιής* and Lat. *vegeo, vigeo.*

2. feib *as*, D. 31, E. 20. So O'Cl. and H. 3. 18, p. 70b, 667a. feib .i. marsin, Stowe XIX. .i. marsin no bindis, L.Lec. Voc. feib as dech roboi, LL. 149a 1. Cogn. with Goth. *svasve.*

féid, *science*, D. 50, W. *gwydd* 'knowledge' (Pughe), from **védi*, √*vid*, cogn. with Skr. *vedas* 'knowledge.'

féig *keen-sighted, keen*? D. 37. féigh .i. gér *sharp*, O'Cl. corop féig rosc for n-anme *that your soul's eye may be keen*, Wb. 21ª 9. pl. acc. fri faebra fégi, Brocc. h. 97. Compd. fég-briathra, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 113ª 1.

feimin *vehement*? Ff. 74. Prob. a *vox nihili*, as it is cancelled in L. and *feine* written under it. The adj. femendæ, LU. 85ª 19, 130ᵇ 46, fémenda, LU. 113ª 40, applied to horses, may perhaps be meant.

féis *pig*, Ff. 17. gen. sg. iomnocht feise .i. croiceann muice *a sow's skin*, O'Curry's *Children of Tuirenn*, 198. Corn. *guis* (gl. scroffa), Br. *gwiz*, *gwéz*.

felisc (filusc?) *bark* (*of a tree*), Ff. 69. Seems a genuine word, but I have not met it in the literature. Cogn. perhaps with Lat. *vellus* as Lat. *cortex* with Skr. *krtti* 'hide.'

fén *a bier*, E. 15, (gl. plostrum) Sg. 21ª. fén dar crínach, LU. 84ᵇ 1. rosiacht corp a hathar-si don cill dia adhnacal 7 fean for sesrigh ag a iomchor, O'Don. Supp. `dat. atconnaicset . . . da dam allaid rempu co fhen etarru 7 in corp and, LB. 29ª. pl. gen. féngal na fén, LL. 218ᵇ 42. From *vegno. Cogn. with W. *cy-wain*, Gaul. *co-vinnus*, Eng. *wagon*, *wain*, and with Lat. *veho*, as *feretrum* with *fero*.

1. ferbh N. *word*, p. 4, Ff. 14. So Corm. and O'Cl. Borrowed from **vervum*, the British pronunciation of Lat. *verbum*. pl. gen. ferb nDe *verborum Dei*, Corm. Tr. p. 72. búaid ferb, Salt. R. 4341. dat. ferbaib, LH. 34ᵇ 1 (Goidel. 164). pl. acc. amail rochuala Domnall tra inna ferba follscaidi, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 113ᵇ 2. acc. faig ferb fithir, Amra Chol. 52.

2. ferbh *cow*, p. 4, Ff. 16. So Corm. and O'Cl. gen. sg. ferba LU. 109ª (see infra s.v. *máta*). pl. n. teora ferba fira, Laws i. 64. ferba .i. bai, LU. 125ᵇ 20. gen. cona chathchris do colomnaib ferb, *with his battle-belt of hides of kine*, LU. 79ᵇ. Cf. Lat. *vervex*?

3. ferbh *blister*, *blotch*, p. 4. So Corm. and O'Cl. fearb .i. briathar no bo no bolg no bolc, L.Lec. Voc. turgbait ferba fora [g]ruaidib iar cilbrethaib *blotches arose on his cheeks after* (*delivering*) *unjust judgments*, LH. 34ᵇ 1 (Goidel. 164). Cf. Bret. *gwerbl* 'bubon,' Lat. *verbera*?

ferenn M. *girdle*, E. 13. So Corm. and O'Cl. sg. acc. ferenn, Bk. Arm. 5ª 2. pl. acc. fernu, LU. 58ª 9 and Trip. Life, li.

fét *recounting*, Ff. 8. féd .i. innisin, O'Cl. Abstracted from the verb adfét *relates*. feid .i. aisnéidh, LL. 393ª 52.

1. fí *bad*, p. 1, Ff. 4. So Corm. Tr. 79 and O'Cl. The same word as *fí* 'poison,' LL. 46ᵇ 16, 18,=Lat. *vīrus*, Gr. *ἰός*, Skr. *visha*. Used as an interj. fí dom-tánic célmuine, Eg. 1782, p. 34ᵃ 2.

2. fí *disobedience?* p. 1, Ff. 4.

ficell? E. 25. ficell a vigilia, O'Mulc. 535,=figell a vigilia .i. frithaire H. 3. 18, p. 70ᵃ.

fích *land*, D. 9, is; like W. *gwig*, borrowed from Lat. *vīcus*, villa, LB. 35ᵃ 2. sg. gen. ainm in ficha, Fél. p. cxxxiii. dat. sg. oc airitiud a cethra hi fich slebi cille, LB. 189ᵇ. aibind sund amne i fich Maige Murthemne, LB. 107ᵇ 48.

fidrach, fidrad *increase*, Ff. 43. fíodhrach, O'Br. for fidrad n-aes .i. ar cach aes inn-araile, Rawl. B. 502, fo. 61ᵃ 2.

fidrad *custom*, Ff. 37. a Emain . . . asa fidrad adfeidim, LL. 21ᵃ 6.

finnell *shield*, Ff. 37. So O'Cl. Also *finden*, pl. n. findne gela 'nal-laim LL. 276ᵃ 4 : im biat faibra fri faibra 7 findne fri findne, LL. 276ᵇ—277ᵃ. Derived from *find* 'white,' the colour of the chalked shields.

firsi *unheavy, light*, Ff. 74. Some mistake, probably, here, as *frsi* means *strength*, Corm. Tr. 80. O'Dav. 87.

fis *colour*, D. 46, note. The 'fisleadh' of the text is obscure. So is the 'fís' of E. 13.

fís, F. *vision*, Ff. 74. sg. gen. for slicht na fisi sin, LU. 119ᵃ 12, acc. fís, LL. 256ᵃ 20. pl. n. físi. A sg. nom. *fisi* occurs in LL. 208ᵃ 10 (adbul físi armothá) and *fissiu* in Salt. R. 3356. All from Lat. *vīsio*.

ro fitir (gl. nouit) p. 5. Root *vid*.

1. flann *red*, D. 21. So H. 3. 18, p. 663, and O'Cl. Faelchad file fáebur fland, LL. 43ᵃ 36. fín flann, Three Frags. 150. Other exx. in Wind. Wört.

2. flann *blood*, Ff. 21, 45. So Stowe XIX, L.Lec. Voc. and O'Cl. Exx. in Wind. Wört. Identical with 1. flann.

flesc? E. 13. The line in which this word occurs is corrupt. Perhaps this *flesc* is=*fleasc* .i. fearann 'a land,' H. 3. 18, p. 51ᵇ.

1. fó *good*, p. 3. Ff. 4. So Corm. Tr. 79, s.v. fochen, and O'Cl. águr, aigde Fiada fó, *I fear, fear thou the good God*, LL. 278ᵃ 33. ní fó mac ruc mathair isin taig-sea innocht, LL. 254ᵇ 37. fó dibad .i. maith a epiltiu, Amra Chol. 31. fó (.i. maith) mo cerd laechdachta LU. 75ᵇ 30. fó cach scel .i. is maith cech scél atchuas anuasana, LL. 188ᵃ 48. nip fo lat .i. ni maith leat, O'Don. Supp. The compar. *fóo* occurs in Eg. 1782, fo. 75ᵃ: ni thainicc riam tegluch fóo. Compd. fó-amsera, LU. 83ᵃ. fó-sén, LL. 254ᵃ 6. Skr. *vasu*?

2. fó *honour*, p. 1, Ff 4. gan fó, gan forithint, O'Br.

foacht (=fo-facht) *asking*, Ff. 8. Abstracted from a t-pret. √*veq*, such as iarmifoacht, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 109[a] 1.

fóbairt *attack*, Ff. 54. So O' Dav. 91. Verbal noun of *fúapraim* (fo-od-b).

fochnad *firewood*, E. 14. So H. 3. 18, p. 70[b], and Corm. B. fochnod, and see Corm. Tr. 73, s.v. fochonnad. The *fachnadad* lasamuin of Stowe XIX seems corrupt.

foessam (MS. faosamh) *safeguard*, Ff. 31, D. 55. for fóesam rig na ndula, ib. 52. for a [ḟ]oessam .i. fora[ḟ]oessitin, Colm. h. 2. for a fóisam dún ar talmain, LL. 364, marg. sup. for fóisam ṅDé di*diu*, ol si, LL. 286[a] 3.

foessitiu *protection*, D. 55, where it is written *faoisidin*, the dat. or acc. sg. for a [ḟ]oessam .i. for a [ḟ]oessitin, Colm. h. 2.

fóir *awaiting* (?), E. 9. roforbad a foir, Rawl. B. 502, fo. 43[b] 2.

fol *base? foundation?* E. 16. fol .i. bonn, Stowe XIX. sg. gen. dubithir leth dub-folach, LU. 113[b] 13. acc. for folaig n-athloisc[th]e na hecailsi, Rev. Celt. ix. p. 458. Perhaps from *svolak, cogn. with Lat. *solum*.

folaid *able, competent*, p. 2. This seems the meaning of *folaith* in LU. is folaith do Dia anísin, 113[a], is folaid Dia, 113[b].

folerbhad *death*, D. 53. So O'Cl. i fanu folerbad fal romiad .i. is fán i mbíd immad na fer romiadach i mbás *It is a slope whereon many most honourable men are lying in death*, LL. 187[b] 52.

follán *beauty?*, D. 23, = fallán, O'Br. It is generally an adj. dá .l. ban find follán, LU. 50[a] 14, which O'Curry renders by 'twice fifty women, fair and healthy.' The corresponding adverb occurs in LU. 6[a] 22, cepe nod-geba co follan (.i. etir ceill 7 fogur), and in H. 2. 16, col. 700: ciabe gabas cach dia Amra Coluim co fallan. cuairt nemhfalláin 'an unwholesome visit,' Misc. Celt. Soc. 332.

fonn *a cantred*? (tricha cét), Ff. 28. dar cach ferand, dar cach fond, LL. 81[b]. flaith na fond, LL. 131[a] 8: ba faenchrom a bh-fonn na sean an coll, Misc. Celt. Soc. 340. A oighre a n-easbaidh an buinn, ib. 342. tur gach aon fhonn d'iath Ealcca, *Dán do Brian na múrtha*. Borrowed from Lat. *fundus*?

fophor, fofor *a well*, D. 50. Now the place-name *Fabhar* 'Fore.' See sopur.

1. forba *a country* (tuath), Ff. 28. forba .i. fearann, O'Cl. Rachatsa, em, d'iarra[i]d forba 7 feraind doib, Bk. Fen. 178. sg. gen. im roind a forba, LB. 124[b]. cosnum foirbe re Mac nDé is ed dogné lecae bán *winning a heritage from God's Son, this would*

make the cheeks white, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 62^{b} 2. O.Ir. *orbe*, *orba* with prothetic *f*. Cogn. with Goth. *arbi*.

2. for-ba *slaying*, *rending*, *hacking*, D. 48. Cognate with for-*benim* (for-da-rubai, LU. 20^{a} 27); Gr. θείνω, ἔπεφνον; Skr. √*han*.

for-coem-nacair *factum est*, *accidit*, D. 30. .i. tarla, Trip. Life xlviii. See G.C.^{2} 451. A deponential redupl. pret. of an imperfect verb of which the pres. indic. was prob. *forchumcim* (*forchuimsed* 'fieret,' Wb. 4^{d}). The 2d. sg. is in Salt. R. 1544, where Adam says to Eve: cid mor do locht . . . is dom chorp forcoemnacar. Root *nank*, whence also Lat. *nanciscor*.

forcongra *injunction*, D. 37. So O'Cl. triasin aine a mbui Moysi tria forcongra Dé fair, LB. 259^{a}. A sister form of *for-con-gur*, cogn. with *gáir*=W. *gawr*, Gr. γῆρυς, etc.

forcthe (gl. doctus), p. 4, part. pret. pass. of *for-canim* 'I teach.' The part. fut. pass. bed foircthi, leg. foircthí (gl. imbuendam, studiis) occurs in Ml. 132^{a} 4. The contrary, an-forcthe 'indoctus,' is in LB. 55^{a} 64.

1. fót *watchful*, *cautious*, E. 15. So Corm. and O'Cl. It is rather *watchfulness*, Ff. 53. fó dúib fatchius 7 fót, LL. 57^{b}. ri fót 7 ri foraire 7 ri freccomas, LL. 171^{b} 30. 'com (f)óit 7 'com forairi, LL. 263^{b}. The contrary is *anfót* 'heedlessness,' LL. 125^{b} 55 and Fél. July 30.

2. fót *knowledge*, D. 35. So O'R. *fód* 'art, skill, sense, knowledge.'

1. fracc *a woman*, *wife*, Ff. 24. So O'Dav. 92 and O'Cl. frag. rucethar i capp in díaid phill do[f]racc, a scáil, *may thy wife be carried in a hearse behind a horse, O hero!* LH. 34^{b} 2 (Goidel. 158). fri fraicc .i. fri cumail, Broc. h. 71. W. *gwrach*. Hence the dimin. *fraccnatan* 'girl,' LL. 252^{a} 3.

2. fracc *hand*, D. 14. So O'Cl. frag. In L. Lec. Voc. we have metathesis of *r*: farc .i. lam 7 bean. doucc a frac amach, *Uath Beinne Etair*, Rev. Celt. xi. 131.

fraic *shield*, Ff. 37. So O'Cl. fraig.

fraicc *hair*, Ff. 45,=W. *gwrych* 'bristles.'

fuach *word*, D. 26. So Corm. Tr. 56, L.Lec. Voc., Stowe XIX, and O'Cl. cia nach laigfedh (.i. nach cuirfedh) siansa (.i. ciall) a fuach (.i. a focul), H. 3. 18, part i. p. 210. From *fo-ṡech? √veq? Cf. foacht supra.

fuaim *reproach*, E. 6. So L.Lec. Voc. *fuaim* pl. n. *fuamand*, usually means 'sound.'

fuait *remnant*, E. 3. So Corm. s.v. *smeróit*, and O'Cl.

fúal *water*, E. 14. So Stowe XIX. and O'Cl. *fúal* usually

means 'urine.' sg. gen. ar galar fuail, G.C.^{2} 949. tabairt a fúail, in-imechtur in dúnaid *to make his water outside the camp*, LU. 67^a 34. From **vog-lo*, cogn. with Gr. *ὑγ-ρό-ς* (from *Fογ-ρο-*) and O.N. *vökr*.

fúan N. *mantle*, Ff. 35. D. 56. So O'Cl. fúan (gl. lacerna), Wb. 30^d 19. sg. nom. fúan cáin cóir, LU. 81^a 25, fúan corcor-gorm im suide, LU. 113^b 4. acc. dobert fuan corcra cortharach taris, LL. 108^a 16. for fuan n-argit .i. etach co n-argut, LL. 187^c 24. W. *gwn*, Eng. *gown*. The Old-Fr. *gone*, Ital. *gonna*, seem to come from a Gaulish cognate **vónā* from **vos-nā*.

fúath *shape*, *image*, D. 11. fuath .i. dealb, L.Lec. Voc., Stowe XIX. A common word.

fuider *word*, Ff. 10,=fuidhir .i. briathar, O'Cl. Cogn. with Skr. *vad*, *vadati* 'to speak, call, sing,' Gr. *ἴδω*, *ἰδέω*.

fuideran *tunic*, E. 19: dimin. of fuidhir .i. brat, O'Cl. Cogn. with *ὀθόνη* and A.S. *wád*. 'Fidan .i. inar,' H. 3. 18, p. 70^b, seems a corruption of this gloss.

fuigill *word*, Ff. 10, note 17.

fuince *fang*, *talon*, Ff. 49. So O'R. but fuinche, S. and L.

1. fuinche *fox*, Ff. 51. *a black fox*, L. Lec. Voc. is tomġmall [leg. togmall?] i foir foinchi .i. en toghain fo sinnach, Amra Conroi, H. 3. 18, p. 49.

2. fuinche (MS. fuindchi) *royston crow*, L. Lec. Voc. So O'Cl. Perhaps the gen. sg. of this word occurs in LL. 154^b 21: duibi deóir funchi feidil culchi cach eoin imthemin.

fuirmed *lowering*, Ff. 7. So O'Cl. Rather *pressing* or *laying down*. Verbal noun of *forimim*, encl. *fuirmim*.

1. fuit *cold*, Ff. 74, E. 27. fuit .i. uacht, H. 3. 18, p. 67^c, s v. culpait. Fúit co bráth, LL. 208^a 41 = Fuitt co bráth, Rawl. B. 502. Dr. K. Meyer suggests that this *fuit* may come from O.N. *hvitr* 'white.'

2. fuit (MS. fuid), *blazing*, *kindling*, Ff. 68. This is O'R.'s *fuid* 'lighting, kindling.' Can it properly mean to *excite*, *stimulate*, and be borrowed from O.N. *hvetja* or A.S. *hwettan*? A third Middle-Irish *fuit* occurs in LU. 59^b 42; fuit Dia do bethu—and seems the Old Irish interjection *uit*, G.C.^{2} 750, with prothetic *f*.

fur *ready*, *prepared*, E. 19, is rather *preparation*, *making ready*. fur .i. leatha no urchill, L.Lec. Voc. fur .i. ullmhughadh, O'R. fur na long, LL. 401^b 45. A deriv. *fúrad* occurs in Salt. R. 5885: fri fúrad na ṅgrúam ṅglorach. Compd. arán rem-fúir nemdesctha, Salt. R. 4352, 4356.

furnaide (MS. furnuigheo) *delay*, Ff. 25. So O'Cl. Ni roleic imorro in t-aingel fuirech na furnaidhe do i maighin eile co riacht Magh Rein, Bk. Fen. 112. on fethem 7 furnaide frisin eochair, ibid. 176. on fuirech *ocus* on furnaidhe doronsat na clerchi [leg. clérich?] frisin corp, ibid. 180. This is, with prothetic *f*, the same word as *urnaide*, *irnaide*, *ernaide* 'waiting.'

1. gabar *horse*, Ff. 19. So O'Cl., who gives two spellings, *gabhar* and *gobhar*. Acc. to Cormac gabur is 'goat,' while gobur is 'horse.' Is alaind feras alluagh (?) gabar Baetan riasin sluag, H. 2. 16, col. 873 = Is alaind feras in luadh gabair Baedan riasin sluagh, Tig. 561. sg. gen. brunni gabra Diarmato, LU. 117ª 14 = LL. 277ª 05. dat. os gabur gil, LL. 154ª 47. Doluid for a gabrai gluair, Salt. R. 4781. acc. cor-rucait namait a chend, a gabair, is a dubcend *so that foes may carry off his head, his horse and his sword*, LU. 13ᵇ, pl. gen. rotbia limsa . . . L. gabur ndubglas, LU. 130ᵇ 43. tricha gobar luath leimnech, Bk. Fen. 366. dual nom. a dá gabair cona n-allaib óir *his two horses with their reins of gold*, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 116ª 1. Hence there seem to be two words, *gabar* and *gabair*, from two stems, **gabro-* and **gabri-*.

2. gabar *light* (lux), E. 16. gabhar .i. solas, O'Flah. pl. n. taitnit gabra tar mag lir, H. 2, 16, col. 396 A. gabur ainm do grein *a name for the sun*, H. 4, 22, p. 61ª, seems the same word, the sun being regarded as the steed of heaven?

gáet (MSS. gáodh) *a wound*, Ff. 23. gaet .i. guin, Stowe XIX. O'Clery's *gaod* .i. guin. pl. acc. fordacorsatar goéta .i. gona no ro gonad, Brocc. h. 66. A cogn. verb *ro-gáet* (*ro-gaod* .i. dogonadh, O'Cl.), is used as a pret. pass. sg. 3 of *benim*. rogaet and do gae, LL. 154ª 46. gaitis .i. gonus .i. marbus, H. 3. 18, p. 70ᵇ. Cf. gaedad .i. guin, L. Lec. Voc., con-goite (gl. conpunctus), Ml. 58ᶜ 17. Lith. *žaizda* 'a wound, hurt.'

gáid *an asking*, *a prayer*, D. 38, goidh .i. guide, O'Dav. 95. Abstracted from *ro-gáid*, perf. sg. 3 of O.-Ir. *guidiu* = Zend *jaidhyémi*, Teut. *bidjan*, which Bezzenberger connects with Gr. *ποθέω* and *θέσσασθαι*.

gaire *shortness of life*, E. 17. So Corm., citing the satire *Maile, baire, gaire Caiour* (evil, death, short life to Caier!), etc. Derived from *gor* .i. gairit, O'Dav. 95. Fél. prol. 59.

galann, *an enemy*, Ff. 22. So O'Cl. doriŋgned guin galand desium and sin 7 rodíchend Feradach hé, LL. 258ª 13. Cognate with W. *galanas* 'inimicitia, homicidium, pretium homicidii.'

1. gam *winter*, E. 15. So O'Cl. rofaeth sam, snigid gam, Amra

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Chol. 63. gen. mí gaim *November*, Corm. s.v. gamuin. in-aidchi gaim, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 102[a] 2. From **ghyamo-s*, Windisch, in Curtius' Studien, vii. 375. Lat. *hiems* and Gr. χειμών find their Celtic reflexes in O.W. *gaem*, later *gayaf*, Corn. *goyf*. The Ir. *gem* (im *gem-red*, *gem-fuacht*, *gem-oidche*) is=Skr. *hima*, Lat. **himo-s* in *bîmus* from **bi-himo-s*.

2. gam *wife*, E. 16. So Corm. and L. Lec. Voc. Cogn. with Gr. γάμος, γαμέω, Lat. *geminus*.

gann *a vessel*, E. 12, *a jug or pitcher*, gann .i. easgra, O'Flah. may be cogn. with κάνθαρος (a cup, a kind of boat), if this be from *χανθαρος.

gart *hospitality*, Ff. 13. So Corm. and O'Cl. gart .i. tidnacul no eneach, H. 3. 18, p. 615[a]. sg. gen. richis garta .i. einech, LU. 123[a] 11. co lin garta, LU. 47[a] 21.

gég, Ff. 58. A scribal error for *ré*, q.v.

geis *prayer*, E. 23. So Corm. and Stowe XIX. pl. n. gessi, gesse, LL. 220[b] 26, 32. From **ged-ti*. Cf. *gessid* (gl. supplicem) Ml. 40[d] 22. From **ged-ti-ti*. Cogn. with *guidiu* 'I pray' v. supra s.v. gáid. *Ceis* .i. guidhe, O'Dav. 69, is either a mistake for *geis* or a loan from Lat. *quaestio*.

gen *sword*, Ff. 36. So O'Cl. and O'Br. The latter has also the compound *gen-chrios* 'sword-belt.' Ní ba eallma bias in gen i n-Ard iar n Dubh da inbher *not in readiness shall be the sword in Ard, after Dub-dá-inber*, Three Frags. 90. Cogn. is *genam* .i. claidemh, O'Dav. 96 = *genum*, LL. 166[b] 1, 208[a] 8. Compare Lith. *genu* die äste am baume behauen oder beschneiden (Nesselmann).

genmnaid (gl. castus) p. 4. is sí in glan genmnaid, LU. 49[b], 5. Cogn. with *genas*, *genma* and *genmnaidecht* 'chastity.'

geognad *a wound*, Ff. 23. sg. acc. dogeba geognad is guin. Aed engach 'sin irgail, Bk. Fen. 376. Compare certain forms of the perf. sg. 3 of *benim*, viz. *geguin*, LU. 70[b] 11, *géoguin* LU. 65[b] 5, *geogain*, LU. 72[b] 23, *geogna*, Rev. Celt. v. 202, etc.

gésca *light*, Ff. 29. *gésca* 'branch' may possibly be the same word. Cf. Amra Chol. 62: raith rith la gréin ngéscaig, *i.e.* (writes the glossator) "therefore géscach (*branchy? luminous?*) is said of it (the sun), for from it there is light unto stars and to human beings' eyes."

giabair *harlot*, Ff. 75. So O'Cl., giabur Corm., but *ciabar* .i. salach no merdrech, O'Dav. 63, tre coiblighi ciabhair *through impure copulation*, H. 2. 15, cited by O'Curry, Lectures, p. 462.

gibne *cupping-horn*, Ff. 75. So Corm.

gil *leech*, E. 16. So Corm. s.v. gildae, who cites from the Bretha nemed; doglen gil tengaid *leech sticks to tongue*. McAlpine gives a Highland *giol* F. leech, *giol-tholl* horse-leech. W. *gel* sanguisuga, pl. *gelod*, Corn. *ghel*. Possibly cogn. with the Hesychian καβλέει· καταπίνει and βλέ-τυες· αἱ βδέλλαι. Fick also connects Lat. *gula*.

glann *shoulder*, Ff. 42. *gland* or *glang*, Corm., *glang*, O'Cl. cona chreit . . . clang-dírig, LU. 80[a] 28.

1. glé *pure*, Ff. 9. So O'Cl.

2. glé *bright, clear*, Ff. 9. Wb. 12[d] 4. glé la cách, LU. 69[b] 19. Identical with 1 glé.

gleith *consuming*, D. 13. So O'Cl. 'feeding, grazing,' O'R. ac gleith in feoir, *feeding on the grass*, Laws ii. 238, l. 23. ar gleith ind feoir, Trip. Life 228, l. 18. Mili do gabraib fri gleith, Salt. R. 6299. One of the infinitives of *gelim*.

1. glinne *cows*, p. 3. This and the following two words may be cognate with Gr. γάλα, γαλαθηνός.

2. glinne *calves*, p. 3. O.-Ir. glonn *calf*, gen. gluinn, Bk. Arm. 16[b] 1, may be cognate.

3. glinne *milk*, p. 3.

4. glinne *lead*, p. 4. Cogn. perhaps with Gr. γαλήνη 'plumbago.'

gluss *light*, Ff. 74. So Corm., O'Dav., 94, and O'Cl. do-glus .i. droch-soillsi .i. glús soillsi, H. 3. 18, p. 68[c]. so-glus, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 52[a] 2. Probably connected with Eng. *gloss*, Norse *glossi*, N.H.G. *glosten*. But the etym. of all these words is obscure.

gnae, gnai *woman*? D. 8. *wife*, D. 40. gnae *a woman*, O'R. This goes with Vedic *gnā*, Gr. γυνή, etc., while the ordinary *ben* goes with Boeotian βανά.

1. gnai *stately*, E. 17. gnoe .i. ségda, LU. 109[a] 41. gnoe imorro cach ségda, Corm. s.v. gnó. Probably the same word as 2. gnai.

2. gnaí (gnoí?) *pleasant*, D. 40. gnoe, Corm. s.vv. foi and gnó. gnaoi, O'Cl.

gnía *a sister's son*, D. 46. So O'Cl. A corruption of *niae*, gen. *niath*, G.C.[2] 255, 256, = Lat. *nepos*, Skr. *napat*, A.S. *nefa*, the *g* coming from O. Ir. *gnia* 'servant,' sg. acc. *gniaid*, LU. 123[a] 28, compd. *fern-gnia*, O'Dav. 86, which is cognate with *do-gniu* 'facio.'

gníth *voice*, E. 16. Cormac's gníd, gníd-gal: gnioth *shout, uproar*, O'R. pl. dat. perhaps co ngnithaib fiad na slogaib, Salt. R. 8118. The *gni* .i. guth of Stowe XIX seems an error for *gnith*.

1. gnó *distinguished*, D. 10, *famous*, D. 52. So L. Lec. Voc.,

O'Dav. 94 and O'Cl. Compar. gno som sui .i. urdarca som cech sui, Amra Senáin. noud cerda .i. aurdarcaigim elathna, Rawl. B. 502, fo. 61ª 1. The *ó* of *gnó* is probably from *áv*: cf. Lat. *gnāvus*, *gnavare*, A.S. *cnâwan* 'to know,' from **knévan*.

2. gnó *jeering, mocking, derision*, E. 17. So Corm., O'Dav. 94, O'Cl.

gnod *point*, Ff. 75. gnod a cono, conum est summa pars galeae, O'Mulc. 67.

goithne *javelin*, Ff. 48. goithni .i. gaoi, Duil Laithne. A dimin. of goth .i. ga, O'Cl. (pl. nom. goith tentide inal-lamaib, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 44ª 1. Compd. goth-śnechta, LB. 115 marg.), whence also gothnad (leg. gothnat) ibid.=gothnath, LU. 79ᵇ 8. pl. acc. ragabsatar . . . a n-ocht ṅgothnatta néit, LL. 84ª 51.

gorm *excellent*, D. 17. .i. oirdheirc, O'Cl. .i. urdairc, O'Dav. 94. .i. ord[r]aic, Stowe XIX. Compd. *gorm-rig* .i. na rig erdarcu, Fél. Prol. 233. Perhaps a participle passive from a root *gor*= Vedic *gir* 'to praise, to honour' (Grassmann), whence gûrtá, gûrya. The O. Ir. adj. *gor* 'pius' may be cogn., as well as Gr. γέρας and Lat. *gratus*.

grant *making grey*, D. 13, is rather *grey*: grant .i. liath, O'Cl. and Corm. s.v. crontśaile. Conall grant hua Cernaig crúaid, LL. 185ᵇ 26.

grech *nut*, Ff. 75. Corm. Tr. p. 90. mac greche .i. eitne cnó *kernel of a nut*, Amra Conroi, H. 3. 18, p. 49. In Harl. 5280, fo. 56ᵇ, grech is (erroneously?) glossed by *caech*, ut est cna grecha.

greit *champion*, E. 25. So O'Cl. greid .i. geraid, L. Lec. Voc. greid .i. gaiscidach, H. 3. 18, p. 537. greit ríg, LU. 106ª 5. congreit rig, Fél. June 17, where *greit* is glossed by *anroth*.

grenn, F. *beard*, Ff. 40. So Corm. Tr. p. 90, and O'Cl. sg. acc. greind, LL. 186ᵇ 9. Hence the verb *grennaigim* 'I beard,' 'I challenge,' verbal noun *grennugud*, adj. *grennaigthech*. Welsh and Bret. *grann* cilium, palpebra. The Span. *greña* seems from an Old-Celtic **grennā*. Cognate is the Albanian *krande*.

grían *land*, D. 9. So O'Cl., H. 3. 18, p. 625, and L. Lec. Voc. gainem a grian, LB. 214ª. O'Don. Supp. gives the gen. sg. as *grin* : *fine grin* 'the original tribe of the land:' *fer grin* 'the owner of the land.' acc. coto-mélat ar múr 7 grían, LU. 67ᵇ 16. Prob. identical with *grian* 'gravel'=W. *graian*. ar úir ocus grían, LU. 106ᵇ. itir ur ocus grioan, Harl. 5280, fo. 66ᵇ. corbo réill in grian 7 in gainem in mara, LU. 26ª 8. is gat im ganem ná im grían, LL. 88ª 17. Compd.: murgrian amal mil, LB. 215ª.

1. grib *swiftness*, Ff. 21, D. 12, is rather *swift*. adv. co gribb, Mael Ísu, cited in Fél. clxxxv. comor 's go gripp, Bk. Fen. 218. Hence gripe *swiftness*, Rev. Celt. iii. 183.

2. grib *prohibition, hindrance*, Ff. 43. So O'Cl.

1. grinn *stronghold*. Ff. 9. So O'Cl.

2. grinn *decency*, Ff. 9. So O'Cl. But it rather seems an adj. as to the meaning of which many guesses have been made. See 1. grind in Wind. Wört. and add *is ccoiggad ingen ngel ngrind*, Bk. Fen. 48, which Hennessy renders by 'with fifty fair sprightly maidens.'

1. grith *sun*, Ff. 20. But grioth, O'Br. Apparently the same word as *grith* 'ardour': grith slegi, LL. 267c. From *ghṛti, cogn. with Vedic ghṛṇá 'Sonnenglut.'

2. grith *knowledge*, Ff. 45. So O'Cl. Hence gritheach *learned*, O'Br.

grot *bitter*, E. 17. So Corm. s.v. gruiten. Seems a sister-form of *goirt* (gl. acidus). Another *grot* 'active'? often occurs: ro garb-glés go grod a géir-ingne, Eg. 1782, fo. 34a 1. Gac(h) egin grott a mbí in dream, Bk. Fen. 241, where Hennessy renders *grott* by 'sudden': mana tí go grod 'na dail, ibid. where he renders *go grod* by 'quickly.' dimiad . . . dom liubar co grod, ib. 220.

grotán (MS. grodan) *boat*, Ff. 75. So O'Cl.

gúaire *hair*, Ff. 41. So O'Cl. Occurs in Lism. Lives 2212, 3798.

guba *wailing*, D. 35. So L. Lec. Voc., Stowe XIX, and O'Cl. guba suspiria .i. osnad, Corm. Tr. 89 and H. 3. 18, p. 70b. oc estecht fri guba 7 fri golgaire na n-anmand oc troge, LU. 30b 39. agair a gubæ, LU. 69a 36.

gulba *mouth*, Ff. 41. So O'Cl. In Corm. Gl. it means *mouthful*. sg. acc. doepetar gulba da cach ferand. The n-stem *gulba* 'rostrum' seems a different word.

1. gunn *a breaking*, D. 20. So O'Cl.

2. gunn *neck*, D. 20. So O'Cl. O'Reilly, mistaking *bráige* 'neck' for *braige* 'hostage,' has "*gunn* s.m. a prisoner, a hostage."

homo *human being*, Ff. 53. Aithne dam homa (.i. duine) re haei (.i. re heladain), H. 3. 18. Borrowed from Lat. *homo*.

humal (gl. oboed[i]ens) p. 4. So Corm. Tr. 167. Borrowed from Lat. *humilis*. So W. *ufyll*, Br. *vuel*. Hence *huimle*, Salt. R. 7300. The cogn. subst. *umaldóit* is from *humilitātem*.

í *island*, D. 15. So O'Cl. hi .i. inis, L. Lec. Voc., Stowe XIX. From O.N. *ey* = A.S. *ég*, *ig*.

íach *salmon*, Ff. 14, E. 10. So L. Lec. Voc., Stowe XIX. gen.

iaich, LU. 16[b] 39, 40[a] 16: a vocalic stem, cognate with the *o*-stem *eo*, gen. *iach* = Lat. *esox*, W. *eog*, Corn. *ehoc*, G.C.[2] 123.

iairchena *thenceforward*, D. 28, iarchena .i. anegmais, 'besides,' L.Lec. Voc. iarceana .i. anegmus, Stowe XIX. This is *archena* LU., 28[a] 37, 30[b] 30, 31[a] 37, *archéana* .i. o sin amach, O'Cl. and *archéana* .i. anecmais, H. 4. 22. p. 59[b].

íar *black*, D. 21, E. 19. So L.L.Voc., Stowe XIX, O'Cl. and O'Flah. Is uime goirthear Lúghaidh Iar-dhonn de, ionann iar-dhonn 7 dubh-dhonn, gona tré folt dhubhdhonn do bheith air ráinig Lughaidh Iardhonn d' forainm air, Haliday's Keating, p. 336.

iarlonn *the west, back part*, Ff. 56. iorlann .i. iarthar tighe mara mbi biadh, O'Cl. Can the *iarluib* of the *Voyage of Mael Duin* (Rev. Celt. ix. 474, l.c.) be a scribal error for *iarlonnaib*?

1. íath *bell*, pp. 2, 3. So Corm. s.v. bachall. aoth *a bell*, O'Br.

2. íath *famous*, p. 3.

3. íath *cowl*, p. 3.

4. íath (iat?) *reliquary*, p. 1. 'etag' 7 'iath' anmann fethal la gentiu, O'Mulc. 469, = 'ettech' 7 'iat' anmann fethal la gentiu, unde dicitur dotong darsna hiata-so *I swear by these reliquaries*, H. 3. 18. p. 81, col. 1.

5. íath N. *land*, p. 1, Ff. 4, Ff. 28. So O'Cl. iath n-Anand .i. Eiriu, H. 3. 18, p. 635[c]. sg. dat. in sudigud bias in iath (.i. hi tír) Sion, LU. 8[a] 41. ri dosn-uargaib os cech iath, Salt. R. 7445. acc. ránic iáth in nád adaig aiccestar, Amra Chol. 34. cu iath nErend, Annals of Boyle, 1014. dat. in-iathaib aidbli aniuil, Salt. R. 3526. dos-fuc a hiathaib Egipt, ibid. 4426. Compounds are nim-íath, ríg-íath, íath-maige.

ibath *death*, D. 57. iobadh, O'Br. Perhaps an old misreading of .i. bath.

icht *children*, D. 12, and E. 13 (where the MS. has *ucht*). So Corm. s.v. Eoganacht, and Corm. Tr. 98, where cinn should probably be cinél. *icht* may be cogn. with N.H.G. *echt* 'genuine,' urdeutsch **ahti*. Hence the adj. *ichtmar*. Lé rugadh an Righ Neamhdha an O'gh íchtmar oirea[gh]dha, Misc. Celt. Soc. 348.

idna *weapon, spear*, D. 16. ri hidnae nethes nemthigetar, Corm. s.v. nith. O'Cl. explains this word by *sleagha no arm*. Pl. nom. m'idnu (leg. m'idna?) airgdide, LL. 206[b]. dat. for idnaib an ánruth, LL. 232[b] 33. taithniomh oir ara n-iodhnoibh *the glittering of gold upon their weapons*, H. 3. 3 cited in Petrie's *Tara* 166. pl. acc. bruid idnu buden, LU. 47[b] 23. O'roghabh a iodhna, *Dán do Bhrian*

na múrtha. Hence the adj. idnach *warlike, abounding in weapons.* The root is *yudh* 'to fight,' whence also many British names beginning with *Iud*, Gr. *ὑσ-μίνη*, Skr. *yúdhyati, yuyódha.*

idna *honour-price*, D. 43. acc. cen idna nglan, Salt. R. 1395. Derived from idan .i. glan, O'Cl.

immderg *blame*, Ff. 62. Hence the verb *immdergaim.* Verbal noun *immdergud.*

indless *goodness*, p. 2. innlus gach tinnscra fri deirge dligid o rechtaib commamsa *on leaving* (*her husband*?), *she is entitled by the laws of matrimony to the increment of every bride-price*, O'Dav. 70, s.v. comaim.

innsa *trouble*, Ff. 54. So O'Cl. A cognate adj. existed in O.Ir. ni insa, S. Paul, v. 5, the Mid. Ir. form of which was *andsa*, compar. *andsu*, Rev. Celt. viii. 358, l. 2.

inntile *a vessel, or case*, Ff. 56. So O'Cl. In Corm. Tr. p. 98 the word is explained as 'a small vessel wherein drink fits.'

ír=Lat. *īra*, but in Ff. 56 explained by deabaidh *contention.* a ír .i. a ferg, Corm. Tr. 116, s.v. mer. ir .i. fearg, O'Cl. ír .i. saithin (?) no ferg, O'Dav. 98. ir .i. fearg, Stowe XIX. ir . . . significaret Hibernis . . . iram, O'Moll. 29. gáir gér gribi, hír is ferg, Salt. R. 921. buith co n-ír, LL. 43[a] in marg. la Demon co n-ír, LU. 114[b] 30. cen chomairb, cen f-ír, LB. 261[b] 17, cen fodord, cen hír, 262[a] 9. Hence the adj. *írach*, Salt. R. 4086, etc. The W. *ir-llawn*, *ir-llonedd* show that *íra* was borrowed also by the Cymry.

irchaill *doorpost*, Ff. 6. earchaill, O'Cl. do chnámaib elefinnte tra dorónta na doirsi 7 na hircholla, LB. 209[b]. O'Br.'s *ircilt* 'the side-post of a door,' seems a corruption of this. *erchéallan* 'a pole, stake,' O'Br., may also be connected.

irsi adj. *light*, Ff. 74, a doubtful word.

itropa *head*, Ff. 38. itrópa, O'Cl. A doubtful word. L. has *is tropa* and possibly *itropa* may be nothing but an old misreading of *.i. tropa*, as *ibath*, q.v., of *.i. bath.*

laba *eyebrow*, Ff. 39. Better laupa=lauba, O'Br., cogn. with *lúpaim* 'I bend.' s-pret. pl. 3 rolúpsatar, LL. 86[b] 45.

ladg *snow*, Ff. 5. So O'Cl. ladhg, O'Br.

laeg *water, liquor*, E. 13. Perhaps a mistake for *laith*, q.v.

laemda, E. 28. Meaning doubtful. ronasc go léemda a lipadha, Eg. 1782, fo. 34[a] 1. St. Féchín's mother is called Lasair laomdha lanlebur, *Betha Féchín.* O'Br. has a *laom* 'a blaze of fire,' and O'R. a *laomh* 'strong, powerful.' co ti sil Luigdech in loeim, Bk.

Fen. 226. The compd. *laem-scel* occurs in Bk. Fen. 340, where it is rendered by 'famous story.'

laith *liquor*, D. 41. So O'Cl. laith .i. cuirm. laith .i. ass, O'Flah. Compd. tri laith-linni, SP. v. 16. Corn. *lad* (gl. liquor), Lat. *latex*.

laithre *cow*, Ff. 16. So O'Cl. Derived from *laith* 'milk,' Laws, i. 64, 66: laith find for tellraig .i. as na mbó iarsa[n] talmain.

1. lang *feast*, E. 20. So H. 4. 22, p. 13, and L. Lec. Voc. Cognate with the verb *longaim* 'I eat.'

2. lang *fraud*, Ff. 57, D. 22. So Corm. s.v. Gaileng, O'Cl., O'Flah., H. 3. 18, p. 635[d], and Eg. 1782, p. 26. Hence the verb *longaim* 'I cheat, betray:' ro lancc in sennin fort, Rev. Celt. xi. 131. Gr. ἐ-λεγχος 'reproach, disgrace,' may be cognate.

láthar *hidden meaning*, Ff. 10. So O'Cl. In Wb. 5[c] 16 we seem to have the dat. sg. dont lathur diasndísiu robói hi rúnaib inna deacte oc tuiste dúile hi tossuch *to the unspeakable hidden meaning which was in the mysteries of the Godhead when creating (the) elements at first*. Compd. erláthar, LB. 56[a] 41. Cogn. with Lat. *lateo*.

1. ler M. *sea*, Ff. 15. So O'Cl. *the ocean* acc. to O'Dav. 100. ler tondban for talmain, Laud 610, fo. 90[a] 2. sg. gen. gainem lir fo longaib, LB. 28[a]. mac lir [.i.] mac mara, Corm. s.v. Manannán mac lir. dat. sg. liur, acc. mo ler cona lántoradh, LL. 385[b] 44, Bk. Rights, 196. fer co n-ilur gním dar ler, LU. 47[b] 30. ri rethes ler, LU. 40[a] 18. imma curchaib iarsin ler, LB. 33[a]. pl. acc. liru (gl. pontias) LH. 12[a] (Goidel.[2] p. 69). W. *llŷr* mare, equor.

2. ler *abundance*, Ff. 21. Seems used as an intensive prefix in *ler-glor*, *ler-thol*, *ler-mór*, *ler-ol*, Salt. R. 366, 611, 2722, 4443. ler-thinol, LL. 296[a] 1. Either a misspelling of *léir* 'industrius,' or the same word as 1. ler: so the gen. sg. of *díliu* (borrowed from Lat. *diluvium*) is used to intensify the meaning of the governing word, e.g. *dam dílenn*.

1. lés *bladder*, E. 15. So O'Cl. sg. dat. mar anáil il-lés, LL. 86[b] 35. Is leges lega cen lés *it is the leeching of a leech without a bladder* (in which he kept his medicaments), LH. 34[b] 2. lés lasgtha *a clyster*, O'Br. les cach mbolg imbi lind *every bag wherein is liquor*, Corm. s.v. *lesan*, spelt lésan in H. 3. 18, p. 72[a].

2. lés *light*, Ff. 57. léos, O'Cl., leus, O'R. So L.Lec. Voc. *Leos* and *lés*, Eg. 1782, p. 26. teora bliadna boi cen les Colum ina dubrecles, LH. 34[a] 2 (Goidel. 161). lés-boire, sg. gen. lésboiri, Wb. 25[d] 3. dual nom. dá léspaire mora, O'Don. Gr. 352. The forms containing *o* or *u* may be loans from O.N. *ljós*.

lí *praise* (?), E. 14. This meaning seems inferred from the *lí a molad* 'splendour his praise,' in Corm. s.v. fili. *lí* = W. *lliw* 'colour.'

lia M. *stone*, p. 4. lia laime, LL. 393ª 50. sg. gen. liac, dat. liaic: compd. nertlia, LL. 255ᵇ 16.

liachtain *moisture*, Ff. 56. √*leig*. Cogn. with λείβω, λοιβή, Lat. *lībatio*, *de-libutus*.

lígrad *tongue*, Ff. 57. lioghra, O'R. Derived from *ligur* 'tongue,' Corm., and cogn. with λείχω, *li-n-go*, *ligurio*. So in Duil Laithne 11, ligair .i. tenga.

lis *quarrel*, Ff. 65. So L.Lec. Voc. Borrowed from Lat. *lis*, as W. *llid* 'anger' from *litem*. See Corm. s.v. lesmac.

loc *place*, D. 29. So G.C.² 69. log, L.Lec. Voc. sg. gen. luic. pl. dat. o locaib imechtrachaib mundi (gl. ab hibernis locis), O'Mulc. 700. Compd. mac-loc *womb*, LL. 273ᵇ 26 and Rawl. B. 502, fo. 61ª 2. Borrowed from Lat. (*st*)*locus*.

lorc *fierce*, D. 24. So O'Cl. lorc .i. angbaid no laind, H. 3. 18, p. 537. in chrott arpeit Labraid Loṅgsech lorc, LH. 34ª 2.

losc *lame*, D. 33. So Stowe XIX, L.Lec. Voc. and H. 3. 18, p. 663ᵇ. sg. acc. Ni chuitbe nach sen ciarbat ooc . . . na losc ciaso luáth *Mock not any old man though thou art young, nor (any) lame man though thou art swift*, LL. 344ª 32. pl. acc. luscu .i. bacuchu, Fiacc's h. 32. losc (gl. clodus) O'Mulc. s.v. collud. Gr. λοξός, Lat. *luxus*. Another *losc* (=Lat. *luscus*) means 'blind': Domrigne losc lén, LL. 147ª 30.

1. loth *plumage*, D. 25. cf. luathan .i. en *bird*, Duil Laithne, 123. From *(p)luto- or *(p)lutā.

2. loth *fierce*, E. 27. From **luto*, cogn. with Gr. λύσσα 'rage,' from *lutjā, Lith. *lutis* 'storm,' Ch. Slav. *ljutŭ* 'vehement.'

lothar *raiment*, Ff. 20. So O'Cl. co ro dubai fri gréin 7 gáith i certaib 7 lothraib, LL. 274ᵇ 1. From 1. loth?

lú *smallness*, Ff. 47, is rather *small*: lú cach mbec, Corm. lú .i. beag, O'Cl. lulaegh .i. laégh mbec, Eg. 1782, p. 26. Hence luan .i. mac, H. 3. 18, part i. p. 210. is dal ena tar lua[n] (.i. uisque tar næidin), Amra Conroi. Compd. leas-luan *stepson*, O'Br.

lúa *foot*, Ff. 42, *kick*, E. 16. O'Cl. gives these two meanings. lua .i. preb, Eg. 1782, p. 26. Atacomcussa com laú, LU. 114ᵇ 10. mo da lua .i. mo da choiss, LL. 208ª 24. dobert a luie frisin comlai col-luid a chos trethe, LU. 19ᵇ 19. tobert Cuchulaind a lue athidisi, ibid. 22. tuc Cerball lua da choiss friasi, LL. 52ᵇ 11. In Old-Irish it seems to mean 'heel': sal no lue (gl. calx), Sg. 50ª 20.

luan *hound*, *wolf*, Ff. 16. So O'Cl. *a greyhound*, O'Br.

luba *body*. v. infra, s.v. tethra. *lúbha, lúbhnacha* or *lúibhneacha*, O'Br.

luc (luch?) *belly, womb*, Ff. 41. locc mbecc *a dimple*, LB. 148[b].

luchtaire *whirlpool*, Ff. 57. So O'Cl. *luchtaire* also means 'lanista,' Ir. Gl. No. 10, and, like the Lat. *luctor* 'I wrestle,' comes from a root *lug* meaning 'to twist.'

lugna *moon*, E. 2. So L.Lec. Voc. Seems borrowed from Lat. *lūna*, with *g* inserted to indicate the length of the preceding vowel. Cf. *lun* ó luna, LB. 241[a] 20, a gloss on the fo-lun lainderda, etc., of the Amra Senáin.

1. luibne *finger*, Ff. 42, D. 14. So Corm. s.v. deach. luibhne .i. meoir *fingers*, O'Cl.

2. luibne *spear*, Ff. 36. mam luibni .i. fam śleig, LL. 208[a]. Another meaning for *luibne* is *shield*. So in LU. 55[a] luibne gela foraib *white shields upon them*; but this seems a mistake for *ruibni*. see LL. 208[a] 7 : mo ruibni .i. mo sciath.

luigne *javelin*, Ff. 48. This is *luibhne* in H. and L.

luis *hand*, Ff. 57. So O'Cl. and Duil Laithne, 17, O'Dav. 101, H. 3. 18, pp. 71[b] and 636, and Eg. 1782, p. 26. Hence *luiseag* 'the haft of a knife or sword, the small iron part that goes into the handle,' O'Don. Supp. From **loc-si-*? Cf. Lat. *al-lex, pol-lex*?

lulgach *warrior*, Ff. 23. *a soldier*, O'Br.

macht *death*, p. 3, note 2. Cogn. with machtaim *I slaughter* : o ra machtait issin mórmaidm, LL. 195[a] 56, machtad *slaughtering*, LL. 193[a] 25, Lat. *macto*.

maen *dumb*, Ff. 34. So O'Cl. (maon). Asbert in rigan : 'maen ruc,' BB. 251[a], better móen, LL. 269[a] 29. Cogn. with Lat. *mūtus* from **moi-to-s*.

1. máin *good*, F. 43. So O'Cl. (maoin). Cogn. with *máin* 'treasure' (ní ḟil mo máin fen acht a nim, LB. 216[b]), pl. acc. maíni 'precious things,' LL. 271[b] 16. Lat. *mūnus* from **moinos*.

2. máin *love*, Ff. 34. So O'Cl. (maoin).

mairne *treachery*, D. 52. Cogn. with *mairn, mairned* 'betrayal,' *mairnim* 'I betray' (rom airnet nad aincet, LL. 344[c] 52), *marntid* 'traitor,' LL. 282[a] 2.

1. mál *soldier*, Ff. 23. So O'Cl. Prob. identical with 2. mál.

2. mál *a lord, noble*, D. 48. So O'Dav. 106, O'Cl., L.Lec. Voc., O'Flah. Cormac explains it as *king*, and so in LL. 311[b] 33 mal .i. ri : in LL. 307[d] 5 : mad beo mac in mail .i. in ríg, and in H. 3. 18, p. 82[b], cu mail .i. righ. Gorbo mál cach maige móir, Salt. R. 3431 : is

hé mal na slog, ibid. 4427. Voc. ciŋg mál .i. cémnig a uasail, LL. 186b 26. pl. nom. máil, LU. 40a 17. gen. o chath Mucrima nammál, LL. 131a. lín a mál, Salt. R. 6629. Old-Celtic **maglo-s*, W. *mael* in *Maelgwn* = *Maglocunos*.

3. mál *rent, tribute*, D. 48. So O'Flah. and O'Cl. mal. gen. sg. ri moradh a mail *by increasing its tribute*, Bk. Fen. 240. W. *mál* 'moneta' (Davies), 'tribute' (Richards). From A.S. *mál*, Eng. (black)*mail*.

mánáis *spear*, Ff. 48. So O'Cl. manais lethanglas, LU. 55a 15. 113b 8. manáis lethanglas límtha Lochlannach, *Selg Slébe na mBan Finn*, cited in *Battle of Ventry*, p. 82. dia notairle mánáis ... as mo laim sea, LU. 62b 1, where *mánáis* and *sleg* are used as synonymous. pl. n. nói manaise, LU. 93, l. 25. dat. bar ar mánaisib, LL. 85a 3.

1. mann F. *food*, D. 9. So O'Dav. 105, and O'Cl., who also have *mann* .i. cruithneacht 'wheat.' cin mann cin biadh *without fodder, or food*, Laws ii. p. 18, line 6. Is tre fír flatha mesrada móra for fedaib atat at manna milsi blassaigter, LL. 293b 16, 346a 1. maind, LB. 121a. Borrowed from *manna*.

2. mann *ounce*, Ff. 58. So Corm., O'Dav. 104, L.Lec. Voc., H. 3. 18, p. 636c, Eg. 1782, p. 26, O'Cl. and O'Flah. pl. n. manna óir forloiscthi Corm. and H. 3. 18, p. 72a. Güterbock regards this *mann* as borrowed from *mĭna μνᾶ*. But *mina* would in Irish have become **men*. Siegfried's etym., *mann* from **manvā*, cogn. with Gr. *μοῦνος*, *μόνος* (*μονϜος*), as Lat. *uncia* with *unus*, seems more probable.

marc (MS. mairc) *horse*, Ff. 19. So Corm. and O'Cl. Cogn. with W. *march*, the Galatian *μάρκαν* (acc. sg.) and *τρι-μαρκισία*, Pausan. x. 19, and the O.H.G. *marach*. The difference between a *marc* and an *ech* is, acc. to H. 3. 18, p. 639, that the former is female and the latter male (eich .i. firenna, mairc lathracha, leg. laracha 'mares'). But O'Dav. 104, has marc .i. ech no lair *horse or mare*, and in LU. 119b 28, the gen. pl. *marc* is glossed by *ech*. In the Amra Conroi *marc* is declined like a fem. *ā*-stem : Is menn mairce murgeire .i. searrach eich fo rón mara.

máta (MS. máda) *pig*, Ff. 17. Sg. gen. curadmír ferba (.i. bó) brachtchi (.i. methi) brothlochi sceo (.i. acus) mátai (.i. mucci) moogthi, LU. 109a 30, and see LL. 118a, 48, 50. A sister-form *mát* in Corm., *mait*, O'Dav. 105, s.v. main.

meile *quern*, Ff. 69. So O'Cl. pl. acc. ranirusa immorro deich meile, LU. 83b 4. Cogn. with *melim* 'I grind,' act. pres. ind. sg. 3,

mar gall ṁblooic melid broe .i. bróin, LL. 43ª 7. Lat. *molo*, Gr. *μύλλω*, Goth. *malan*.

mell *pleasant*, D. 35. So L. Lec. Voc. Mag mell *Fairyland*. O.-Ir. *meld*: ba mór meld a acaldam, Ml. carm. 1. Lat. *mollis*, from **molvis*, **moldvis*.

mellach *good*, Ff. 43, also in LU. 24ª 18, 74ª, 114ᵇ 22, for *meldach*, G.C.² 18, is rather 'gratus.' bá mellach in bág, LU. 114ᵇ 22.

memmur, N. *penis*, Ff. 46. So O'Cl., lit. *member*. Thus *memur laime no coisi* means 'a finger or toe,' O'Dav. 106, pl. n. oire nundem membur uili du Dea, *quia sumus membra omnes Deo*, Camb. G.C.² 1005. Borrowed from Lat. *membrum*.

mén *mouth*, F. 58. So Corm., H. 3. 18, p. 72ᶜ, and Eg. 1782, p. 26. mén mara .i. bél na mara, O'Cl. Hence *ménogud* 'hiatus,' Sg. 40ᵇ 8. gen. ar immgabáil ménaichthe 'ad vitationem hiatus,' Sg. 8ᵇ 1. W. *min*.

menmarc *thought, reflection*, E. 1, rather means *desire, darling*. ba hé menmarc a n-ingen 7 lénnán a n-ócban, LL. 271ᵇ 1, *he was the darling of their daughters and the lover of their young wives*. sg. gen. cluinte a hosnaid iar ṅdul a menmairc uathi *hearken to her sigh after her darling has gone from her*, LL. 269ᵇ 17.

míad *respect, honour, dignity*, Ff. 58. So O'Cl. is miad mór ind apstalacht, Wb. 13ᵇ 5. pl. dat. miadaib, LU. 52ª 25. O.Bret. *a muoed* (gl. fastu).

mi-scaith *a curse*, Ff. 29. So Corm. miscaid, O'Dav. 104. miscath .i. mallacht, L.Lec. Voc. scath .i. beannacht, ibid. sg. dat. fó míscaid bretheman brátha, LU. 31ᵇ 21. acc. eirgg dot tig, ar se, 7 beir miscaid, LL. 272ª 30. doberat tríst 7 míscaid 7 berait a n-oráit uadib, LB. 258ᵇ 52. Hence the adj. *miscadach* 'accursed,' Salt. R. 2392, 2422 (fri claind Caïn miscadaig).

mo *good*, p. 3. mo-ling 'bene salivit:' mo-genair. For *mon* (= Lat. *manus* 'good'?) or *ma* (= maith), which often occur compounded with verbs: mo-génar, LB. 146ᶜ. mon-genar, ma-tuluid 'bene ivit,' Fél. July 12, má-lodmar, LL. 45ª. ma-lodsaid, LU. 65ª 15=mád-lodsaid, ib. 64ᵇ 7.

mocht *gentle, quiet, mild*? Ff. 59. Can this be=W. *mwyth* 'mollis,' cogn. with *mwythan* et *moethan* delitiae?

monur N. *work, deed*, Ff. 9. So O'Cl. monar .i. obair. The O.Ir. gender appears from monar ṅ-gle, Colm. h. 37. is mor in monur, LL. 234ª 32. Hence *monorugud*, LB. 261 marg.

mormuir *bog*, Ff. 70. mórmhúir L. Seems a compound of *mór* 'great' and *múir* borrowed from A.S. *mór* or Eng. *moor*.

mos i. *melody*, p. 3. From **mod-to*. Cogn. with Lat. *modus*, 'measure, due measure, rhythm, melody,' etc. *modulor*, *modulatus*. ii. mos *ebb*, iii. mos *flood*, p. 3. These meanings (which are not *belegt*) seem to come from the regular occurrence of the phenomena in question.

mós *custom*, pp. 2, D. 58. So O'Cl. cach sobés, p. 3. immda gun cia (.i. fer) sin mós (.i. bés), fí (.i. olc), H. 3. 18, part 1, p. 210. ránic maige mós nad genetar ciúil, Amra Chol. 36. Borrowed from Lat. *mos*. Hence *mósach*, O'Br.

mothla *soft*, E. 22. *moist*, O'R. Cogn. with Lat. *mustus* 'fresh,' from **mut-to-s* ?

múad *good*, Ff. 43, D. 49. So H. 3. 18, p. 652, and O'Cl. múad .i. uasal no airmidnech, Corm. mac muad Muire, LB. 213[b]. sg. gen. masc. : roselai delai fir muaid móinig, LL. 186[b] 31. acc. fem. la Macha muáid, LL. 21[a] 45.

muchna *surly*, D. 22. Corm. Tr. 115 s.v. *muc*, and O'Cl. write this word *mucna*. But in LB. 255[b] 70 it is *muchna*.

múr *abundance*, p. 1, and Ff. 50, E. 26. Dia mor m'anacul de mur theinntide díu derc ndér *great God to save me from the fiery abundance of long looks of tears* ! Amra Chol. 4. So O'Cl. So H. 3. 18, p. 76[c], s.v. mér. a múr (.i. a himmed), chlúime, Fél. Prol. 126. Probably cogn. with the second element in πλήμ-μυρα, πλημ-μυρίς, πλημ-μύρω, πλημ-μυρέω. Ebel's connexion (Kuhn's Beitr. ii. 163) of πλημμυρίς with Ir. *muir* 'sea,' W. *mor*, Gaulish *mŏri*, seems impossible.

násad *famous*, D. 36. So O'Cl. pl. gen. comsid na náem násad n-án, *the guardian of the famous, splendid saints*, LU. 40[a] 36. Hence násadach, gen. sg. m. násadaig .i. erdarcaig, Goidel. 173.

neid, néit, néo *wind*, Ff. 67. néidh, O'R. The right spelling of this word is doubtful. It may have lost initial *p*, and be connected with πνέω, πνεῦμα, πνοή.

néit *battle*, Ff. 21. So O'Cl. culu tria neit .i. cath, Amra Chol. 2. neit ba hainm don chath nobrisind, LH. 34[b] 2 (Goidel. 158). iar do neit, ibid. neit .i. cath, LL. 393[b] 2. néit .i. guin, LU. 7[a] 7. iar do néit .i. iar do guin, LU. 6[b] 29. *Néit* is glossed by dia catha 'a god of battle,' in H. 3. 18. pp. 73[a], 637[a]. So Cormac, and see Rev. Celt. i. 36.

nemed *art*, D. 43. neimheadh .i. gach dán no gach ealadha, O'Cl. cach dán a nemed, *Aibidil Cuigni*, Book of Lecan, fo. 176[a] 2. *nemed* 'privilege,' seems the same word: pl. acc. ro ordaigset dano fir Herenn a nemthiu andsin, LU. 118[b] 6.

nena *thumb*, Ff. 42. O'Cl. has *nean* .i. ordlach. But the gen. pl. *nena* occurs in LL. 208ª 14: triucha nena (.i. ordlach) Find 'na féic (.i. 'na fiaccail).

neóit *penurious, scanty*, Ff. 13. níb neóit, brécach, LL. 360, marg. inf. nirba neoit *be not niggardly*, LB. 101 in r. margin. ar is cach lesc, lond, etaid, suanach, neóit, deáith is miscais Dé 7 dóine, LL. 344ª. In the Amra Chol. 103 *neoit* is a subst.

nes *an earthen stronghold* (ráith), Ff. 18. Perhaps *neas* .i. cnoc 'hillock,' O'Cl. *a hill, or fortified place*, O'Br., or a mistake for *mess*: méitis ri mess .i. commeit ri tolaig *as big as a hill*, LL. 208ª.

nía *champion*, Ff. 23. So Corm., H. 3. 18, p. 77ª, and O'Cl. In Old-Ir. a dissyllabic *t*-stem. sg. gen. niad, Brocc. h. 71. pl. gen. forrach niad, LL. 44ᵇ. niath, LL. 217ᵇ. For another *nía* v. supra, s.v. gnía.

1. nin *letter*, D. 26. So Corm. Tr. 126, H. 3. 18, p. 77ᵇ, and O'Dav. 108. nin .i. delb no litir, L.Lec. Voc. nion .i. litir, O'Cl. Specially the letter *n*: anamain etir da nin inso .i. nin i tossuch in moltai 7 nin ina deriud, .i. *N*i discéoil [the beginning of the Amra Choluim chille] 7 *N*imúain, LU. 6ª 34. secht nen-adman (septem litterarum conexiones) Ml. 2ᵈ, 2. dar ninu Néde, LL. 186ᵇ. Seems borrowed from Old-Welsh *nihn*, and this from the Hebrew *nūn*.

2. nin *wave*, Ff. 59. So Corm. s.v. Ninus: nen .i. tonn, Corm. Tr. 126. nin .i. tond, L.Lec. Voc. nion, O'Cl., O'Br.

níth *mortal wounding*, D. 26. So Corm. and O'Cl. comtís nert-menmnaig fri cach nith, LL. 219ᵇ. ni rubaim níth n-erred n-án, LU. 77ª 19. Also means 'battle:' arm fri nith, Laws i. 122. oc erlud in nítho 7 in eggnamo frisin ídal, Trip. Life, p. 92, l. 8.

noe *human being*, D. 8. nae O'Cl. nai, L.Lec. Voc. noe, Corm. fo chaid oc noe .i. is fo chataid biim ocon duine ica mbiim in amsa, Rawl. B. 502, fo. 61ª 1. Hence nainán *dwarf*, O'Br.

noínnell *valour*, Ff. 22. naoineal *prowess, chivalry*, O'Br. Hence prob. nóenellach, LU. 125ᵇ.

núa *noble*, Ff. 58,=nua .i. laidir, O'Cl., who cites do throid se re nia nua *he contended against a strong (noble?) champion*. sg. nom. in cuire noem nua, LB. 262ᵇ 37. gen. comde nimi núi, LL. 307ª 14. áes cach dána nui fo nim, LL. 197ª 9. do throit ra nía[i]d nua, LL. 83ᵇ 27. From *gnua =Ir. *gnó*. Lat. *gnavus, i-gnavus*. The verb *noud* .i. erdarcaigim, LL. 187ª, seems cogn.

nuall *conspicuous, famous*, D. 33. So L.Lec. Voc. and O'Cl.

ó *ear*, Ff. 40. So Corm. Tr. 131, H. 3. 18, p. 77ᵇ, and O'Cl. mo duais imm ó .i. mo dorn im chluais, LL. 208ª 9. O.Ir. *au*, sg.

gen. *aue*, a neut. *s*-stem identical with Ch. Slav. *ucho*, gen. *ušese*, and cogn. with Lat. *auris* from **ausis*, *aus*-cultare, Gr. παραύα, οὔατα. Compds. ói-derg *red-eared*, LL. 295[b] 26, au-nasc *earring*, Corm.

ó-brat *helmet*, lit. *ear-mantle*? Ff. 35. This is *eo-bhrat* .i. ceannbhar, O'Cl. .i. éadach bis air chenn, O'Flah. eó-bhrat, O'Br. Cf. .x. eo-barr .i. barr bis am cenn in rígh, Amra Conroi.

óeth (MS. áoth) M. *oath*, Ff. 4. So Corm. (oeth) and O'Cl. (*aoth*). oeth la cach n-eric, Laws ii. 60. pl. acc. fri oethu, LU. 46[b]. Old-Welsh *ut* in *anutonou* (gl. perjuria), Goth. *aiths*.

oibid *obedience*, Ff. 31. D. 60, is rather *obedient*: .i. umal, O'Dav. 109. Boi huasal, boi obid . . . cerbo húasal ropo humal, Amra Chol. 80. The gloss oidh .i. obuidens, H. 3. 18, p. 73[b], is a corruption of oibidh .i. obediens.

oidsen? E. 24. O'R. has 'oidsen *a surname*,' *sed qu.*

oin (leg. óin?) *buying*, Ff. 68. This word is glossed by *iasacht* 'lending,' Corm. Tr. 132, O'Dav. 109 and O'Cl. is fiach forcraid fomalta for oin *there is a fine for excessive wear of a loan*, Laws i. 168, l. 10.

oircne M. *lapdog*, Ff. 60. So Corm. s.v. Mog·éime, and O'Dav. 83, s.v. esrecht. im oircne rigna .i. indiaid orcan na rigna bis .i. in mesan, Harl. 432, fo. 10[a] 2=Laws i. 152 (where *in* is erroneously omitted). A dimin. of *oirc* .i. cú beag no measchú, O'Cl. *orci*, LU. 39[b], 40[b], is a sister-form.

oir-derc *manifest*, *conspicuous*, D. 59. O. Ir. airderc, erdirc, irdirc. Tri hirrdraici Hérenn, Lem Chonculaind, Dun Cain, Srub Broin, H. 2. 17, p. 183[d]. Root *derk*, whence also Gr. δέρκομαι.

óitiu (MS. aoide) F. *youth*, D. 29. aidig .i. oigedus, Stowe XIX. aide .i. oice, L.Lec. Voc. óetiu cen sendataid, LU. 33[b] 39. gen. i sliab n-óited .i. i n-ard na oited .i. oclachas, LL. 187[b]. galar n-oeted, Windisch, Ir. Texte, 145, l. 11. sg. dat. óitid. óitith, Ml. 75[d] 10, Sg. 63[b] 6. From **juventūt-*, cogn. with W. *ieuant* 'youth' and Lat. *iuventus*. Hence the adj. *áitidach*, LL. 267[b].

oll *great*, Ff. 6. So Corm. s.v. *ollam*, O'Dav. 109, and O'Cl.= Gr. πολλός. The cogn. verb is *ollaigim*, no ollaiged (gl. ampliauit) Ml. 61[c] 6. In the line *In fer foll*, Bk. Fen. 226, we have prothetic *f*.

ond, onn N. *stone*, p. 4. Ff. 60, D. 14. So Corm., L.Lec. Voc. and O'Dav. 109. sg. gen. uinne. Compd. cloth-onn oc buaid, Amra Chol. 77. A neut. *s*-stem, cogn. perhaps with Lat. *pondus*.

l. ong *hearth*, D. 36. *fire*, *hearth*, O'Br. Seems cogn. with Skr. *aṅgāra* 'glowing coal,' Lith. *anglis* 'kohle,' and perh. Eng. *ingle*.

2. ong *grief*, p. 2, Ff. 60. So Corm., H. 3. 18, p. 73[b] and O'Cl. ni ong oen tige, LB. 240[b], where *ong* is glossed by *uch*. Compd.: oṅg-[g]alar, Salt. R. 1453.

oráit (MSS. oraoid, oirbidh) *a blessing*, Ff. 29. orait .i. oratio .i. aurnaigthe, H. 3. 18, pp. 73[b], 637[b]. oroit, Corm. Tr. 129. rombith oroit cet, a Maire, Sanct. h. 23. sg. acc. berait a n-oráit uadib, LL. 258[b]. From Lat. *oratio*. The opposite *anorait* occurs in Bk. Fen. 142, where it is rendered by 'evil prayer,' 'reprobation.'

ort *manslaughter*, Ff. 25. *destruction*, E. 27. *death*, p. 3, note 2. .i. orgain .i. bas, O'Dav. 109. Seems abstracted from the *t*-pret. of the verb *orgim*; but may possibly come from *org-to. In H. 2. 15, p. 182, *ort* is glossed by *losgadh* 'burning.' The *ortaib* cited by Windisch, Wört. 725, as an example of this word, is for *ordaib*, pl. dat. of *ord* 'sledgehammer,' *ordd* (gl. malleus), Sg. 49[b], 4, *ordin* 'mallet,' O'Br., cogn. perhaps with *Ordo-vices*.

oss M. *deer*, Ff. 51. So O'Cl. sg. gen. cethruime cach ois rogab cuithech, Laws i. 272. basa chú-sa gabála uis, LU. 114[a] 23. acc. gabait in n-oss ba nessom dó, LU. 62[b] 40. pl. n. oiss alta, LU. 62[b] 32. uiss 7 altai, LL. 265[a] 5. gen. forrecat alma n-oss, LU. 62[b] 31. i ndelbaib oss, LU. 64[b] 20. ocht fichit oss n-allaid, LU. 57[a] 10. In Old-Irish this noun also meant a *wild boar*, and was neuter: fo tuaith do[s]sephain a n-os .i. in mucc allaid, Brocc. h. 57. Batar dano da n-oss, LL. 246[b] 39. Compd. *oss-feoil* 'venison,' *oss-gamain* 'fawn,' sg. gen. ir-richt os-gamna allaid, LL. 210[a], *oss-lethar* 'deerskin,' LU. 79[a]. From **ukso-s* cogn. with W. *ych*, pl. *ychain*, from **uksen*, Asc. gl. cxxiv.

ossar *a burden*, Ff. 60. *a burden which is on a human being*, O'Cl.

othar *wages*, Ff. 27, note 7. So H. 3. 18, p. 51[b], H. 4. 22, p. 60[b], and O'Cl. pl. dat. do othraibh 7 do thuarustlaibh Uladh, Lism. 103[a] 1.

páin *bread*, Ff. 61, E. 18. So Corm. and L.Lec. Voc. O inid go caisg. . . . dó acht madh páin agas biolar, Cumine. From *pānis*.

1. pairt *part*, Ff. 61. So Corm. pl. dat. fot-dáilfind i n-ilpartib ochianaib, LU. 69[a]. Often used for *particle*, as in pairte cró *clots of gore*, Chron. Scot. 166. From Lat. *pars, partis*.

2. pairt *pen*, E. 18. So L.Lec. Voc. This seems a mistake.

paitric *bridle, halter*, Ff. 19. O'Clery's *peatraic*. Seems formed from a prehistoric form of O.N. *fjöturr* 'fetter.' For the change in Irish loanwords of *f* to *p* cf. *piscar-carla, plat, putrall*.

patán *hare*, Ff. 51, is rather *leveret*. *patu* is 'hare,' Corm.,

pattu, H. 3. 18, p. 637[d], *pata*, O'Cl. pl. gen. is do thimnaib rechta Móysi nemthomailt feola mucc 7 patan, *one of the commands of Moses' law is not to eat flesh of swine and hares*, LB. 183[b] 37. Hence O.Ir. *patnide* (gl. leporinus), Sg. 37[b] 7.

pauper *poor*, Ff. 59, note 8. So O'Cl. cach pauper bid rí, Rawl. B. 502, fo. 61[b] 2. pl. n. puipir do biathad, Laws iii. 18, l. 19. Borrowed from Lat. *pauper*. Hence the dimin. pauperán, Fél. Ep. 408.

peláit F. *palace*, Ff. 61. piolait, O'Cl. 'nara chumaing Conchobar ní dóib acht in phelait ir-rabatar d'fácbáil leo, LL. 263[a] 7. ba hirgna in phelait rígda, LL. 256[a] 45. No doubt from Lat. *palātium*; but the *e* and the gender are surprising.

pell *horse*, Ff. 19. So O'Cl. gen. rucethar i capp indíaid phill do [f]racc, LH. 34[b] 2 (Goidel. 158)=LU. 6[b] 9. da n-o pill fair .i. da chluais capaill fair, H. 2. 16, col. 690. Cormac has another form *fell*. Both seem borrowed from some cogn. of Eng. *foal*, Goth. *fula*, which Kluge refers to a pre-Germanic *pelón-*.

pet *playing music*, Ff. 18, peit, L. Abstracted from the verb *arpeitim*, inf. *airfitiud*. ar-us-pettet a n-áes ciuil, LU. 57[b] 20.

pingur *salt*, E. 18, =pinguir, L.Lec. Voc. Borrowed from some Romanic word cogn. with Fr. *fanc*, *fange*, Ital. *fango*. For the connexion of ideas cf. Corn. *hál* 'a saltmarsh.'

pít *a small meal*, E. 15. So Corm. s.v. fogamur, and L.Lec. Voc. Compd. leth-phit, terc-phit, Fél. Sep. 8 = terc-cuit, LB. 260[a]. From W. *pêth*=Ir. *cuitt*.

pont *rude*, Ff. 61. So H. 3. 18, pp. 73[c], 637[b], and O'Cl.

prann *sea-wave*, E. 18. prand, L.Lec. Voc. prann, O'Br. Borrowed from some cognate of N.H.G. *brand*ung.

puincne *scruple* (=three pinginns), Ff. 61, E. 18. So Corm., H. 3. 18, pp. 73[c], 637[c], and O'Cl. A dimin. of ponc.

raiftinne *fierceness*, D. 24, = roptene, LL. 164[a] 49, .i. gairge, H. 3. 18, p. 73[a]. robtine .i. garg no ailgin, O'Dav. 110. Fiachu Roiphtine, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 102[b] 1. This seems O'Br.'s "*raiftine* laughter, laughing." Did he mistake *gairge* for *gáire*?

rámat *road*, Ff. 18. Rather a *high-road*, rámut mó oldas rót, acc. to Cormac s.v. *Rót*, and O'Cl. ar cach ramut ar bith che ria slúag namat conar-tí, *on every road in this world against a host of foes may He come to us*! LL. 308[b] 7, fer tri ramata, O'Curry, Lect. 506.

rang *baldness*, E. 2. rangc, acc. to Corm., is where the temples are high.

rann *truth*, D. 34. So O'R. ran .i. firinne, O'Cl. = ro+an? See 1. an supra.

ráth *a surety*, E. 22. ráth (gl. sequester medius inter duos altercantes), Leyd. 59ᵃ. rath .i. urra, O'Cl. ráth *security, guarantee*, O'Don. Supp. Am ráth-sa dia raith-sium, Fél. Ep. 165.

re (ret?) *manner* (modh)? D. 15, where L. has *read* in marg.

ré (MS. re) *a multitude*, Ff. 58, note 6. ind re, Corm. Prúll. W. *rhai*.

recht=Lat. *rectus*, p. 3. In the literature, *recht* is generally a substantive, sg. gen. rechto, Wb. 21ᵇ 13 or *recta*, Wb. 21ᶜ 1. for rout recta .i. for sligi dirig, LL. 316ᶜ 12, acc. conróiter recht robust, LU. 10ᵃ 35. But in BB. 355ᵇ 13 it occurs as an adj. Eismeach in rí recht.

rédaire *a cleric*, Ff. 62. rétaire .i. legthoir *reader*, H. 3. 18, p. 640ᵇ. reataire, O'Br. For this word, obviously borrowed from A.S. *rædere*, L. has *recoire*, and O'R. *recaire* 'reciter,' which occurs in Lism. 152ᵇ 1: Do fiarfaigh in doirseoir in raibi dan acu do righ Laighen. 'Atá,' ar in clamh, 7 is mísi is recaire dó *the doorkeeper asked had they a poem for the King of Leinster? 'We have,' says the leper, 'and I am its reciter.'* This is from A.S. *reccere*.

reisi, reiside, Ff. 12, see ríss, ríside.

rén *a span* (σπιθαμή), Ff. 42. réan, rén, O'R. reon, rian, O'Br. from *regno- connected with *rigim* 'I stretch out,' as ὀργυιά, ὀρόγυια, ὄρεγμα with ὀρέγω, ὀρεγνύς. The mod. *réise* F. is from **rexsid*: cf. ὄ-ρεξις. Cognate with both words are Lat. *rego* and Goth. *uf-rakjan*.

reos, p. 3. Borrowed from Lat. *reus*.

1. ríad *running*, Ff. 8, is rather *going*. So Corm. s.v. árad, and O'Cl. Hence the verb *ríadaim*. Cogn. with A.S. *ridan*, Eng. to *ride*, N.H.G. *reiten*, O.N. *ríða*. Kluge connects Gaulish *réda* 'chariot' and Gr. ἔ-ριθος *messenger, servant*.

2. ríad *authority, law, discipline*, Ff. 8. So O'Cl. *taming, subduing*, O'Br. Hence the adj. *ríata* applied to a trained horse.

riarad (?) *hereditary right*, D. 31. A doubtful word. H. has *bdcad*.

ríbar *sieve*, Ff. 47, E. 2. So Corm., L.Lec. Voc. and O'Cl. riobhar meala *honeycomb*, O'Br. Seems borrowed from Lat. *crîbrum* (from **kreithro-n*, Ir. *criathar*); but the absence of initial *c* makes this doubtful.

ridnacht *a giving*, Ff. 21. Abstracted from *do-r-idnacht*, Fél. Nov. 12, the t-pret. sg. 3 of *tidnacim* 'I deliver, offer, give.'

ríss, *story, tale*, E. 2, corruptly reisi, Ff. 12. ríss, Corm. ris .i. faisneis, L.Lec. Voc. ris re aisneid Colum cen bith cen chill, Amra Chol. 8: pl. n. áil ríg rissi redi, LH. 26[a] (Goidel. 159), LL. 187[a] 37. acc. fochlus int sentonn rise nde, *Uath Benne Etair* 7.

rísside *story-teller*, Ff. 12, where it is, corruptly, reisidhe, risighe,

robuist *protection* (?), D. 59. So O'Cl., but it seems rather an adj. borrowed from Lat. *robustus*. conróiter recht robust *he kept the firm law*, Amra Chol. 43, LU. 10[a] 35.

robustus p. 3. From the Latin.

rocán *tunic*, Ff. 35. *tunic* or *cowl*, O'Cl. Formed on A.S. *rocc* (=N.H.G. *rock*), or Med. Lat. *roccus*, whence Ital. *rocchetto*, Eng. *rochet*.

rosal *a judgment*, Ff. 12. So O'Cl. Perhaps from **rodh-tlo-*. Cogn. with Teut. *rédan*, N.H.G. *raten*. A *rosscel* .i. brath (leg. bráth ?) occurs in H. 3. 18, p. 636.

rosc *understanding*, Ff. 10. So O'Cl. and O'Br. (rosg). Perhaps only a metaphorical use of *rosc* 'eye.' pl. n. roisc, LL. 210[b] 14.

rúanaid *red*, D. 21. So Corm. s.v. ruam, and O'Cl. Rúanaid atberthe cosse frisseom ar mét a náire, LU. 115[b] 27.

ruba *a mortal wound* (guin), D. 19. So O'Cl. In Laws i. 106, 160, *ruba* in the phrases fuba 7 ruba, na tri ruba, is rendered by 'services of defence.' Hence the verb conid-rubaim trénócu tria nert gaile, LU. 124[a] 14. From the account of the fight between Cúchulainn and Ferdiad *rubad* seems to mean 'thrusting with spears,' as distinguished from *slaide* 'slashing with swords.' O'Curry, M. and C. iii. 444.

rucht *swift, quick*, E. 19. ruchd *sudden, vehement*, O'Br.

ruice (MS. ruicedh) *blush*? Ff. 62. So L. Lec. Voc. arndip rucce doib, Wb. 30[a] 3. ruice *rebuke, reproach*, O'Br.

ruicet (MSS. ruicheat, ruichet) *raising up*, Ff. 7. ruiceat, O'Br. ruiceadh, O'Cl. The cogn. verb is exemplified in O'Don. Supp. ní ruicer aire *a thing* (*which*) *is bestowed upon her*.

rumra *sight*, Ff. 47. romhra, O'Cl., O'Br. What is *romra*, in LU. 40[a] ? m' oenuran im romra ró.

russ *cheek*, Ff. 62. So O'Cl. rúss .i. agaidh *face*, Corm. Tr. 146. rús .i. aigid, O'Dav. 110, and see Wind. Wört. s.v. 2. rúss. gen. romna rossa .i. romna aigthe ic aerad, LL. 187[a] 17.

1. sab *strong*, p. 2. cach soabb, p. 3. Seems taken from LU. 9[a] 34: ba so-abb i suthemlacht cech bérlai co clethi. sab 'princeps, fortis,' G.C.[2] 255. pl. n. sabaidh, O'Dav. 114.

2. sab *successor*, p. 3.

1. saeglonn *judge*, p. 4. H. 3. 18, p. 78^{b}. O'Dav. 115.

2. saeglonn *old man*, p. 4. So O'Dav. 115. Derived from *saegul*, and this borrowed from Lat. *saeculum*.

3. saeglonn *king*, p. 4.

4. saeglonn *pillar*, p. 4. So O'Dav. 115.

sái *mildness, gentleness*, Ff. 62. saidh, O'R.

sáil *accompanying*, D. 49. So O'Cl. a sail śúad .i. a comaitecht śuad, LL. 186^{b} 33. Hardly cogn. with O.H.G. *sal* (now *Saal*), a house or hall, "serving especially as a place for social union" (Kluge), whence *Ge-selle*.

saillim (gl. condio) p. 4,=saillim (gl. sallio) Sg. 187^{a}. condio .i. sallim .i. intí noṡailled o forcetul bréntaid ar cinad, LU. 8^{b} 4. From **saldió*, cogn. with W. *hallu*.

saithe M. *a multitude*, Ff. 55. So L.Lec. Voc., H. 3. 18, p. 663^{a}, O'Dav. 116, and O'Cl. co Crist cechaing saithe, Fél. Jan. 25. cét-saithi a ndire na saileach, O'Don. Supp. s.v. saithe. deich mbeich[ṡ]luaig (.i. saithe bech 7 lestra), H. 3. 18, p. 49. pl. nom. in tsaithi (gl. examina) Ml. 90^{b} 7. dat. rodamnad co sáthib slóg, Salt. R. 6731. W. *haid*.

salar (MS. ealar, et sic O'Br.) *salt*, Ff. 44. salor, O'Cl. Cogn. with *salann*, W. *halen*, Corn. *haloin*.

salt *leap*, E. 2. So Corm. and L.Lec. Voc. isin bliadin sin hi cuiretar salt, Cr. 32^{b} 11. gen. slán dliged salto, Cr. 3^{c}. Borrowed from Lat. *saltus*.

sam *summer*? E. 3. The line in which this word occurs is corrupt. Perhaps the first three words should be *samh cach samradh*. So O'Cl. sam sogar .i. dagthorthech in samrad, LL. 188^{a} 33. sam taurfrossach, LL. 293^{b} 37, 346^{b}. is grian etrocht imbi sam, LL. 284^{b} 40. Compd. uide se sam-la *a journey of six summer-days*, Lism. 48^{b} 2. Vedic *samá* 'year,' Zend *hama* 'summer,' W. *hâf*.

sáth *food*, E. 5. So Corm. and O'Cl. bai séim sáth, Amra Chol. Different from *sáith* 'sufficiency, fill,' sg. gen. do cathim a satha día[ḟ]eóil, LU. 46^{a} 19. acc. ni thormalt sáith no séire, LL. 371^{d} 19.

1. scál *warrior, hero*, Ff. 32. So O'Cl. Scál Balb, LL. 9^{b}. in scál sciathach, LL. 45^{a} 25. gen. Mungairit meic Scáil Bailb, LL. 206^{b}. Gleann an scáil, Leac an scáil, Lochan scáil, O'Don. Supp. s.v. *scál*. Probably the same as 2. scál.

2. scál *a man*, Ff. 24. So O'Cl. voc. a scáil, LH. 34^{b} 2 (Goidel. 158). airddithir a sciáth ri scál *his shield as high as a man*, LL. 44^{b}. Hence *sgalog* (O. Ir. *scálóc*?) 'homunculus,' O'Moll. 94.

sceng *bed*, E. 4. So Corm. and O'Cl. sgeng .i. iomda, Duil Laithne 196. ard in sceng, LU. 40ª 1. im scing bic .i. biim illepaid immalle fri rig, LL. 187ª. Perhaps borrowed from A.S. *sæccing* : *on sæccingum* 'in grabatis.'

1. scéo *understanding*, Ff. 12. So O'Cl. (sgéo). Cogn. with Lat. *scio, scius*.

2. scéo *and*, D. 56. So O'Cl. scéo 7 neo, 7 ceo tri comaccomail Goideilggi, *three conjunctions in Gaelic*, Amra Chol. 10. fodh macaib sceo ingenaib, O'Dav. 86, s.v. foth. immad fína sceo meda, LL. 343ª. a muirib domnib sceo móraib, LL. 293ᵇ 24.

scill *sudden*, D. 38. So O'Dav. 116, and O'Cl. (sgill). scilla .i. obann, L.Lec. Voc.

scip (MSS. scibh, scib) *hand*, Ff. 42: a sister-form of cib, O'Cl.

I[s] sín
teit in mal ina thech rig,
i ndegiult cen cassair trit,
co nduibciund [1] ina dag-scip.[2]

Thus goes the lord into his palace, in a garment without a brooch through it, with a sword in his right hand, LB. 240ª.

scuirt *shirt*, Ff. 35. So O'Cl. (sguird). roghabh scuird-leinidh sroill, *Battle of Ventry*, 474. Borrowed from O.N. *skyrta*, F.

sec *bone*, Ff. 27, better *séic*, as in O'Cl. or *seic*, O'Br.

ség M. *deer*, E. 4. ség .i. oss allaid, Corm. (who quotes the acc. pl. *ségu*), .i. agh allaid, O'Dav. 116. segh bos, O'Moll. 36. sed .i. oss, L.Lec. Voc.

ségach *goat*, Ff. 17. Derived from *ség*? Or is it a mistake for ughach *wolf*, O'Dav. 117?

segad (?) *excellency*? D. 18. A doubtful word.

ségamlae *milkiness*, E. 3. So Corm. Derived from *seghamail* 'milky,' O'Dav. 116, and this from *segh* .i. lacht, H. 4. 22, p. 67ᶜ.

séim *little* (rather *slender, fine, subtile*), p. 3, D. 48. So O'Cl. seim (gl. exile), Ml. 139ᵈ (gl. macer) Sg. 37ª. pl. n. séime, LB. 195ª 38. dat. sémib, LU. 35ᵇ 34. Compar. semiu (gl. exilior) Sg. 14ᵇ, (gl. tenuior), Ml. 19ᵈ. Hence the fem. abstr. *séme*: sg. dat. sémi, LU. 35ª 42. ar mu sémi-se (gl. pro ipsa mei adtenuatione) Ml. 22ᵈ 1. Compd. séim-tana (gl. exilem) Sg. 14ª 8.

séire *a meal*, D. 39. .i. proinn no dinér, O'Cl. seire .i. feoil, H. 2. 15, p. 182. nochar' chaith sáith no séire, Mart. Don.

[1] .i. cloidem.
[2] 'na deslam.

p. 188. nib airbirech fri séire, LL. 360, marg. inf. = nir' bat ærerach fri sere, LB. 101, r. margin. is ann roraid fri Iesau in aliab do ṡeilg co tucad sere do, 7 co tartad som a bendachta dosom fora mullach ar in sere sin *then he told Esau to hunt on the mountain and bring him food, and that for that food he would give his blessing to him on his head*, LB. 113[b] 38, caith in sére, ol se, ib. 51. adbar sere detsiu, ib. 54. uati sére, LB. 260[c].

séis *learning*, p. 3. So O'Cl. rofes rúaim, rofes séis, *his burial-place was known, his learning was known*, Amra Chol. 44. LU. 10[a] 39 = LH. 27[a] 1 (Goidel. p. 163). adgenammar a séis (gl. non ignoramus cogitationes eius) Wb. 14[d] 28. bid glan a séis, LL. 297[a] 8. sg. gen. fogroll sese, LL. 187[a] 4. feal ai 7 seis, unde dicitur fealmac .i. mac seasa, O'Dav. 86, s.v. fealmac. acc. cen dula dar séis no smacht, Salt. R. 2393. pl. acc. a druim re seisi, BB. 293[b] 13. From **sent-ti-*. Cognate with, but not borrowed from, Lat. *sensus* from **sent-tu-*. Another séis *musical strain*, is from *send-ti-, cogn. with the verb sendim.

seist *mid-day*, E. 4. From Lat. *sexta* (hora). So Corm., L.Lec. Voc. and O'Cl. Spelt *sest* in the Palatine MS. 68, fo. 30[a].

sén *a net for catching deer*, E. 5, *for catching birds*, Corm. and O'Dav. 117, *for catching deer or birds*, O'Cl. sén fuirmither dichmairc *a bird-net which is set without leave*, O'Dav. 89, s.v. fuirmedh. The cognate W. hwyn-yn or hoen-yn means *a hair of the tail of a horse, ox*, etc., *a springe* or *gin*.

seóit *property*, especially *cattle*, Ff. 13. seoid, O'R. Cf. seoit taurclotha, Corm. s.v. aicillne: one of the noms. pl. of *sét*? acc. co rucsat a bú 7 a seotu, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 109[a] 1.

serbh *theft*, Ff. 74. So O'Dav. 117, but searb (with hard *b*), O'Cl. foserba *petty thefts, larcenies*, O'Dav. 117. O'Cl. has also a *siorbhai* 'theft.' From **stervā* cogn. with Gr. στερέω.

sercoll *flesh*, Ff. 30. So O'Cl. sg. acc. ni sercol [.i.] sechnais sercol, Amra Chol. 73. pl. n. sercla (gl. irritamenta gulae) Sg. 63[a], 11. batír é a ṡercla: grut bruithe etc. LL. 117[b] 23. cosin sercoll sochenél mid, LB. 219[a]. So Diarmait says to Gráinne (Rawl. B. 502, fo. 58[a] 2: cf. O'Br. s.v. searcall).

Is maith do chuit, a Gráinne,	*Good is thy share, O Gráinne!*
is ferr duit inda ríge:	*It is better for thee than a kingdom:*
serccoll na cailech feda	*the flesh of the woodcocks,*
la banna meda míne.	*with a drop of smooth mead.*

Originally *a delicacy, relish*? Derived from *serc* 'love'?

serpan (serbán?) *swan*, Ff. 63. So O'Cl. searpán, O'Br.

serr *everything young and haughty*, E. 5. serr cach n-uallach 7 cach n-ogla, Corm. s.v. serrach 'foal.' searr *colt*, O'Br. cf. serr-graig *a herd of foals*, LL. 103^{b} 16.

1. serrda *edge*, Ff. 49. So O'Cl. But it is a participial adj. meaning *provided with sickles*, carpat ser[r]da "currus falcatus." See Wind. Wört. s.v. serda.

2. serrda *cut*, *lopt*, Ff. 49, the same word, with a slight difference of meaning.

sescenn *fen*, Ff. 70. salach rús .i. seiscenn, O'Dav. 115. co sescen in da cor, a sescunn in da cor, Bk. Arm. 17^{a} 1. pl. dat. sescnib, LU. 28^{b}, 19.

sét *path*, Ff. 68. "semita unius animalis," Corm. s.v. rót. sg. gen. séta. pl. n. séti and seuit. W. *hynt* 'journey, way.' Goth. *sinth* 'journey.'

sethnach *side*. See infra s.v. tethra.

sillid *a woman who performs* tuaicle, *enchantment*? E. 21. This word is identical with *sillid* 'looker,' and probably means one who has the evil eye. Cf. Corm. s.v. milliud.

sín (MS. sin) *necklace*, *chain*, Ff. 63. So H. 3. 18, p. 73^{c}. Cogn. with Gr. ἠνία. Sín *round*, E. 4, seems the same word: cf. Corm. s.v. sín.

sión = Zion, Σιών, *city of heaven*, D. 36. In faith Dé dede Sion suidioth, Amra Chol. 11. fordonsnáidfe Sione .i. non-snaidfe co sliab Síon .i. co cathair nemda, ibid. 140.

sirsi, adj. *light*, Ff. 74, scribal error for *irsi*?

slab *narrow*, E. 4. Cogn. with *slabar* 'narrow,' Corm. s.v. slabrad. Perhaps the line in E. should be emended thus: 'slabar' cumang, is 'coit' coill. Hence *es-slabar* 'wide,' whence *esslabra* q.v.

slabrad, slaibred (leg. slabra, slaibre?) D. 49, a kind of dowry composed of kine and bridles (ainm do bó-cethraib is d'echsrianaib, H. 3. 18, p. 608^{b}). slabra used of horses, LL. 85^{a} 27, 33. slaibhre .i. coibhche, O'Cl.

slicht *sense* (ciall), D. 44, the O.Ir. sliucht 'cognitio,' Sg. 200^{a}. Hence intsliucht, Sg. 201^{a}, intliucht, and the adj. intliuchtach.

sloigre *sword*, D. 50. slaighre, O'Br. For the suffix cf. *bligh-re* 'a milker,' O'Don. Supp. sloighreadh, O.R. The root may be *slak*, whence the O.-Ir. perf. *ro-selach* (for ro-seslach), and Goth. *slahan*. Slacc .i. claideabh, Duil Laithne 25, seems cognate.

smer *fire*, E. 3. So Corm. s.v. smeróit, H. 3. 18, p. 637^{d}, and O'Mulc.: Aod 7 tnu 7 smer 7 bott (.i. beoait) 7 tene, quinque

nomina ingnis, H. 2. 16, col. 90. In the gloss smér .i. tene, H. 3. 18, p. 73c, the mark of length seems wrong. Cogn. with Gr. *μαῖρα, the dog-star, μαρμαίρω, μαριενύς, a stone that takes fire when water is poured upon it*; Lat. *mĕrus*. The *s* is prob. prothetic.

snáided *protection*, D. 55. A sister-form of snadhadh .i. comairce, O'Cl. O. Ir. snádud, verbal noun of snáidim. W. *nawdd, nodded.*

snath *hair*? E. 3. So Corm. But perhaps we should read snuath = snuadh .i. folt, O'Cl. ced imda (.i. fada) a snuadh (.i. folt), H. 3. 18, part 1, p. 210 = gidh fada a snúadh, O'Br.

snéid *little*, p. 3 = snéidh .i. cach ní beag, O'Cl. bái saégul sneid, Amra Chol. 24, ag seng snéid, Rawl. B. 502, fo. 60a 1. saiget Saxan sneid, Rawl. B. 502, fo. 47a 2.

so *good*, p. 3. This is probably the laudatory prefix *su-, so-*, W. *hy-* = Skr. *su-*, Zend *hu-*, and perhaps Lat. *su-* in *su-bucula* 'a sacrificial cake made of spelt, oil and honey,' a different word from *sub-ucula* 'an under-garment.' See so-nirt, sopur, suithnge, infra.

sól *sun*, E. 2. Borrowed from Lat. *sŏl*. W. *haul*, however, shows that the word existed in Celtic. The genuine Irish cognates seem *sul* .i. grian *sun*, gen. sulut (leg. súlot), H. 3. 18, p. 74a, and *súil* 'eye.'

solam *sliseng*? E. 10. The gloss is obscure to me: *solam* usually means *quick*. .i. so-ellam, L.Lec. Voc.

son M. *word*, D. 26, and L.Lec. Voc., = son *voice, noise*, O'Cl. son a gotha, Amra Chol. 41. sg. gen. suin and other cases in G.C.2 981. Cognate with, or borrowed from, Lat. *sonus*.

sonirt (gl. robustus) p. 4=so + nerti-s. W. *hy-nerth*. Cogn. with Sab. *nero, nerio*, Gr. *ἀ-νήρ*.

sopor *a well*, D. 50. Siltair sopur na segsa for topur na trenoensa, LL. 156a 18. Sopor somma .i. am topur co n-immud eolais, *I am a well with abundance of science*, LL. 187a 5. From *so-od-bur*, as *topur* 'well' from *to-od-bur*, and *fobur* 'well' supra, from *fo-bur*.

sorb *fault*, E. 4. So Corm., L.Lec. Voc., H. 3. 18, p. 74a. .i. lochd no salach *filthy*, O'Cl. *foul, dirty*, O'Br. Possibly cogn. with Gr. *σύρφος, συρφετός*, and Goth. *svairban* 'to wipe.'

stiall, *girdle, apron*, (fúathróg), Ff. 35.

suan odar *error*, p. 2. This lemma is obscure to me, as is also the adj. *súan* cech slemon, LL. 344a 50.

suba *blood*. See infra s.v. tethra.

1. suin *a cover*? D. 38, cf. suin .i. cumdach, O'Dav. 115. In

the Tecosca Cormaic *súin* is an adj. Ni chuitbe nach sen ciarbat ooc . . . na nocht ciarbot súin, *mock not an old man though thou art young, nor a naked man though thou art clad*, LL. 344ª 29, 31.

2. suin *beauty*? D. 38.

suithnge *eloquent, well-tongued*, Ff. 63. So O'Dav. 117 and O'Cl. Sulpicc sothnge suabais, Fél. Jan. 13 (Rawl. 505), sui slan sothnge suthain, Fél. Sep. 30. From the prefix *so-* and *tenge*. The opposite would be *dothnge*; but for this we find *dothenga*: cosaitech cech dotheng[a], LL. 344° 11. dligid cach dotheinga díge, LL. 294ª 7. dligid cech dothenga miscais *every evil-tongued deserves hatred*, LL. 346ᵇ 33.

sult *colour*, D. 16. So O'Cl. This is perhaps the meaning in *conda tanic a sult ocus a feth*, LU. 129ª 5.

súth *milk*, p. 1. So Corm. s.v. uth, L.Lec. Voc. and H. 3. 18, p. 663. súth nime ticed don draic sin *a flow of poison that came from that dragon*, LB. 180ª. Cognate with Gr. ὗει *it rains*, as *suth* .i. clann, H. 2. 15, p. 182, pl. acc. suthu, Ml. 39° 22, is cogn. with Gr. *υἱός*.

tabartha *wages*, Ff. 27, literally (something) *given*, the pret. part. pass. of *-tabraim* the enclitic form of *do-biur*.

taí (toí?) *deaf*, Ff. 34. So O'Cl. and O'Br. (taoi).

táide *theft*, D. 33. taide .i. gataide, Stowe XIX: no hailed in mac and sin i taide, *Macgnimartha Find*, § 4, where it means *stealth, secrecy*. So in Fél. Prol. 71, cen táide .i. cen folach. And so in O'Don. Supp. mac doirche .i. mac dognither i taidiu sech fine *a son of darkness, i.e. a son begotten in secret outside the tribe*. oc laige la mnái Find hí taide, Corm. Gl. s.v. orc tréith,=il-liugu la mnái Find hi táidiu *lying with Find's wife in secret*, Laud 610, fo. 82ª. a topur na tonn taide, LL. 157ᵇ, 38. Derived from *táid* (gl. fur) Sg. 47ᵇ 9. Cogn. with Gr. *τητάομαι*.

táircim (gl. fero) p. 5. is rather 'affero,' 'impertio,' Asc. gl. xcvii.: do-áircim is the orthotonic form, duáirci (gl. efficit), Ml. 61ᵇ. Verbal noun *táirciud*, Wb. 13° 9, Ml. 111ª 5.

taithmech *a breaking*, D. 54. .i. sgáoileadh, O'Cl. *analysis*, Corm. Tr. 156, s.v. triath. sg. acc. doniat a cotuch cen taithmech tria bithu, LL. 303ª 2. The right spelling is *taithbech* or *taithbiuch*. tathbiuch carat, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 40ª 1. do taithbiuch *to abrogate*, Laws i. 18, 52. taithbech rudartha, LB. 101, marg. inf. oc taithbiuch a fuilt dia folcud *loosening her hair to wash it*, H. 2. 16, col. 716. *t*-pret. of the cogn. verb: fobíth to-n-aidbecht forro a síd *because he destroyed their fairy-mound*, LU. 99ª. pass.

pres. sg. 3, taidbegar, Trip. Life, 160, l. 19. *√bheg*, Skr. *√bhaj*, *bhajyate*.

tap *sudden*, E. 23. So O'Cl.=top, Corm. *to-ud-b* ?

1. tebed *cutting*, D. 26. teibeadh .i. buain no tarraing, O'Cl. tepedh, MR. 286; but tebe, teibe .i. buain, L. Lec. Voc., Stowe XIX. dobretha Fergus tepe forsin ṅgabul, LL. 61ª 18. adbulteipi, Laws i. 202. The cognate verb occurs: ri ro-thepi . . . asin chét-adbar . . . talam, Salt. R. 22. rotheip a méid is a muin indlais a láma 'na fuil, LL. 154ᵇ 30. From *to-aith-be*.

2. tebed (tescad, tascar) *a beginning*, Ff. 54. A doubtful word.

tec *bone*, Ff. 27. Another doubtful word, as one MS. here has *teach* and another *sec*. But O'Br. has *tec*, a bone, and O'R. *teceach* bony.

téchta N. *law*, D. 35 and L. Lec. Voc. = téchte, Sg. 117ª 5.

teidm *death*, Ff. 64, is rather *pestilence*, Corm. Tr. 139. pl. nom. ticfait iarsein tedmand ili ancride, LL. 188ᵃ 53. Hence the adj. tedmnach, Salt. R. 946. A cogn. verb is *no-tedmais* (gl. tabescebamus), Ml. 131ᶜ 4.

teim *dark*, E. 11. So Corm. and Stowe XIX. tem, L.Lec. Voc. Skr. *tamas*, *timira*.

tell *sound* (fuaim), E. 5. Seems inferred from Corm. s.v. tailm *sling*, which he explains etymologisingly as tell-ḟuaim. O'Reilly's *teall* 'a noise, sound,' rests on the supposition that *fuaim* 'noise' is here a gloss on *tell*.

teme *death*, p. 3, note 2. melg-theme, Corm. Tr. 108. Skr. *√tam*.

temel *death*, p. 3, is rather *darkness*, *shadow*, *concealment*, .i. scath no folach. Cogn. with Lat. *temere*, *tenebrae*, Skr. *tamisra-m*.

tenlach *fire*, Ff. 64, is rather *hearth*. Cormac explains it (*more suo*) as=*tene* 'fire' and *lige* 'bed.' The *n* is usually assimilated, and we have *tellach*, gen. *tellaig*, dat. *tellug*, pl. n. *tellaige* with passage from the *o*- to the *s*-declension.

tethra *a royston crow* (badb), Ff. 14. This seems a mistake for Tethra (a Fomorian king, see Corm. s.v.), the husband of the lamia Badb. eter triunu Tethrach .i. eter na treono Tethrach; .i. ainm ríg Fomore, LL. 187ᵇ. Thus in Mac Lonáin's stave (LU. 50, upper margin):

> Mian mna tethrach (.i. badb) a tenid (.i. gae 7 arm),
> slaide sethnach (.i. táeb) iar sodain,
> suba (.i. fuil), luba (.i. corp) fo lubaib (.i. fó ḟeraib),
> ugail (.i. súli), troga (.i. cénd), dír drogain (.i. fúach).

The desire of Tethra's wife (*i.e. Badb*) *are her fires* (*i.e. spear and weapon*),

Slashing of sides thereafter,
Blood, a body under bodies (i.e. men),
Eyes, head, a just word.

tí F. *mantle*, E. 5. So Corm. Tr. 156 and O'Dav. 121. pl. n. tii dubglasso col-luibnib corcraip impu, Eg. 1782, fo. 72. The gender appears from the compound: *fortí* choir imbi, LU. 87^{b} 8. co forti lethanchlaiss orbhuide tar a formna sechtair, *Uath Benne Etair* 68.

timmgaire *a seeking*, D. 19. So O'Cl. tanic timgairi dó tíchtain dia crich fesin, *unto him came a request to go to his own district*, LU. 125^{b} 6. ba menic di*diu* a timgaire 7 al-lín, LL. 270^{b} 3. ba menic a timgaire, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 122^{a} 1. See also O'Don. Supp. s.v. tiumgaire. A cognate *t*-pret, timgart, O'Dav. 122.

tinfed *slender*, Ff. 64. Rather perhaps *slenderness*, *thinness*, (*-fed*=Br. *-gued*, see G.C.^{2} 890), tinfed .i. tiniugud, Stowe XIX. tinfed .i. tinad, L.Lec. Voc. Cogn. with Lat. *tenuis*, W. *tenau*. The *tinfeth* 'aspiratio, spiritus' is quite another word, from **to-in-ve-to-*.

tinne *bacon*, D. 61. *a hog killed and salted*, O'Don. Bk. Rights, p. 121, note j. tindi .i. batun (leg. bacún), L.Lec. Voc. dam bruthe dano 7 tinne forsind lár, LU. 23^{a} 38. sg. gen. amra tinne (.i. saille) senastar, *a marvel of bacon she sained*, Broc. h. 45. pl. gen. tricha tinne, tricha bó, LU. 115^{b} 29. gurub fiu tri tinne logh bo eile, O'Don. Supp. s.v. logh.

tír domaisi *mountain*, p. 3. Here *domaisi* seems the opposite of *somassi*, LU. 79^{a} 10.

tlacht *the earth*, Ff. 27. So O'Cl. Either from *tal-acto-, cogn. with *talam*, or a metaph. use of *tlacht* 'raiment,' O'Dav. 119, from **tlagto*, root tl̥gh, whence (τ)λάχνος, (τ)λάχνη and Eng. *flock*, O.H.G. *floccho* from **þlukken*, Bezz. Beitr. xvii. 165.

tlas *a fair*, Ff. 18. So O'Cl.

tnú *fire*, Ff. 5. So H. 3. 18, p. 615^{a}, O'Mulc. and O'Cl. et v. supra s.v. *smer*. tnu tene, LL. 393^{a} 50. ba tarb tnu fri gleo, fri cath, Salt. R. 3895. Cogn. with Zend *tafnu* 'heat.'

tóchell *a going, journey*, Ff. 6. So O'Cl. tóichell richid, LU. 34^{a} 6. A cognate verb occurs: is í toichled Erinn i n-oenló, LL. 115^{b} 11. mairg toichless i ndagforcetul 7 doeall hi sæibe, LB. 12^{b}.

toichim *a going*, Ff. 6, note 13. tochim a charpait, LU. 105^{b} 32. From *to-céim.

tóla *abundance, flood*, D. 9. tóla .i. iomarcaidh *excess*, O'Cl. tóla usci, LB. 25^{a}. col-línad tola 7 lia husque less a muime, *so that a flood and spate of water was filling his foster-mother's garth*, Trip.

Life, p. 10, l. 11. tóla usci, ibid. 434. tanic tóla diáirme do biastaib, LB. 141[b] 32. sg. dat. di thólu æchtrann et námat et geinte, Reichenau Bæda, no. 167. acc. la tola n-echtrand 7 dæscarslúa[i]g, LL. 188[c] 49, Rawl. B. 502, fo. 62[a] 2. Prob. cogn. with *imróol*, *foróil*, *deróil*, and *intóla*, Asc. gl. cxv.

torc *heart*, E. 23. So Corm., O'Dav. 121, and O'Cl. So, too, H. 3. 18, p. 76[a], s.v. lon. sg. gen. tuirc. pl. nom. (used for acc.) dobendáis tuirc 7 tromchaepa a taebhaibh 7 a torc-asnach, a cheili, *Battle of Ventry*, 883.

tort *a cake*, Ff. 60, D. 13. So Corm. and O'Cl. Hence the diminutives *tortine*, Corm.—da toirtine do thara, O'Don. Supp. s.v. tarrai,—and *tuirtin*, Laws ii. 242, 418. W. *torth*. All from Lat. *torta* (diuisit universis *tortam* panis, Paralip. 16, 3).

toth *feminine gender*, E. 6. So Corm., Stowe XIX, and O'Cl. Compds. toith-ghiobhair, toith-leannán, toith-śear[r]ach, O'Br. Windisch connects *toth* (from *to-sutā*?) with *tóud* 'gignere,' from **to-fo-sutu*, √*su*, whence also Ir. *suth* fetus, Skr. *suta* 'son,' Gr. *viós*, Goth. *su-nus*.

trenad *lamentation*, Ff. 53. So O'Cl., who has a cognate *treana* Tailltenn explained as *a clapping of palms or lamentation which used to be at Teltown*.

trethan *foot*, Ff. 42. So O'Cl. tricha treten (.i. traiged) dam comnáib, LL. 208[a] 13. tren for trethan i nEgept, Salt. R. 3644. ar muir, ar tir mor a trethan, Bk. Fen. 228. atchuala táirm 7 trethan in aen-óclaigh chuigi, Lism. 148[a] 1.

1. tríath *king*, *lord*, Ff. 2. So Corm. triath tiri Tethrach .i. Muiredach, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 110[b] 2. sg. gen. tréith, LL. 187[b]. (in oenuch tuirc thréith). dual nom. da thríath, LL. 232[a]. pl. acc. triathu, LB. 205[b] 16. Compd. triathgein .i. gein rigda he, LB. 101, marg. inf. Perhaps cogn. with the first element of Lat. *trīt-avus*, *strīt-avus*.

2. tríath *wave*, Ff. 2: the gen. sg. is said to be *tréthan*. Cognate is *trethan* 'sea,' gen. *trethain*. Cf. Τρίτων and Ἀμφι-τρίτη.

3. tríath *boar*, Ff. 2: the gen. sg. is said to be *tréithe*. But the nom. pl. is *treith*: deich treith tire .i. sentuirc .i. tuirc bite for faithche, Amra Conroi.

4. tríath *hill*, Ff. 2.

trogán *raven* (brainfiach), Ff. 14. trodhain or troghan, O'Br.

troichit *body*, Ff. 64, troced, E. 14. So Corm. s.v. fothrucud. This should perhaps be *trocit*, *troicit*, as in H. 3. 18, pp. 74, 638. *troicit* corp, Duil Laithne 2. Corn. *trogel*. Perhaps Lat. *truncus*.

troig *sunrise*, D. 50. trogh, O'R. A doubtful word. In Corm. Gl. s.v. *trogein* 'sunrise,' *trog* is said to mean 'bring forth:' cf. trogais .i. tusmis, LU. 128ª 42; and in Corm. Tr. p. 162, traigli, *trog* is glossed by *clann* 'children.' In LL. 186ᵇ 37, *trogan* is said to be a name for the red rising of the sun in the morning.

troiged *children*, D. 12. cf. trog .i. cland, Corm. Tr. 162, s.v. traigli and H. 3. 18, p. 650ª, and the verb trogais (.i. tusmis) dí lurchuire (.i. dá serrach) (*the mare*) *brought forth two colts*, LU. 128ª 42.

troniath *helmet*, Ff. 37. A doubtful word; spelt *tróithiath*, L. troiath, O'Br.

tropa (see itropa supra) may be a mistake for the *troga* .i. cénd of LU. 50ª, cited supra s.v. tethra.

trull *head*, Ff. 38. So O'Cl. Cogn. perhaps with Lat. *trulleum* 'basin.'

túaichil *cunning, astute*, Ff. 11. tuachil, Sg. 60ª 7. fir-thuachaill, Salt. R. 1670: compar. tuachliu (gl. sapientior), Goid.² 68. Compd. fír-thuachaill, Salt. R. 1670. Hence the abstract noun *tuaichle* (misspelt *tuaithle*) .i. glicus, Trip. Life, pp. lvii, 256, l. 27.

tuarad *a share*, E. 6. So L.Lec. Voc. *tuaradh* .i. cuit, Stowe XIX.

tuarastol *wages*, D. 40. sg. dat. ní dia thuarustul, S. Mart. 11. acc. na gebaind a thuarastal, LL. 109ª. From *to-fo-ar-es-talo-. cognate with Ir. *taile* (gl. salarium) and Gr. τέλος 'tax, duty, toll.'

tucait *cause*, D. 27, L.Lec. Voc. tuccaid, O'Cl. tucait (gl. causa) Ml. 58° 13. tucait a denma, LL. 186ª.

tucht *form, shape*, Ff. 59. D. 16. So H. 3. 18, p. 609ª, and O'Cl. no antais eter cach dá tráth in tucht sin, LU. 133ᵇ 15. tucht ara ndalfar-sa. Cf. perh. τύκος, τυκίζω, √*tuq*.

1. tuirigin *king*, Ff. 3. So Corm. and O'Cl.

2. tuirigin *judge*, Ff. 3. So Corm. and O'Cl.

3. tuirigin (leg. tuiridin?) *tower*, Ff. 3. So Corm. and O'Cl. a druim frisin tuiridein, Salt. R. 4520. Derived from *turid*.

4. tuirigin (leg. tuiridin?) *tongue*, Ff. 3. So Corm. and O'Cl. den-fuc for a tuiridin, *Uath Benne Etair* 60.

tul *countenance*, Ff. 44. So O'Cl. o thul co aurdornd, LU. 79ª 19. conecmaing a tul immon n-all, LU. 109ᵇ 22. tul dreiche, Laws i. 66. tul i tul, LL. 225ª 39. Compound: tul-lethan, LU. 105ᵇ 37.

turba *a band*, E. 6. So O'Cl. Corruptly *turbaid* .i. buighen, Stowe XIX. Deich [n]-exercitus . . . tiagait . . . in turba, Deich turba . . . iss ed tiagait i n-agmen, Salt. R. 771–774.

Borrowed from Lat. *turba*. According to a note in Egerton 1782, fo. 49^{b}, there were 10,000 in a legion, ten legions in a *cunia* (cuneus), ten *cunias* in a *mares* (myrias), ten *mareses* in a *caterva*, ten *catervas* in an *exercitus*, ten *exercitus* in a *turba*, ten *turbas* in an *agmen*.

turbuid *protection, exemption*, Ff. 45. turbaid chotulta *sleeplessness*. Common in the Laws: re na turbaide .i. 198: i turbaid, i. 194. See O'Don. Supp. s.vv. turbadh, turbaidh.

uagba *choice, election*, D. 58. uaghbha, O'Br. Perhaps we have an obl. case of this word in *tri* ernbaid úagboid, LU. 94, l. 22. In BB. 351^{a} 4—bad athlum aine im-uaga—the last word seems a corruption of *uagba*. From ua+gab- ?

úain *a lending*, Ff. 68. oin eich ag ár for blá, O'Don. Supp. s.v. bla. sg. dat. oc uain 7 airlicud, Wb. 31^{c} 5. Hardly cogn. with Gr. *ὠνή* 'buying.'

uamun (MS. uamhuin) M. *fear*, Ff. 65. in t-ómun, Ml. 42^{d} 9. sg. acc. lat graain 7 t'omun, LU. 98^{b} 9. ar omun lathe bratha, LL. 281^{a} 26. pl. acc. ómnu, Amra Chol. 16. But dat. and acc. sg. *uamuin* are found. Hence the adjj. *omnach*: (is mana dér co homnach, LL. 257^{b} 22), and *immuamnach*: imuamnach cech cintach, LL. 344^{c} 9. W. *ofn*, M. Gaulish **obno-s* in *Exobnus*.

uath *mould, clay*, D. 53, E. 24. So L.Lec. Voc. and O'Cl. sg. gen. uatha, Corm. s.v. audacht. Compd.: *uath-onn*: in-adbai uathuinni .i. i n-adbai úre 7 chloche, .i. úath úir 7 ond cloch, LL. 187^{b} 32.

úathad N. *solitude*, Ff. 21. .i. beagán, O'Cl. *a few*. conna torchair acht uathed mbec im Conaire .i. nónbor nammá, LU. 98^{a} 39. is lor uathad díb for desmbirecht, LB. 219^{c}. In grammar *the singular number* and *the first decad*; gen. aile uath*aid* esci Martai, LB. 90, lower margin. cethramad uath*aid* ésci Iúin, ibid. hi coicid huathid *on the fifth of the first decad*, Cr. 33^{b}, as distinguished from coiced déac *fifteenth*, lit. *fifth of the second decade*, coiced fichet *twenty-fifth*, lit. '*fifth of the score*.' o cóiced uathaid, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 52^{a} 1. Uathad is also used as an adj. rop uathad i sanasaib *let him be solitary in secrets*, LL. 343^{d} 20. giarb' uathed do dám malle, LL. 87^{b} 25. rob uathad mo dám, LB. 214^{a}. Cogn. with Lat. *pau-cus*, Got. *favai*, Eng. *few*.

ugail *eyes*. See above, s.v. tethra. pl. n. of **ugal*, borrowed from Lat. *oculus*.

uim *earth*, Ff. 67. So O'Cl. Compd. uim-chrith *earthquake*, O'Br., of which *arm-chrith*, Trip. Life 46, l. 5, seems a corruption. Borrowed from gen. sg. of Lat. *humus* ?

ulaid *a pack-saddle*, Ff. 19. ulaidh, O'Cl.

úmla F. *humility*, Ff. 31. umla (gl. obsequium), Eg. 88. sg. nom. umla cen fodord, LL. 371[c] 29. in úmla-sin dorat Euagair do Thatha, LB. 147[a]. acc. humli, Amra Chol. 80. ni thucc an mac bá só umhla don mac ba sine, FM. 1228. Derived from *umail* or *umal* (bat umal cor' bot uasal, LL. 345[c] 19), which, like W. *ufell*, is borrowed from Lat. *humilis*.

una F. *famine*, Ff. 26. So Stowe XIX. díth for finibh nó pláigh nó una nó duinebhath, Bk. Rights, p. 184, l. 5. A corruption of *núna* (marta la nuna .i. gorta, LL. 188[c] 60. núna 7 gortai, LB. 114[b]), and this perhaps of O.-Ir. *nóine*, sg. gen. di phlágaib tened et nóine et gorte, Reichenau Bæda, No. 167. W. *newyn*, M. For loss of initial *n* cf. *uimir*=numerus.

unse *here is*, D. 43. So O'Cl. Uinsi, O'Dav. 124. Undse sund tall, or Fergus, LU. 69[b]. undseo col-luath dot-bia in tuath ra togais, LL. 45[b] 33. undsea, LL. 100[b] 51, 101[a] 1. unse a ben lasin ríg; ondat a bai issin tír ar far mbelaib *there is his wife with the king, here are his kine in the land before you*, LL. 252[a] 14. Uindsi thall he .i. aici thall he, L.Lec. Voc. Huinse Conall Cernach sund, laech as dech la Ultu, LL. 252[a] 31. Ise, issi, iss*ed*, uinnse, unnse [leg. uinnsí], onnar a urlunn indsci, BB. 330[b]. Isse, issi, iss*ed* iar macaib Mil*ed*. Uindse, uindsi, ondor iar Feraib Bolg. Mod 7 tod 7 traeth iar Tu*aith* De Da*nonn*, BB. 327[b] 49. Ondar *here is*, LU. 62[b] 12=undar, LU. 65[b] 41, seems cognate.

1. ur *a beginning*, D. 25. So Corm. Tr. 166, s.v. urla, L.Lec. Voc., Stowe XIX, and O'Cl.

2. ur *noble*, D. 29. So O'Cl. This and 1. ur seem nothing but the prefix *air-*, *er-*, *ir-*, *ur-* = Skr. *pari*, Gr. περί, Lat. *per*. So *er* .i. mor, O'Dav. 81, citing the adj. erderg *very red*.

úr *bad*, Ff. 59, 65, E. 7. So Corm., Stowe XIX, and O'Cl. Vr .i. olc, Duil Laithne, 136. From **pú-ro-s*, cogn. with πύθω, πύον, Lat. *pūs*, Goth. *fúls*.

ús *declaration, narrative*, D. 42. So O'Cl. go roib a hús 7 a imthusa 7 a deired na Tanad gonici sin, *so far the narrative, and the events, and the end of the Táin (bó Cualnge)*, LL. 104[b] 4. From **ud-tu*, **vad-tu*. Cognate is *immthús*=*imm-to-ús*.

ussarb *death*, Ff. 65. So Corm., who quotes rí rodet do-ussairb i n-Ulltaib, *a king who suffered*[1] *an evil death in Ulster*.

[1] *ro-det*, the *t*-pret. sg. 3 of *damaim*. The quotation is given in LL. 179[b] as 'rig rodet roussarb nUltaib.'

[*Read April* 17, 1891.]

II.—THE CELTS AND THE OTHER ARYANS OF THE *P* AND *Q* GROUPS. By JOHN RHYS.

[*Read February* 20, 1891.]

I.

IT is a commonplace of Celtic philology that the Celtic languages of modern times divide themselves into two groups, namely Goidelic and Brythonic, and that the Goidelic group consists of the Gaelic dialects of Ireland, Man, and Scotland, while the Brythonic group is made up of Welsh, Old Cornish and Breton. It is equally well known that Brythonic speech is characterized by the use of the consonant *p* (liable according to its position to become *b* and *ph*), while inscriptions in early Goidelic show *qu̯*, which is simplified in the later stages of Goidelic pronunciation into *c* (liable to be modified according to its position into *ch* and *g*). Now the question suggests itself whether the Continental Celts of antiquity had not likewise two languages similarly characterized by *p* and *qu̯* respectively: in other words, whether, besides the Gauls, whose language is known to have had *p* for original *qu̯*, there was not on the Continent a Celtic people whose language was like early Goidelic and resembled it particularly in retaining *qu̯*. I have been gradually convinced that there was such a people, and I should call it Celts as distinguished from Gauls, but that the modern meaning attached to the word makes this inconvenient. One has therefore to fall back on the name given by Pliny to their portion of Gaulish territory, namely *Celtica*,[1] and call them from it Celticans, just as we speak of the inhabitants of Africa and America as Africans and Americans. Celtica was the country of the people who according to Cæsar called themselves *Celtæ* in their own language. He regarded Gaul (exclusive of the

[1] *Nat. Hist.* iv. 105: "Gallia omnis comata uno nomine appellata in tria populorum genera dividitur, amnibus maxume distincta; a Scalde ad Sequanam Belgica, ab eo ad Garunnam Celtica eademque Lugdunensis, inde ad Pyrenaei montis excursum Aquitanica, Aremorica antea dicta."

Province) as consisting of three distinct regions, one of which situated beyond the Garonne was inhabited by the Aquitani, who were wholly or mainly non-Celtic. The other two peoples were the Celtæ and the Belgæ. As to the Celtæ he says, that they were separated from the Aquitani by the Garonne, and from the Belgæ by the Seine and its tributary the Marne. That is to say, one is given to understand that Cæsar's *Celtæ*, whom it is here proposed to call Celticans, occupied all North-western, Central and Southern Gaul outside the Roman province; and within the limits of that province itself they probably formed the bulk of the Aryan population there, at least before the Allobroges were annexed to it.[1] Moreover they had also penetrated into Spain; for we possess important evidence to their presence there in the well-known name of the mixed people of the Celtiberi. Lastly, as the Celtican element found its way to the heart of the Iberian peninsula, it may have also possibly reached the North of Italy; but this must depend for its proof on the interpretation to be put on the slender facts of language to be presently brought forward.

Let us begin with the instances of *q* names found in the ancient inscriptions of the countries here in question, and, for the sake of convenience, let us take first those of Spain and Portugal. Here we have *Alluquius*, *Arquius*, *Doquirus*, *Equaesus* and *Quarquerni*, together with some others about which there is less certainty.[2]

Arquius, *Alluquius*. These two names occur in one and the same inscription[3] at Valença on the Minho in North Portugal, while *Alluquius* occurs elsewhere in an inscription at Paimogo[4] in the west of the old province of Bætica, near the river Guadiana; and somewhat less certain is its

[1] I make this qualification as the name *Allobroges* would seem to mean a people "of other marches:" possibly they belonged to another branch of the family.

[2] Such as the dative *Genio Laquiniesi* on a stone from Caldas de Vizella near Guimaraens in the North of Portugal: see volume ii. of the Berlin *Corpus Inscrip. Lat.* No. 2405. Such also as *Atlondus Maquiaesus Sunnae F.*, of doubtful reading: see No. 4980.

[3] No. 2465: Dis . Manibus | Alluquio . Andergi . F. | Aeturae . Arqui . F. | Macro . Alluqui . F. Cl | utimoni . Alluqui . F. Civi | Ena. . . . . .

[4] No. 961: Glaucus . Aluquii . F. | H.S.E

presence in an inscription at Arroya del Puerco[1] not very far from Caceres or the ancient town of Norba in Lusitania.

The origin of *Alluquius* is obscure; but I cannot help regarding it as possibly one of the forms which *Arquius* took in Iberian mouths.[2] This latter name, besides occurring with Alluquius in the Valença inscription, is to be met with in others, at Trujillo, the ancient Turgallium, in the east of Lusitania, at Monteagudo between Tarazona and Cascante in the ancient Tarraconensis, and at Astorga, the ancient Asturica Augusta, to the south-west of Leon.[3] Also at Calderuela near Soria between Tarazona and Osma,[4] and at Carriça in the vicinity of Oporto,[5] besides *Arquia* in an inscription from Condeixa a Nova, near Coimbra.[6] The name Arquius probably meant one who had to do with the bow, that is to say, an archer, and was derived from a Celtic word[7] cognate with the Latin *arquus* and *arcus*,[8] a bow or arch. Whether the adjective Erquesis[9] should be considered as in any way related to *Arquius* is extremely doubtful.

Doquirus, Docquiricus. We have *Doquirus*[10] from Trujillo, and *Docquirus*[11] from Idanha a Velha, the ancient Igaeditani in central Lusitania, and a probable *Doquira*[12] from Soure in the neighbourhood of Alfeizarão in Lusitania, also a trace

[1] No. 737: *Amona. Alluoi. F.*, where the reading *Alluqui* has been suggested by the editor Dr. Hübner.

[2] Here my colleague Prof. Nettleship reminds me of Cicero's words when in his oration *Pro Archia* he speaks concerning "natis Cordubae poetis, pingue quiddam sonantibus."

[3] Nos. 632, 2990, 2633 respectively.

[4] No. 2834.

[5] No. 2373: other instances will be found in Nos. 2458, 2433, 2435, all from localities in the neighbourhood of Braga, the ancient Bracara Augusta.

[6] No. 377.

[7] We have probably a trace of the word in the Welsh *arffed*, 'the lap or the abdomen,' since *arqu* must become *arph* or *arff* in that language: as to the meaning compare the German schamb*ug*. On Teutonic ground the word is implied by the Gothic *arhvazna* 'an arrow,' A.-Saxon *earh*, the same.

[8] The modern Welsh *arch* is the Latin *arcus* borrowed, but in the colloquial the English *arch* (with palatal *ch*) is usually substituted for it.

[9] It comes from Alcala del Rio north of Seville, and, purporting to be the name of a centurion, it occurs in company with such other names as Beres*is*, Arvabores*is*, Isines*is*, Isurgut*ana*, etc.: see No. 1064.

[10] No. 624.

[11] No. 448.

[12] No. 364.

of the name in an inscription at Alfeizarão itself.[1] One may add *Docquiricus* or *Docquirinus*,[2] from Freixo de Nemão on the Douro in Lusitania, *Docquiricus*[3] from Mérida, the ancient Augusta Emerita in the south-east of Lusitania, and a doubtful instance[4] from Lara de los Infantes, south-east of Burgos in Tarraconensis. The origin of *Doquirus*[5] and its derivatives is not certain, but it cannot be Gaulish; so it may be regarded as here in point, since it has the appearance of being an Aryan word.

Equabona. This is the name of a place in the Itinerary of Antoninus,[6] and it was on the route between Lisbon and Mérida on the Guadiana. It is unmistakably Celtic, and recalls such other Celtic names as Vindobona and Bononia, but in Gaulish it would have doubtless been Epobona, like Eporedia and the like, the first element in the compound being forms of the Celtic word which is in Latin *equus* 'a horse,' in old Irish *ech* 'horse,' and in old Welsh *ep-aul*, now *ebol*, 'a colt.' The derivation of *bona* in *Equabona*, *Vindobona*, and the like, is unknown; it may be of the same origin possibly as the Welsh *bôn* 'the stem or trunk (mostly of a tree),' Irish *bun* "Wurzelstock," also probably the German *bühne*,[7] which refers rather to the boards made out of the trunk of a tree; but the Greek word *βουνός* 'a hill, height, heap, mound,' would seem to suggest an easier explanation of the Gaulish placenames ending in *bona*. It has been hinted by M. d'Arbois

[1] No. 360.
[2] No. 431.
[3] No. 551.
[4] No. 2862.
[5] It reminds one of Gartnait *Diuperr*, or Gartnaich *Diuberr* of the Pictish Chronicle, whose name is rendered in other chronicles Garnard *Dives* and Garnard le *riche*: see Skene's Chron. of the Picts and Scots, pp. 6, 28, 172, 200. If *Diuperr* or *Diuberr* be a loanword from a Brythonic dialect, it might be traced to the same root as the Welsh *gwobr* 'a reward,' for an early *wo-pr* or the like, cognate with *g(w)o-brynu* 'to obtain by merit,' while the verb *dy-brynu* 'to obtain or acquire,' suggests a correlative noun with the same prefix as *Doquirus* and *Diuperr*, in case they are to be analysed as here assumed. In a note from Dr. Whitley Stokes I learn that he gives the preference to the spelling *Diupeir*, as he connects it with the Welsh *pair* 'a cauldron,' and invokes the parallel of an Irishman who was called 'a cauldron of hospitality.'
[6] See Parthey & Pinder's edition, No. 416 (p. 197); in the Index they identify Equabona with Couna, Coyna.
[7] See the fourth edition of Kluge's Dict.

de Jubainville that the first part of *Equabona* is purely Latin. Of course, names like Juliobona and Augustobona existed in Gaulish, together with others into which the Latin proper names Augustus, Cæsar, Claudius, Drusus, Flavius, and Julius entered; but at present I cannot recall an early instance involving a Latin appellative like *equa*.

Equaesi and *Quarquerni*. These were the names of two of the peoples who formed the so-called *Conventus Bracaraugustanus* as enumerated in an inscription[1] found at Aquæ Flaviæ. The peoples of this Conventus dwelt between the rivers Minho and Douro, where the principal towns were Bracara or Bracaraugusta, and Aquæ Flaviæ, now Braga and Chaves respectively. The Equaesi are so called also by Pliny;[2] but the Quarquerni's name is given as *Querquerni*[3] by him. Here *Querquern-* is probably identical with the *Perpern-* of such personal names as the masculine *Perperna* and the feminine *Perpernia*, both of which occur in Spain, namely at Tarragona and Barcelona;[4] also in Cisalpine Gaul, to wit, at Padua;[5] but the most noteworthy instance, perhaps, is an inscription found at Martos, the ancient Tucci, not far from the eastern boundary of Bætica: it reads[6]—D . M . S | M . Perperna Gallicanus | Annor . L . H . S . E . S . T . T . L | Huic . Mer . Fil . Et . Nep . Fec | . *Querquern-* and *Perpern-* look like reduplications of a stem represented in Irish by *crann*[7] and in Welsh by *prenn*, now written *pren*, 'a piece of timber, a tree,' which are presumed to be of the same origin as

[1] The Berlin Corpus, ii. No. 2477.
[2] Nat. Hist. iii. 28.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] The Berlin Corpus, ii. Nos. 4301–2, 4393, 4547, 4555.
[5] *Ibid.* v. Nos. 3004 and 2856, which is of doubtful reading. The name C. Perpernius, which occurs in a list of gladiators found at Venusia in Apulia, probably belongs here: see the Corpus, ix. No. 466. The relation between *Perperna* and *Perpenna* is a question of considerable difficulty, which I am not prepared to discuss.
[6] No. 1709.
[7] The form in early Celtic must have been *qṛnon* of the neuter gender, and the reason why the reduplication should yield, not *qṛqṛnn-*, but *qṛqṛn-*, is to be sought in the too great accumulation of consonants the former would occasion.

the Latin *quercus* 'an oak,' *quernus* 'oaken, of oak': compare *Sabrann*, an old name of the Irish river Lee, Welsh *Hafren* 'the *Severn*,' and Irish *salann* 'salt,' Welsh *halen*, as illustrating the same treatment of ṛn and ḷn in Irish and Welsh respectively.

Let us take next the other outlying portions of the Celtic world looking towards the south, namely Gallia Cisalpina or Northern Italy and a portion of the Alps. Here we have a variety of names which may have belonged to a Celtic dialect; but several of them are too obscure to be of use to us, such as *Quassauna*,[1] also given as *Cusonia*,[2] both in inscriptions at Verona; and such as *Querra*[3] in another inscription at Verona. Then we have a people called Quadiates on the Cottian Arch at Susa:[4] they belonged to the Cottian Alps, and were probably the same as the Quariates supposed to have left their name to Le Queyras in Switzerland. It is scarcely probable that they were the Germanic people of the Quadi of whom we read in the Germania of Tacitus; far more likely is it that they were either Celts or Ligurians, if we may judge from the other peoples enumerated in the same inscriptions.[5] Putting aside, then, such names as the foregoing, we find remaining in the inscriptions such forms as *Equasia*, *Squillius*, and *Veiquasius*. The stem of the name Equasia found at Trieste[6] might be either Latin or Celtican, but the formation of the word seems to resemble that of *Veiquasius*, the Celtican origin of which is not improbable. This, together with *Vequasius* and *Vequasia*, occurs as a personal name in inscriptions[7] from Polenza and neighbouring places in Piedmont. The variety of the spelling shows that the vowel of the first syllable was long; so that we may have here in fact the same stem as in the Irish names *Fiachna* and *Fiachra*. The genitive of the latter,

[1] Berlin Corpus v. No. 3463.
[2] No. 3916.
[3] No. 3597.
[4] No. 7231.
[5] See Müllenhoff's *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, vol. ii. 249.
[6] No. 594.
[7] Nos. 7594a, 7680, 7682.

Fiachrach, appears in a late Ogam as *Vequrecc*,[1] while that of the other, *Fiachna*, is found in an Ogam of the earlier sort as *Veqoanai*.[2] The later forms with their *ia* show that the original vowel was *ēi* or *ē* and the Irish common noun *fiach* 'a raven' suggests a possible interpretation of this group of names.

Lastly we come to the names *Squillius*[3] and *Squillianus*[4] in inscriptions at Verona; to these may be added *Squeillanius*[5] from an inscription found at Narbonne, and possibly a genitive *Squelioles*[6] in a Christian inscription at Marseilles. The variety of spelling here also suggests that the vowel of the first syllable was possibly long; and in that case the length was probably the result of the elision of a consonant, the original stem being presumably *squetl* of a neuter *squetlón*, meaning 'a piece of news, a tale.' The Goidelic language of the insular Celts retained the *t* for centuries later, as we find on one of their monuments in Glamorgan the compound *scitlirissi*, the genitive of an earlier *squetlivisso-*; but the point of importance here is that the Brythonic treatment was quite different, seeing that the Welsh word for a story is *chwedl*, from an earlier *suetlon*, to which *squetlón* had been levelled,[7]

[1] The stone comes from Monataggart, in the parish of Donoughmore, in the county of Cork, and is now at the Royal Irish Academy.

[2] The stone is at Cooldorrihy, in the parish of Kilmichael, in the same county. The *o* of *Veqoanai* is unusual and meant probably for the *u* (of the *qu* ordinarily represented by the single Ogam character |||||): in another instance the ||||| is followed by the Ogam for *w* or *v*, namely |||, but the Ogam for *qu* is never confounded with that for *c* or *k*.

[3] Berlin Corpus, v. No. 3335.

[4] No. 3401.

[5] Berlin Corpus, xii. No. 5972.

[6] No. 491.

[7] For other instances of *su* for *squ* see my Celtic Britain[2], p. 92. The discarding of the *q* was here probably due to the syllable being unaccented; so also in Welsh *peunydd* 'every day, daily' for *quoundii-* from an earlier *quoqun-dii-*. Compare the old Irish *cethir* four, the initial of which suggested the symbol |||| for *c* in the Ogam alphabet; so the word was probably at one time *cetuóres* from an earlier *quetuóres*, corresponding to the Welsh *petguar*, now *pedwar*. This accentuation is also that of the Sanskrit catvāras and it is implied by the *d* of Gothic *fiduor*, and possibly by the *a* of the Latin *quatuor*: see Mr. Wharton's paper in the *Phil. Trans.* 1888-90, pp. 46-9. On the other hand, the former initial of the Irish *cóic*, *cóig* 'five' suggested the Ogam symbol ||||| for *qu*, which the fifth numeral must have retained in Irish Gaelic: in fact Manx Gaelic

and the same remark probably applies to Gaulish. Such a name then as *Squillius* would mean a news-bringer or a scout, and perhaps a story-teller.

The ancient inscriptions of Illyricum present nothing very certain as regards the present question: we get a personal name *Quordaio*[1] from the neighbourhood of Salzburg, but it is obscure to me as is also the genitive *Quitai*,[2] which comes from Kovácsi, north-west of Buda-Pest in Hungary. It is probably more correct likewise to regard *q* names, such as *Quernio*,[3] from the Roman town of Aquileia and its vicinity, as Latin rather than Celtic. So we now recross the Alps to Transalpine Gaul, where we have already found the name *Squeillanius* and others in point.

A word must now be said as to the relation between the two Celtic peoples of the Continent, and first from the geographical point of view. If we take for granted, as we safely may, that the earliest population of Gaul was not Celtic or even Aryan, and further that the Celts of ancient Gaul did not originally come thither from the direction of Spain or of Italy, we are entitled to conclude that the Q Celts arrived in the west before the P Celts, as they are found occupying the furthest parts of the Celtic area, namely north Italy, Spain, southern and western Gaul, Ireland, Man, the Scotch Highlands and Islands. The conclusion is scarcely to be avoided that the later comers, the P Celts, came as invaders and conquerors constituting themselves the ruling people wherever they could vanquish the other race. This seems to have been the case in most of Gaul, and some of the results of this state of things are indicated in Cæsar's Commentaries,[4] as, for instance,

still retains it in its *queig* 'five' as contrasted with *kegeesh* (pronounced *kegíth* or *keyíth*) 'a fortnight,' in Irish *cóicdigis* or *cóicthighis*, with *ói* owing to the analogy of *cóig*.

[1] See the Berlin Corpus, iii. No. 5523, from which it appears that Conginna, daughter of Quordaio, had married the grandson of a man bearing the name *Aterui-i*, which looks like Celtic.

[2] No. 3621, but Quita's daughter bore the apparently Celtic name of *Comatimara*.

[3] Vol. v. No. 1270.

[4] Books i. 4, vi. 13.

in the multitudes of clients and dependents forced to attach themselves to the Gaulish chiefs. This would also explain the scarcity of data as to the language of the earlier Aryans there; for Roman and Greek writers would come more directly in contact with the ruling race and hear Celtic names only in the Gaulish form which the ruling Gauls gave them; and, to judge from similar cases elsewhere, the subjugated race must have acquired at an early date the habit of translating its own names and forms into those of the conqueror's idiom. We seem to have an instance of this in an ex-voto to certain *Nymphae Augustae* in the neighbourhood of Vaison in Gallia Narbonensis, where the name applied to them is *Percernes*,[1] in which we seem to have an imperfect translation into Gaulish of the *querquern-* of the proper name Querquerni; so the epithet may be supposed to have characterized them as nymphs of the forest or woodlands. But be this as it may, that is the sort of process always going on in dialects brought into contact with a dominant dialect.

Nevertheless there are one or two well-known names which for some reason or other successfully held their own, and those are Sequana and Sequani, and Aquitani. How the name of a river[2] like the Seine should have been accepted by the invading race is not very difficult to understand, but the difficulty is greater when we come to that of the people known as the Sequani, as there are no data to decide whether they were Celticans or Gauls. Their geographical position, however, among the mountains of Switzerland, and the *rôle* played by them in Gaul at the time of Cæsar's advent and for some time previously, are not inconsistent with the possibility of their belonging wholly or in great part to the earlier race. Cæsar represents[3] the Ædui and the Celtican people of the Arverni as the heads of two rival federations;

[1] Vol. xii. No. 1329.

[2] It occurs also as a woman's name, in an inscription from the neighbourhood of Trevisio to the north of Venice: see the Corpus, v. No. 2129. Most probably Sequana was in the first instance the name of a goddess (see Rev. Celt. vol. iii. p. 306); but a compound name *Sequanoiotuos* occurs on coins ascribed to the Sequani.

[3] Bk. i. 31.

and that of the Arverni proving the weaker, it was they who, together with the Sequani, invited Ariovistus and his Germans to come into Gaul.

The presumption is that both Sequana and Sequani are words of Celtic origin, but with regard to the name of the Aquitani we are left in doubt whether it was Celtic at all or not; if the word is Celtic, it may be supposed to involve a Celtican word for water, of the same origin as the Latin *aqua*, and that the first bearers of the name *Aquitani* were in that case described as a people dwelling near the water, meaning the sea, and this would agree well enough with the little that is known of the history of the word. Strabo[1] maintains, and probably with perfect justice, that the people beyond the Garonne, whom Cæsar called Aquitani, were more Iberian than Celtic. From them the province of Aquitania, constituted by Augustus so as to extend to the Loire, took its name. Pliny makes the Iberian and original Aquitania into Aquitanica, adding, in the passage already cited, that it was at one time called Aremorica. So it is possible that we have here to do with a term *Aquitan* or *Aquitanic*, admitting of being rendered into Gaulish by the adjective *Aremoric*, which meant 'maritime, belonging to the sea-coast.' The former may in that case have been derived from a Celtican word of the origin already suggested. Thus Pliny's Armoric Aquitanica coincides with the information which led Cæsar to confine the name Aquitani to the Iberians on the further side of the Garonne. Pliny traces the name there to a single tribe bearing no other designation than that of Aquitani: their exact position is not given, so that one is at liberty to suppose that they dwelt on the coast somewhere between the Garonne and the Adour. Though originally synonymous, the later usage had the effect of severing the terms *Aremoric* and *Aquitanic*. *Aremoric* or *Armoric* became associated with the Armoric League, and shifted with the shifting fortunes of the states constituting it, which Cæsar describes as *civitates quæ*

[1] See Meineke's ed. iv. l. 1.

Armoricæ appellantur.[1] On the other hand, the other adjective was associated by Augustus with the province of Aquitania, including the spacious region from the Garonne to the Loire; and it is there that the name Aquitania has ever since had its home, and has come down to later times in the French form of *La Guienne.*

Here must be mentioned the term *Chortonicum*, which occurs, among other geographical names, in the Wessobrunn Codex in Munich, a manuscript written before the year 814. The names of Celtic interest in it are the following: *Hybernia . scottono lant*, i.e. the Land of the Scots. *Gallia . uualho lant*, i.e. the Land of the Welsh. *Chortonicum . auh uualho lant*, i.e. also the Land of the Welsh. *Equitania . uuascono lant*, i.e. the Land of the Vascones or Gascons. *Domnoniam . prettono lant*, i.e. the Land of the Britons. But the name of prime importance here is *Chortonicum*, a spelling which may be regarded as standing for *Cortonicum* in the text which the writer of the Old High German glosses had before him, and Pott with his usual insight perceived that it was to be interpreted by means of the words *Cruithne, Cruithneach*, 'a Pict.'[2] *Cortonicum* would thus have to be

[1] Bks. v. 43, vii. 75. In both passages the spelling is *Armoricas*, nor does Holder mention any variant like *Aremoricae*, which, etymologically speaking, would be the older and better form of the word. Prof. Nettleship reminds me that the prevalent form in the poets is scanned *Arēmŏricus.*

[2] Etym. Forsch. II. ii. 899: see also Windisch in Ersch & Grüber's Encyclopædia, s.v. *Keltische sprachen.* I copy the glosses from Graff's Diutiska, vol. ii. pp. 370-1, in the hope chiefly that some one will inform me to what text they belong: it is needless to point out the curious questions which some of them suggest:—

Fol. 61*a*. Hec nomina de variis prouinciis.
Hybernia . scottono lant.
„ 61*b*. Gallia . uualho lant.
chortonicum . auh uualho lant.
Equitania . uuascono lant.
Uacea . uuascun.
Germania . franchono lant.
Italia . lancparto lant
Ausonia . auh lancparto lant.
Domnoniam . prettono lant.
Bruteri . prezzun.
Araues . sarci.
Ispania . benauentono lant.
Cyuuari . suapa.
Pannonia . sic nominatur illa terra meridiꝑ danobia . et uuandoli habent hoc.

explained as an adjective formed, probably in Latin, from the name of a people called in Celtic *Qŭrŭtones* or *Qŭrŭtonii*, of the same origin not only as *Cruithne* 'a Pict,' but also as the Welsh *Prydyn*, the part of Britain inhabited by the Picts of the North, and Welsh *Prydain*, the name of the whole island. So *Cortonicum* may have meant all Gaul, or a part of Gaul, or else it may very probably have been used in both senses; and to discover approximately the part of Gaul it could have specially referred to we cannot do better than take the synonymity of *Cruithne* and *Pict* in the British Isles as our guide on the Continent. This clearly suggests that the Cortonic district *par excellence* covered the whole or part of Poitou or the land of the Pictones, whose name, together with that of their town now called Poitiers, cannot, etymologically speaking, be severed from the name of the insular Picts. Thus it may be presumed that the term Cortonicum referred to the region so called, whether all Gaul or only a part of Gaul, as the land of the non-Aryan aborigines; and it goes to show that the early Celts regarded the latter as one and the same race, whether on the Continent or in the British Isles. That is too large a subject, however,

[Note continued from previous page.]

Fol. 62*a*. Arnoricus . peigiro lant.
Istrię . peigira . Ister . danobia
Sclauus et auarus . huni et uuinida.
Palestina . iudeono lant . hoc *est* circa hierosolima.
Uuandali . huni . et citta . aut uuandoli .
Auriliana . sic nominatur illa terra ubi roma stetit.
Pentapoli . sic nominatur illia patria . ubi rapana stat.
Tharcia . illa patria . ubi constantinopoli . stetit.
Cynocephali . canini capita.
Amazones . hoc .s. uirgines.
,, 62*b*. Thebaida . illa patria inde fuit mauricius . Argi . greci.
Ethiopia . patria mauri .
De Ciuitatibus.
Luctuna . Liutona.
Argentoratensis . straxpuruc.
Nimitensis ciuitas . spira.
Uuangiaonium . ciuitas uuormacię.
Agrippina . cholonne .
Constantinopoli . costantinuses puruc.
Neapolis . ciuitas noua.
Norica . reganespuruc.
Allofia . radaspónsa.
Betfagia . pazauua.
,, 63*a*. Ualuicula salzpuruc.

to be discussed here; let it suffice for the present to have called attention to the form of the word Cortonicum, as it proves to be derived from a Celtican source, not from a Gaulish one. Its history, nevertheless, is incomplete; for it is not known in what author it was found by the writer of the glosses in the ninth century; so one cannot say whether the text he read is still extant, or on the other hand whether it did not carry him back a considerable distance of time towards, let us say, the fourth century. I say the fourth century, as we have evidence in the dialogues of Sulpicius Severus that not only Gaulish but Celtican likewise was in use in his time: his words are, *Tu vero, inquit Postumianus, vel Celtice aut, si mauis, Gallice loquerei dummodo Martinum loquaris.*[1] The words which Sulpicius puts into the mouth of Postumianus deserve all the more attention as Sulpicius is said to have belonged to an influential family in Aquitania, where Celtican speech may not unnaturally be supposed to have been last heard.

The word Prydain, which is the Welsh name for Great Britain, is not etymologically related to the latter name from the Latin *Britannia*, which was formed from the Latin name of the people whom the Romans at first called *Britanni*. For after the Romans conquered a part of Britain and became better acquainted with its peoples the term *Britanni* seems to have gradually fallen into disuse in favour of the kindred form Brĭttŏnes, which is also the pronunciation of the name to which the Brythonic Celts bear testimony by their use of such forms as Welsh *Brython* 'a Briton or Welshman,' *Brythoneg* 'the Brythonic language, Welsh,' Old Cornish *Brethonec* 'the Brythonic language, Cornish,' Breton *Brezonek* 'the Breton language.' Where then did the Romans learn their first name for the Brythons? Probably in the Roman province in the South of Gaul. At any rate it is remarkable that the old Irish word for *Brythons*, which had also to do duty for *Britain*, was the plural *Bretain*, genitive *Bretan*, dative *Bretnaib*, accusative *Bretnu*, which corresponds to the

[1] Halm's ed. Dial. i. 27, 4.

Latin *Britanni*, or, more exactly, *Brittani*. Hence it would appear that the Romans must have learned the name from a people who spoke a language resembling Goidelic, that is to say from the Celticans of Southern Gaul or the Roman province. This is corroborated by the fact that *Britanni* and *Brittanni* resemble the Greek form *Βρεττανοί*, which reached Greece probably through the Greeks of Marseilles, who doubtless learned the name in the same district as the Romans: perhaps it would be more accurate to regard the *Britanni* of the Romans merely as the Latin rendering of the Greek *Βρεττανοί*, and to suppose the Greeks to have learnt the latter from the Celts nearest to Marseilles. At all events it was not the form which the Brythons themselves gave to their own national name. It probably represented rather the pronunciation which the Q Celts of the Continent gave it, as it must have done, with tolerable accuracy, that of the Q Celts of Ireland, judging from the forms which the name exhibits among them in later times.

Such are the traces on the Continent of a Celtic language resembling Irish as contrasted with Welsh, and though they seem to me to render its former existence there highly probable, I leave others to settle how far it is probable.

II.

The question of classifying the Celts into two groups characterized by the use of P and Q languages respectively is not to be dismissed without reference to a similar grouping of the Aryans of Italy and Greece. Thus to begin with the former, the Romans used *qu* just as the ancient Irish did, but in so doing they stood well-nigh alone in the Italy of historical times; for the Osco-Umbrian dialects replaced *qu* by *p*.[1]

[1] Messapian and possibly other dialects of the south are to be regarded as more akin to Greek than to the other languages of Italy: see Mommsen's *Unteritalischen Dialekte*, p. 85.

The Latin-speaking Italians of the beginning of Roman history occupied a comparatively small area, their original territory in the peninsula having probably been narrowed [1] by Umbrians and Sabines, by the latter of whom the legends of Rome represent the nascent city hard pressed. On the other hand the scanty remains of some of the dialects of ancient Sicily are supposed to show close similarity to Latin, and this suggests that Latin or kindred dialects were once spoken over the whole of the eastern coast of the Peninsula, from Latium to the Straits of Messina. Their disappearance from all that tract was probably due to the conquests made within historical times by the Samnites, and other tribes of Oscan stock, and in part also to the Greek colonies planted on the coast. In the rear of the Oscans came the Umbrians, occupying not only the district which bore their name in Roman history, from the Adriatic to the Apennines and the Tiber, but also the adjacent country westwards to the sea opposite Corsica. In other words they owned, if not the whole of what came later to be Etruria, the south at any rate and the east of Etruria, so that they completely barred the north of Italy from sea to sea behind the peoples of the Siculo-Latin stock. I cannot discuss here the extent to which the latter had been deprived of their territory by the Osco-Umbrians, or the fact of these last being in their turn deprived of so much of their territory by the Etruscans, that Pliny [2] found the Etruscans to have taken possession of no less than 300 towns of the Umbrians. The one thing to be borne in mind for the present is,

[1] The remains of the Faliscan dialect show clearly that the people of Falerii, for instance, belonged to the same stock as the Latins and not to the Umbrians or Oscans: see Deecke's 'Falisker' (Strassburg, 1888), where, pp. 135, 156, 193, he gives as Faliscan *-que* or *-cue* = Latin *-que*, *cuando* = Latin *quando*, and other similar evidence which cannot be overthrown by the occurrence in a Faliscan inscription of *Puponio* equated by him with *Pomponius*, at the same time that he suggests equating *Popia* with *Publia*: see pp. 153, 187.

[2] See iii. 112: the passage is highly instructive, especially the following words—"Ab Ancona Gallica ora incipit togatae Galliae cognomine. Siculi et Liburni plurima eius tractus tenuere, in primis Palmenseni, Praetutianum Hadrianumque agrum. Umbri eos expulere, hos Etruria, hanc Galli. Umbrorum gens antiquissima Italiae existimatur, ut quos Ombrios a Graecis putent dictos, quod inundatione terrarum imbribus superfuissent. Trecenta eorum oppida Tusci debellasse reperiuntur."

that the Italians of the Q group appear to have entered Italy before those of the P group, that the Siculo-Latin race had already settled down when the Osco-Umbrians arrived.

Much the same kind of remarks may be applied to Greece, where the Q group is most obviously represented by the dialect of Herodotus,[1] with such forms as κῶς and κότε for the πῶς and πότε of the other dialects. The historian was a native of Halicarnassus in Asia Minor, and his Greek belongs to the group of dialects called Ionic. As there is no reason to suppose that he invented the language of his writings, he must be supposed to have heard it at Halicarnassus or in some part of Asia Minor, or else, as has been sometimes thought more probable, in the island of Samos, where he is said to have passed some years of his life. Now Halicarnassus is spoken of as a Doric colony, namely, of Troezen; but this by no means proves that it was not also Ionic. That it was so is seen from the fact that the Ionian deity Poseidon was worshipped at Halicarnassus with peculiar zeal,[2] and the connexion itself of Halicarnassus with Troezen is by no means inconsistent with this view, but rather the contrary; for Troezen was a mixed city. Originally Ionic, it had been conquered by Dorians. The name Ionian is applied early to the inhabitants of the north-east of the Peloponnese, including Troezen and other places; also to the district on the north coast, subsequently known as Achaia. In what numerical proportions the Dorians and the Ionians lived in the towns conquered by the former, it is impossible to say; but in Sicyon, for instance, the old inhabitants formed a fourth tribe, whereas at Corinth they consisted of five tribes, while

[1] Herodotus is selected as the representative of the dialect, for one learns from the editions of such authors as Hippocrates and Heraclitus that the manuscripts narrow the domain of the κ as compared with the usage of the historian. It was doubtless very natural for Greek scribes and editors to normalize the dialect by giving its forms the π with which they were familiar in Attic prose; but the longer the writings of an author were, the more resistance they offered to this process of assimilation.

[2] Evelyn Abbott's Greece, vol. i. 125; Müller's Dorier, i. 407, ii. 105; and the Berlin Corpus of Greek Inscriptions, No. 2655.

the conquering Dorians only made up the three remaining tribes. The conquest of the Peloponnese known as the return of the Heraclidæ was effected by Dorians helped by Ætolians, and the former can be traced back to a district between Oeta and Parnassus, where their name survived in *Doris*: at a still earlier period they dwelt in the Thessalian district of Hestiæotis.[1] When the Dorians and their allies conquered the Peloponnese, the ancient Ionians and kindred peoples were subjugated or driven into corners, such as the north-east of the peninsula, together with Attica, also Euboea, the other islands and Asia Minor, whither the Dorians in due time followed them. Eventually ensued a fusion of races, which it would be useless to attempt to analyse. But it will suffice for the present to bear in mind that the Dorians and kindred invaders found the Ionians in the Peloponnese before them, and that the Ionian dialects contained among their number one, at least, which belonged to the Q group.

The principal questions which these remarks raise may be comprehended under two headings, the fusion of P and Q Aryans and the common descent of the P Aryans. Let us take the latter first: is the modification of *qu* into *p* enough to prove the nations speaking languages of the P group to have spread from a single centre, whether they are found in Celtic lands, in Italy, or in Greece? As the physiological change here in question might, so far as one can see, take place in any language having words with *qu*, that change would be a precarious foundation for such a conclusion.[2] But it makes a very great difference to find that the change has been resisted in the outer area alone, that is, among the Goidelo-Celtican group in Celtic lands,

[1] Abbott, vol. i. 61; Herodotus i. 56, viii. 43.

[2] Most of those who notice this, speak as if they consider the change of *qu* into *p* a very common phenomenon, whereas, besides the case of the Aryan languages in question, I have not succeeded in eliciting an instance from friends acquainted with non-Aryan languages. One is generally asked to take Roumanian as in point; but that will not do as an independent instance. For who is to say that the legionary ancestor of the modern Roumanian who says *patru* for the Latin *quatuor*, was not an Oscan or Umbrian, or even a Gaul, inheriting the *p* pronunciation?

the Siculo-Latins in Italy and some of the Ionians among the Greeks. In fact we have only to make a simple calculation of chances, which may be put thus: let the three P groups of the inner area be represented by three white balls, and the three Q groups of the outer area by three black balls; then suppose the six balls placed in a bag, and the question is, what the chances are, in drawing three at a time, that those three will be the white balls. Now the number of different triplets that can be formed of six balls is $\frac{6\times5\times4}{1\times2\times3}=20$: that is to say the chance of drawing any given triplet is $\frac{1}{20}$, or, in other words, the odds against it are 19 to 1. Suppose we leave out Greece on account of the evidence being less clear there than in the case of Italy and Celtic lands, our calculation is then made with four balls instead of six, and the number of pairs possible is $\frac{4\times3}{1\times2}=6$: that is, the chance of drawing any given pair is $\frac{1}{6}$; in other words the odds against it are 5 to 1, which is a preponderance of probability by no means to be despised, and from which one might proceed to assume the same state of things in Greece as in the other two linguistic regions. It thus appears unreasonable to suppose the change of *qu* into *p* among the Aryans of the inner area to have been a mere matter of accident, and the alternative explanation which alone deserves consideration is, that the P Aryans issued from a common centre where the phonetic change in question had been accomplished once for all in their common dialect.

Here may be added the fact that the consonantal change is not the only characteristic of the P languages, as they show another change, namely that of long *u* into long *ü* or even *ī*; but as this will come under notice later, let it suffice at this point to remark that it vastly increases the strength of the argument.[1]

[1] For instead of simply drawing the three white balls once, the chance of which taking place was shown to be only $\frac{1}{20}$, one has to suppose them (replaced and) successfully drawn a second time. The chance of the compound event is $\frac{1}{20}\times\frac{1}{20}=\frac{1}{400}$: that is, the odds against it are 399 to 1. If Greece be omitted the chance of the compound event is $\frac{1}{6}\times\frac{1}{6}=\frac{1}{36}$, or 35 to 1 against it so far as concerns the Celtic and Italian areas.

Irish, Latin and the Greek dialect in point must so far as concerns the consonantal change which interests us here be regarded as having remained in a sense on the level of Teutonic, as a single instance will suffice to show: take, for example, the English interrogative *who*, Gothic *hvas*, and compare with it the initial of the Irish *cia* 'who,' Latin *qui* and *quis*, and the Herodotean κοῖος, contrasting with them the Welsh *pwy*, Oscan *pis* 'who,' and the common Greek ποῖος. As no philologist supposes the change to have been from *p* to *qu̯*, Irish, Latin and Herodotean Greek must be regarded as having in this respect remained on the ancient level, the reduction of *qu̯* to *p* being a later phenomenon. A similar remark applies to the vowel change to which allusion has been just made. So the two changes agree in signalizing for us the rise of a new Aryan dialect, and this translated into ethnology can hardly have any other meaning than that Aryan speech had been adopted by a non-Aryan race, which introduced into its adopted language the habits of pronunciation prevalent in its previous language. The question next comes, where the conquest of non-Aryans by Aryans took place, and looking at the distribution of the Aryans of this mixed origin as represented by the P dialects of Gaul and Britain, of Italy and Greece, also possibly by the languages of peoples of the Thraco-Phrygian stock both in Europe and Asia Minor, one cannot help thinking that it must have been somewhere in the region of the Alps.

Granted this, we are enabled to explain a variety of the features which characterize Celtic, Italian and Hellenic dialects: in other words, we now come to the other question to be noticed, that of the fusion of the later or P Aryans with the earlier or Q Aryans. But here, as before, I only attempt to deal with the races indirectly, through the linguistic data which they have left us, and Latin proves of prime importance to the inquiry. The history of that language is a very remarkable one, for, after having its domain narrowed to a comparatively small area, it begins to conquer all the dialects around it, nor desists till it becomes one of the great languages of civilization; but what is particularly to be

borne in mind is the fact, that the antagonism between the makers of Rome and the peoples around them seems to have been so intense that Latin remained comparatively unaffected by non-Latin dialects up to the time of its classical period. Thus not only does Latin agree with the rest of the languages characterized by *qu̯* in the matter of that combination, but it further abstains from the corresponding change of *gu̯* to *b*, which happens in Irish and Greek. It retains *gu̯* or reduces it to *v*: take, for example, the word *unguo* 'I smear or anoint,' *unguen* 'fat, ointment,' Oscan *umen* (for **umben*), Irish *imb*, genitive *imbe* (like *ainm* 'name,' genitive *anme*), Breton *amann*, Welsh *ymenyn* 'butter.' Take also the Latin *vivus* 'living' (for **gu̯ivos*), Oscan *bivus* "vivi," Irish *beo*, Welsh *byw* 'quick, alive.' A remarkable exception in Latin is *bos* 'an ox,' which, had it been native Latin, ought to have had some such form as *cos*, and not *bos*; but the very fact of the latter standing pretty nearly alone speaks clearly for the comparative freedom of Latin from any considerable admixture of Oscan.[1] Another respect in which Latin remained pretty nearly on the old level is that of long *u*, which in the P languages shows a narrowing towards French *ū* or even *ī*. Thus while Latin had *sus* 'a sow,' Greek had its ὗς, pronounced with a vowel like the French *ū* of the present day; and the accusative singular and plural of this same word were in Umbrian *sim* and *sif* respectively. Umbrian had also *pir* and *frif*, corresponding to the Greek πῦρ 'fire,' and Latin *fruges* 'crops.' Similarly Latin *tū*, English *thou*, appear in Irish as *tū*, but in Welsh as *ti*, and Irish *cū* 'a hound,' is in Welsh *cī*, not to mention that such a word as Irish *tuath*, in Gaulish *touta* 'a tribe or people,' is *tûd* in Breton, and in Welsh *tūt* and *tūd*, with a *u* which in North Wales is much narrower than French *ū*, while in the rest of the Principality it becomes mostly *ī*. This may be regarded as a Brythonic extension of the domain of the tendency to narrow or unround the vowel.

The comparative freedom of Latin from the changes here in question suggests the conclusion that they were phonetic

[1] If *bos* be not Oscan or Umbrian, it may be of Gaulish origin, or else a loan-word from Greek, which some are inclined to maintain.

characteristics of the P dialects, that is to say, all three of them, the labializing of *qu̯* into *p*, of *gu̯* into *b*,[1] and the modifying of *ŭ* towards *ĭ*.[2] Granted this, it follows that one must suppose the linguistic influence of the later Aryan comers to have varied considerably in force as measured by the changes it effected in the phonetics of the Q dialects of the Celts, the Italians and the Greeks respectively. In Italy, as already stated, it may be said to have been a minimum quantity, but it was quite otherwise among the Celts and the Greeks. Let us begin with the latter: the majority of the Greek dialects are known to have used *π* for the *qu̯* of the labalizing Aryans, but they did not treat that combination always in the same way. Before the vowel *o* they made it into *π* as in *ποῖος* 'qualis,' but before *ε* and *ι* it became *τ*, as in *-τε* and *τίς*, with which are to be contrasted Latin *-que* and *quis*, while before or after *υ* the guttural remained, as in *κύκλος* 'a circle,' A.-Saxon *hweohl*, English *wheel*. Under similar conditions *gu̯* became *β*, *δ* and *γ*; also *ghu̯* became *φ*, *θ* and *χ* respectively. No such limitations of the phenomenon of the guttural plus the *u̯* yielding a labial are known to have systematically existed in the P dialects of either Italy or the Celtic world,[3] and certain Greek dialects seem to have somewhat defied them, as

[1] The change of *ghu̯* into *f* or *φ* has been omitted, partly as being of minor importance here, and partly as contained, so far as concerns Celtic, under that of *gu̯* into *b*.

[2] My friend Mr. Wharton, in the paper to which reference has already been made, gives it as his opinion, p. 54, that "the influence of dialect on the Roman long vowels, and especially on the diphthongs, was much stronger than on the short vowels, as conversely that of accent was much weaker;" but from among his instances of *ŭ* becoming *ĭ*, I should be inclined to remove such as divīnus, amīcus, formīdo, vopīscus, as contrasted with opportūnus, cadūcus, testūdo, corūscus, and the like; for the use of a termination *īnus*, for example, rather than *ūnus*, raises questions as to the thematic vowel, and it is open to the suspicion of being due to analogy rather than to a mere phonetic change. Among Mr. Wharton's other instances may possibly be some which were due to the influence of Oscan and Umbrian.

[3] But Prof. Zimmer in his *Keltische Studien* in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vol. xxx. pp. 134, 140, regards Irish *guth* 'voice' and Greek *βοή* as of the same origin, and treats *gegon* 'I have wounded,' as the perfect of a verb which in its other tenses has *b*, such as *benim* 'I strike.' So here we have *gu̯o* becoming *gu* or *go*, and some such a rule must have applied in the case of *Sequana*, supposing it to be—against the probabilities of the case—Gaulish and not Celtican. Add the form SEQVONIVS, which, if correctly read, is deserving of notice in this connexion: see the *Revue Celtique*, vol. iii. p. 307.

when the Thessalians said κίς for τίς 'who.' Then as to the dialects characterized by the unrounding of long *u* into long *ü*, similar treatment is found to have been extended to short *u*, which was changed in the same dialects into *ü*; and this still remains the sound of *v* in certain dialects of Greek, such as the Tzakonian. But the ancient dialects retaining *u* and *ū* are said to have been Bœotian and Laconian, probably also Arcadian, Cypriote, Pamphylian, Chalcidian, and Lesbian;[1] and such instances may be mentioned as the Bœotian name *Εὔθουμος* for the Attic *Εὔθῡμος*, and the Laconian verb *μουσίδδει* for what would have been in Attic *μῡθίζει* in the sense of λαλεῖ 'speaks.' On the whole the P dialects may be said to have had the upper hand in the Greek world, and the fusion, not to say the confusion, of the dialects of the two groups must here be regarded as of such a nature that Greece cannot help us much in the attempt to distinguish between peoples of the P and Q groups: rather have we to assume that the conclusions already drawn as to the corresponding peoples in Celtic and Italian lands may be applied in principle to Greece likewise.

On Celtic ground we have no data to enable us to judge with any precision of the attitude of Gaulish and Celtican towards one another on the Continent, but we seem to have a distinct trace of the influence of the former in the French pronunciation of Latin long *u*, a pronunciation which not only characterizes the French language, but is found also in modern Provençal, in the Engadine, and in Lombardy.[2] Leaving the Continent, we have in these islands the facts of Brythonic and Goidelic pronunciations to draw upon. In the first place it may be mentioned that the modifying of *ŭ* towards *ü* or *ĭ* is unknown in the Goidelic dialects, as is also the reduction of *qu̯* to *p*; but, on the other hand, *b* for *gu̯* and *ghu̯* is as general a rule in them as in the Brythonic dialects. How then is this to be explained? To some extent, probably, by the geography of the British

[1] Brugmann, §§ 48, 56.
[2] Diez, *Gram. der romanischen Sprachen* (Bonn, 1870), vol. i. 426.

Isles; for the case would be met by supposing the Q Aryans to have first conquered Britain as far, sooner or later, as the sea separating it from the sister island, and the P Aryans to have eventually arrived in such force as to establish themselves in the east and south-east of Britain, preserving their own language at first unmixed, while influencing that of the Q Aryans to the west of them more and more as time went on, and reducing their territory. In fact we may suppose the same thing to have taken place here as in Gaul, namely, that the P conquerors everywhere made themselves the ruling class, even where the Q dialects continued to be spoken. It was the speakers of these mixed dialects, that is to say, of Q dialects modified under the influence of those of the P group, that probably sent forth men to conquer Ireland; they set sail, let us say, from Anglesey and landed on the opposite coast, somewhere between Bray and Dundalk. In Ireland the Q language of the invaders became stereotyped against the further influence of the idioms of the P group, while the Q dialects left behind in Britain continued subject to that influence until they were assimilated out of all separate existence.

It is needless to say that while Brythonic made this sort of conquest, it could not itself escape being phonetically modified, namely, by the previous habits of pronunciation of those who adopted it instead of their own language. Add to this the subsequent influence of the extensive conquests made in Wales and Dumnonia by invaders from Ireland about the end of the Roman Occupation.

Such at any rate would be a possible account of the rise of Goidelic as it was when it spread from Ireland to Man and Scotland; but with regard to the influence of the P dialects on it, only one instance has been specified, namely, the change of *gu̯* into *b*. This must, however, not be regarded as standing alone: there is probably one other which must be supposed to date quite as early: it belongs to the history of the treatment of Aryan *p* in Celtic, which must by no means be confounded with the treatment of Aryan *k* or *qu̯* whether changed into *p* or not. Thus it has

been for some time known to philologists that Aryan *p* wholly disappears in the Celtic tongues, that is, it has either given rise to another consonant or it has simply left its place empty. Take for example the Irish word *lár*, Welsh *llawr*, which means *floor* and is of the same origin, or the Old Irish word *athir*, which means *father* and is in fact the same word with *father* and Latin *pater*, with their congeners; similarly the Irish verb *lenim* 'I adhere, follow,' reduplicate perfect (3rd singular) *lil*, (3rd plural) *leltar*, future *lilit* 'sequentur,' Welsh di*lyn*, can*lyn* 'to follow,' and er*lyn* 'to prosecute,' are of the same origin as the Lithuanian *limpù* 'I adhere,' preterite *lipaũ*, Old Bulgarian *prilinǫ* (for *prilipnǫ*) 'I cleave to or remain hanging.'[1] This consonant has disappeared even in Gaulish, as may be seen from such words as *Aremoricus*, where the prefix *are*, Welsh *ar* 'on, upon,' is of the same origin as the Greek παρά and the whole adjective may be rendered παραθαλάσσιος; take also the name of the Belgic people of the Remi, who have left it to the town of Rheims, the ancient *Durocortorum Remorum*, where *Rēmi* is of the same origin as the Welsh *rhwyf* 'a king or ruler,' Latin *prīmus*: compare English *first* and German *fürst* 'a prince,' and the Latin *princeps*, whence, through French, the English word *prince*. In other Celtic words the original *p* is represented by a guttural, as in the Irish *secht* 'seven,' Welsh *saith*, *seith* for **secht*, or the Irish word *uasal* 'noble, high-born,' Welsh *uchel* 'high,' which was in Gaulish *ūcsel-* as in *Uxello*dunum meaning High Town. This adjective is parallel to the Welsh *isel* 'low,' and the two are to be traced back to the prepositions which have yielded the Welsh *yn* (Irish *i n-*, *i*) 'in, into' and **up*,[2] of the same origin as the Greek word ὑψηλός 'high' and English *over*, German *über*, Sanskrit *upari*, 'over.' In all

[1] Brugmannn, i. § 36.

[2] This etymology was suggested some years ago in my *Celtic Britain*,[2] p. 310, but an older etymology is accepted, among others, by Brugmann, who, in his *Grundriss der vergl. Grammatik*, vol. i. § 434, connects Uxello- with Greek αὔξω 'I increase,' and Lith. *dukstas* 'high.' If this were correct, one would rather expect the word to have begun in Gaulish with *ou*, *eu*, or *au*, which however it does not.

these instances it would suffice, phonologically speaking, to regard *p* as having in the first instance become *h* (in the Celtic dialects with *p* for *qu̯*), just as the same *p* is known to have done in Armenian in such words as *hair* 'father,' the etymological equivalent of that word and of the Irish *athir*, Latin *pater*, etc. *H* before vowels would disappear on the way down to the Neoceltic tongues, while before *t* it may be supposed to have helped to produce the favourite combination *χt*, retained in Irish, but modified in Welsh to *ith*, as in Old Irish *secht* 'seven,' Old Welsh *seith*, now *saith*. Before *s* the analogous combination *χs* was liable to undergo the changes illustrated by Irish *uasal* and Welsh *uchel* already cited.[1]

The theory here propounded leaves the Goidels nearly related to the ancient Latins in harmony with the striking similarities between the Irish and Latin languages, at the same time that it represents the same Goidels as inseparable from the Brythons by reason of manifold mixing. So we should still be justified in speaking of these two peoples as Celtic, and not merely as Goidelic and Brythonic, or as groups only distantly related to one another, which is the utmost one could have said of them when they first came in contact with one another. The same kind of remark applies to the two sets of Aryans in Italy and in Greece. But who were these races distinguished as those speaking Q and P languages respectively? The former, suffice it for the present to repeat, were of the same Aryan stock as the Teutons, Slavs, Albanians, Armenians, Iranians and Hindus, that is to say in so far as those nations were not merely non-

[1] The case of initial *sp* making in Welsh *f* (written *ff*) and in Irish *s* has been omitted here as probably representing an original Aryan *sp-h* or *sp* aspirated: compare Welsh *ffer* 'the ankle' with the Greek *σφυρόν* of the same meaning, and Welsh *ffon* 'a staff,' *ffon dafl* 'a sling,' Irish *sonn*, with the Greek *σφενδόνη* 'a sling.' In such Irish words as *sonn* the *s* has probably replaced a previous *f*, as is the case in such borrowed words as Irish *srian* = Latin *frēnum*, and *súist* = Latin *fustis*. Some more instances of initial *f* in Welsh will be found brought together by me in the *Rev. Celt.* vol. ii. pp. 335–7. *Sp-h* or *sp'* became *φ* or *f* in both Brythonic and Goidelic, and in Brythonic the *f* has remained while it has become *s* in Goidelic. In any case I see no room for the *sv*, which Dr. Whitley Stokes suggests in his *Celtic Declension*, p. 26.

Aryans Aryanized by Aryan conquest. In Italy they appear to have been not only the Latins of history, but the race more widely represented by an early civilization, of which traces occur from Etruria to Sicily, as shown by recent archæological research. In Greece they were possibly the mysterious people called the Pelasgi with whom Herodotus[1] identified the Ionians. But the Pelasgi, though Aryans, were not exactly Greeks, however readily they became Greeks in the sense of losing their national identity in the ganglion of peoples which went to constitute the Hellenic world of history.

In answer to the question who the P Aryans were, one may first say that they appear as a second stratum, so to say, covering a part of the area previously occupied by a Q stratum, namely, from the North Sea as far perhaps as Asia Minor, with an overflow into Britain, Spain, Italy and Greece. So their area of dispersion appears to have been included within the other area. Further, since the language of the P Aryans is to be regarded as a modified form of the older Aryan speech, it may be asked to what cause the modification is to be traced. One might of course answer that all languages are in a permanent state of change, more or less rapid, so long as they are living; but this would hardly be a sufficient answer in the case of changes so definite as those here in question. We have accordingly no alternative but to suppose, as already suggested, that the dialects of the P group arose from the coming of speakers of the older Aryan dialects, namely, those of the Q group, in contact with a non-Aryan race, which, conquered or otherwise powerfully influenced by them, adopted Aryan speech without having got rid of the non-Aryan characteristics of its inherited pronunciation. This supposition of a very considerable absorption of non-Aryan elements makes the P Aryans a mixed people talking what might be termed Neo-aryan. This view which derives countenance in this country from the fact that archæologists find the

[1] Book, i. 56. In the chapter following he surmises the dialects of Creston and Placia to have been Pelasgian in his own day.

round-barrow Brython of the Bronze age to have been predominantly a broad-skulled man, though it is believed that the original Aryan was long in this respect rather than broad or round. Perhaps one might venture to regard the lake-dwellings of Switzerland as the homes of the mixed population of the Neo-aryans. At any rate, we have an instance of the possibilities of the Alpine region so late as the time of Cæsar, when the Helvetii set out from their country *en masse* to seek a home elsewhere; and, but for the intervention of the legions of Rome, they would doubtless have succeeded, as many similar migrations from the Alps had probably done before. It is interesting to note the destination of the Helvetii: they set out for the territory of the Santones in the West of Gaul: in other words, theirs was the march of Aryans of the P stock to conquer the territory of Aryans of the other stock, or else of a people perhaps more correctly described as not Aryan at all.

Having endeavoured to show that the Aryans of the P stock emanated from a common centre, I have nothing to add except a word as to the wider classification suggested by Brugmann's treatment of the consonants of the palatal and velar series.[1] Compare, for example, the Gothic *hvas* 'who,' with its Lithuanian and Sanskrit equivalent *kas*, which gives no indication of its ever having been *kᵘas* or *qᵘas*: similarly in the case of velar *g* and *gh*, the eastern group of languages show, according to Brugmann, no trace of *ᵘ* as the mark of labialization.[2] On the other hand, they agree in differing in their treatment of palatal *k*, *g*, and *gh* from the languages of the western group, namely, in that they reduce those mutes mostly into spirants.[3] The Western Group consists of the following languages: Teutonic, Celtic, Italic and Hellenic, and the eastern group of Letto-Slavic, Albanian, Armenian, Iranian and Sanskrit. So our P languages take their place as a sub-

[1] *Grundriss*, vol. i. §§ 380–466.
[2] *Ibid*, § 417.
[3] *Ibid*, § 380.

division of the Western Branch, which may be shown thus at a glance:—

I. LABIALIZING LANGUAGES.	II. ASSIBILATING LANGUAGES:
i. Those characterized, some time or other, by $q\mu$, $g\mu$, $gh\mu$, namely:	
1. *Teutonic.*	Lettoslavic.
2. *a. Goidelic.*	
b. Latin.	Albanian.
c. Herodotean Greek.	Armenian.
ii. Those with the μ combinations reduced to the labials *p*, *b*, ϕ, namely:	Iranian.
1. *Brythonic.*	
2. *Osco-Umbrian.*	Sanskrit.
3. *Standard Greek.*	

It is right to state that Brugmann, while distinguishing between the Aryan languages which labialize and those which do not labialize, hesitates[1] to draw the conclusion that the Aryan parent speech had split up into two dialects. In his discussion of the consonants, however, he is obliged to divide the whole family into the two groups, which have been termed respectively Western and Eastern, in spite of Albanian having somehow straggled out of the direction indicated by the geographical position of the other members of its group. It need scarcely be added that he deals with the Aryan languages and not with the ethnology of the nations by whom they have at any time been spoken.

Since these conjectures of mine were written an important article has been published in the Nineteenth Century by Prof. Huxley on "The Aryan Question and Prehistoric Man"; and I may say that my view is decidedly favoured by his conclusions, though I cannot now enter into details, as my paper is already longer than it was intended to be.

[1] *Ibid*, § 417, and note 1.

III.—NOTES ON ENGLISH ETYMOLOGY. By the Rev. Prof. SKEAT, Litt.D.

(*Read at a Meeting of the Philological Society on Friday, April* 18, 1890.)

N.B.—A brief abstract of this paper appeared in the *Athenæum*, April 26, 1890; and another in the *Academy*, May 3, 1890.

Askaunces. This difficult word, meaning 'as if,' occurs in Chaucer; see New E. Dict. In my belief, it is made up of E. *as*, and O.F. *quanses*, 'as if,' a word given in Godefroy's O.F. Dict., with references to *Romania*, xviii. 152, and Förster, *Cliges*, l. 4553 (note). Thus the sense is, literally, 'as as if,' the E. *as* being tautologically prefixed. Cf. Lat. *quasi*.

Bedene, forthwith, together, etc. The etymology is unknown. I suggest that it is from M.E. *be*, *bi*, by, and the pp. **dene*, representing A.S. *dēn*, done; from this there may, perhaps, have arisen the sense 'by the time that it is done,' immediately on its completion, or immediately afterwards. Cf. *Midídone* (below). The A.S. *dēn* occurs in *ge-dēn*; 'synna ǽr gedēnra,' Cynewulf's Christ, 1266. The O.Northumbrian form is *doen* (=*dēn*); cf. 'biȝ gidoen,' gloss to 'agitur;' Durham Ritual, p. 113, l. 20; cf. *gidoe we*, faciamus, id. p. 4, l. 2, etc.; *þat þu ne gedoe*, ne feceris; S. Mark, x. 19, in the Lindisfarne gloss. I am told that *deen* for 'done' occurs in M.E.; the reference is probably to *y-dee*, i.e. done, in St. Editha, ed. Horstmann, l. 290, where *y-dee* rimes with *fle*. Cf. *deand*, doing; St. Cuthbert, 3227. We find *dēn* for 'done' in O.Friesic; see Richtofen, s.v. *dua*.

Cant. From Lat. *cantum*, acc. of *cantus*, a song. Formerly *cantum*. 'I pray yow, telle me what was wreton vnder the mares fote? What was it, prose or ryme, metre or verse? I wold fayn knowe it, I trowe it was *cantum*, for I herde you synge;' Caxton, Reynard the Fox, c. 27; ed. Arber, p. 63.

Chete, Cheat, a thing. This is an old cant term for 'thing;' see *Cheat*, sense 3, in the New E. Dict.; and see Gloss. to

Harman's Caveat. We find, indeed, the entry: '*Rerum*, ceatta' in Wright-Wülker, *Vocab.* 506, 28; but it is a general opinion that this is not to be relied upon, and may be due to some blunder. Perhaps, for *sceatta*.

Cockroach. The Span. *cucaracha* also explains the variant form *cocoloch* (Nares).

Compame, in Chaucer, C.T., A 3709, certainly ought to be *com ba me*, i.e. come kiss me. At least four MSS. have this reading. (It was subsequently discovered that this suggestion was made by Mr. Ellis in 1870. See his E. E. Pronun. p. 715, note.)

Cowl, a tub. From A.S. *cufl*; not in the dictionaries, but the pl. *cuflas* occurs in Birch's Cartul. Saxon. iii. 367. Cf. *cyflas*, in Anglia, ix. 264, col. 1. M.E. *cuvel*, O.F. *cuvele* is the same word; from Lat. *cupella*, dimin. of *cupa*. In Wright's Vocab. 577, 10, we find: '*Cupa, anglice*, a cupe, or a cowle.'

Crucible. Possibly a corruption of *crassipulum* or *crassibulum*, a pot for holding grease; cf. *cresset*. Observe the entry: '*Crassipulum, Crassipularium, Crucibolum, anglice*, a cresset;' Wrt. Vocab. 576, 9.

Cury, cookery; as in M.E. 'form of *cury*.' So also in 'Petty Cury, Cambridge,' i.e. cook's quarter, or quarter for eating-houses. From O.F. *queurie*, cookery (Godefroy); from O.F. *queu*, a cook; Lat. acc. *cocum*.

Dicker, Daykyr, a lot of ten hides. From O.F. *dacre* (Godefroy), the same; Low Lat. *dacra, decora*; from Lat. *decuria*; from *decem*. Cf. Swed. *däcker*, 'a dicker;' Widegren.

Dullor. This prov. E. word, signifying 'a moaning noise,' or as a verb, 'to whimper, moan, with pain,' is spelt phonetically. The word *colour* shews that it stands for *dolour*, i.e. grief, anguish; whence the verb.

Feckless, useless, etc. In Lowland Scotch; see Jamieson; merely short for *effectless*, void of effect. 'A *fectlesse* arrogant conceit of their greatnesse and power;' K. James I., Basilikon Doron, paragraph 17.

Filbert. I have shown that it should rather be *philbert*. The A.S. form is actually *philbert*; see Britton, ed. Nichols, i. 371, note 5.

Grift, a slate-pencil (Essex). Formed, with added *-t*, from O.F. *greſe*, a pencil (Godefroy); Low Lat. *graphium*; from Greek γράφειν. Cf. G. *griffel*.

Inkling; of undiscovered etymology. But it is solved by noting that E. often turns (M.E.) *en* into *in*. Hence *inkling* is for *enkling*; a substitution for *enklin* or *enclin*. From F. *enclin*. Cotgrave has: '*Enclin*, an inclination, disposition, addiction, . . . or humor unto.' Also '*Enclin*, inclined, bent, prone, given, addicted, or disposed unto.' An *inkling* of a truth is an inclination towards it. The substantival use is lost in French; see *enclin* in Godefroy. This, of course, is but a guess at an unsolved puzzle.

Luscious. M.E. *lucius*; as in 'with *lucius* drinkes;' Robson, Three Met. Rom. p. 17; a variant of *licius*, as in 'With *licius* drinke;' id. p. 38. And *licius* is short for *delicious*; see Wedgwood.

Mididone, forthwith. It occurs in Weber's Met. Rom. iii. 54, 57; Seven Sages, ll. 1368, 1442. Really two words; *mid idone*, with its being done, i.e. immediately afterwards; from A.S. *mid*, with; and *gedōn*, done. Weber's comic explanation—'at midnight'—seems to be founded on the fact that F. *midi* means 'midday.'

Pawn, at chess. Littré is wrong in connecting it with *paon*, a peacock. See O.F. *peon*, also *paon*, a foot-soldier, in Godefroy. E. *pawn* : O.F. *peon* :: E. *fawn* : O.F. *feon*.

Pie, a pasty. Really from Low Lat. *pica*, lit. magpie; perhaps from the miscellaneous nature of a pie's contents in medieval times. At any rate, in the Babees Book, ed. Furnivall, ii. 36, l. 51, we find Lat. pl. *pice* in the sense of 'pies,' in close connection with '*Pastilli*,' i.e. pasties.

Plash, a pool. O.F. *plascq*, *plassis*, a pool (Godefroy); of Low G. origin. Hexham has: '*een Plas*, *ofte Plasch*, a Plash of water.'

Pony. The etymology of this difficult word may be found in Godefroy. It is from O.F. *poulenet*, a little colt; dimin. of *poulain*, a colt; from Lat. *pullus*. The *l* is lost before *n*, as in *Colney Hatch*, *Lincoln*; but we find Lowland Sc. *powney* (for *polney*), like *stown* for *stolen*, *gowd* for *gold*.

Rail, a bar. Not from Low G. *regel*, as in my Dict., but rather from O.F. *reille*, a rail (Godefroy).

Roach, a fish. M.E. *roche*. From O.F. *roche*, the name of a fish (Roquefort). Of Teut. origin.

Sleigh. M.E. *scleye*, Mandeville's Trav. ed. Halliwell, p. 130. This answers to an O.F. **escleie*, which would be regularly formed from Low G. *slede*, whence E. *sled*, *sledge*. Cf. E. Friesic *slede*,

commonly shortened to *slē* (Koolman). But Dr. Murray tells me that our present *sleigh* is modern, being in 1806–9 an American word, borrowed from Dutch colonists; *i.e.* from *slee*, short form of *sleds*. (The spelling imitates that of *neigh*.)

Snore. This is usually derived from A.S. *snora* (Bosworth). But there is no such word. The A.S. word is really *fnora*. '*Sternutatio*, fnora;' Wright's Vocab. 48, 14; 200, 9; 213, 21; 277, 26. This became *snore* because its root-verb *fnēosan* became *sneese*; perhaps, too, it was associated with *snort*. In Chaucer, C.T., B 790, the MSS. have *snoreth*, *fnorteth*, *snorteth*, and even *fronteth* (!).

Stodge. From O.F. *estochier*, to stab, to stop; cf. Walloon *estokier*, to fix, fill. Of Germanic origin; cf. G. *stecken*. See *estochier* or *estoquier* in Godefroy. Cf. M.E. *stoken*, to stab, in Chaucer, C.T., A 2546. A form *stochen* seems to be established by Halliwell, who gives: '*Stoche*, a stab;' Yorkshire.

Tennis. Of unknown origin. I draw attention to the Low Lat. *tenar*, the palm of the hand; from Gk. *θέναρ*, the same. Cf. F. *jeu de paume*. The Low Lat. *tenar* occurs in Wright's Vocab. 158, 14: '*Uola*, *uel tenar*, *uel ir* [i.e. *χείρ*], middeward hand.' (Probably wrong; but all the guesses are futile.)

Wearish. This word occurs in Nares; the right sense seems to be 'pimpled.' Cf. '*Callus*, wear;' Wright's Vocab. 363, 30; '*Callos*, wearras, ilas;' id. 363, 5; '*Callosi*, wearrihte;' id. 374, 22, etc. '*Wear*, a hard pimple on the face;' Cockayne, A.S. Leechdoms, ii. 409.

NOTES ON ENGLISH ETYMOLOGY. By the Rev. Prof. SKEAT, Litt.D.

[*Read at the Philological Society's Meeting, June* 9, 1891.]

Alaun, Alaunt. *Alaun*, in Chaucer, C.T. 2150 (or 2148) means a large mastiff, or a wolf-hound; see New E. Dict. It is explained as being from O.F. *alan*; cf. Ital. and Span. *alano*. The ultimate source is not given. Cotgrave has: '*Allan*, a kind of big, strong, thick-headed and short-snouted dog; the brood whereof

came first out of Albania (old Epirus).' Pineda's Span. Dict. has: '*Alano*, a mastiff-dog; also an Alan, one of that nation.' The *Alani* were a race of warlike horsemen, first found in Albania; Smith's Classical Dict. I suggest that the Low. Lat. *alanus* orig. meant 'an Alanian dog;' which gives us the etymology. In Higden's Polychronicon, i. 144, the great size and strength of the Albanian dogs are enlarged upon; they could attack and master, he tells us, not only a bull, but a lion. Smith's Dict. further tells us that *Alanus* orig. meant 'mountaineer;' from the Sarmatian word *ala* (mountain). Observe that the *Molossi* were also a tribe in Epirus; and the Lat. *molossus* means (1) a Molossian, and (2) a mastiff-dog.

Beggar. Dr. Murray shews the high probability that this word is nothing but a special application of the name *Beghard* or *Begard*, a synonym of *Beguin*, and originally applied to a lay brotherhood who took their name from a certain Lambert Bègue. There is a passage in the E. version of the Romaunt of the Rose, which is valuable in this connexion, and gives support to his suggestion. At l. 7256, and again at l. 7282, we find: 'But Beggars with these hodes wyde;' and again: 'Who may that Beggar wel excuse?' In both places, *Beggar* should be spelt with a capital letter, because the French text has *Beguin*. Here is positive proof that F. *Beguin* and E. *Beggar* were used as convertible terms. The passage is the more remarkable, because Jean de Meun here uses *Beguin* as a term of reproach. He seems to mean, not the *Beguins* themselves, but the Franciscan friars. The passage is difficult, and should certainly receive attention.

Colè. In Weber's King Alisaunder, 813—816, we find:

> 'King Phelip, that was his lord,
> Gurd him with a god sweord,
> And gave him the *tole* aryght,
> And bad, he scholde beo god knyght.'

The Glossary has: '*Tole*, the tool, instrument, i.e. the sword. The Bodley MS. reads perhaps better *colere*.' This shews that *t* and *c* have been confused. The right reading is, of course, *colè* or *colee*, with the same sense as *acolee*, an accolade (New. E. Dict.). See numerous examples in Godefroy, s.v. *colee*. I regret to say I did not discover this in time for insertion in the Dictionary; but there is an excellent example of the word in Barbour, which Dr. Murray has duly quoted. This new example is a little earlier.

Derring-do. This is given, in the Century Dict., s.v. *Daring-do*. The account is partly correct. 'The word was adopted by Spenser in the erroneous spelling *derring-do*, which from him and his imitators has become familiar in literature from Chaucer; M.E. *dorryng don*, *during do*, etc., a peculiarly isolated compound, from *dorryng*, mod. E. *daring*, pres. pt., and infin. *don*, to do. The associated phrase *to dorre don*, consists of the infin. *do* depending on the infinitive *dorre*, *durre*, dare, and is not, as some think, a compound verb.' This leaves the real error untouched. The fact is, that Spenser or his editors misunderstood the matter, and the supposed compound *derring-do* is not really a compound at all. It is curious that the editors of the Cent. Dict. should have seen the right construction in one case, but not in the other. But we have only to look at the original passage in Troil. v. 835:

> . . 'Troilus was never, unto no wight,
> As in his tyme, in no degree secounde
> In *durring don* that longeth to a knight,
> Al mighte a geaunt passen him of might,
> His herte ay with the firste and with the beste
> Stood paregal, *to durre don* that him leste.'

In the last case, *to durre* is dat. infin., governing the infin. *don*, and there is no composition at all. So in the former case, *durring* is not by any means a present participle, but a verbal sb., mod. E. *daring*. It is followed by the infinitive *don*, by an elliptical construction. The proper form would be, in full, 'In the durring don,' where *don* = to do; and in modern English we should probably say 'In daring to do,' though the shorter form 'In daring do' would be idiomatic and permissible. My point is, that *durring don* is not a compound at all in Chaucer; and if Spenser chose to consider it so, he was wrong in so doing. It would be ridiculous to talk of 'daring to do it' or 'daring to go' as a *compound*; and to talk of 'daring do it' or 'daring go' as a compound is equally ridiculous.

Dirk. I give an early instance of the use of *dirk* in 1661; older forms are *dork*, *durk*; Dr. Murray has 'Two Scotch daggers or *dorks*' in 1602, and, in Ritson's Robin Hood, p. 78, 'a drawen *durk*.' The mod. Irish word is *duirc*, but I do not know whether that is borrowed from English or not. I venture to compare the O. Irish *delg*, given in Windisch; it means 'a thorn, a pin to

fasten a brooch.' The mod. Irish form is *dealg*, 'a thorn, a skewer, a pin, a bodkin, a prickle.' Cf. Shakespeare's use of *bodkin* in the sense of 'dagger.' We also find A.S. *dalc*, a brooch-pin; M.E. *dalke*, a brooch-pin, in the Catholicon, A.D. 1483. But we want more light.

Fewte, Feute, a track. In my gloss. to Wm. of Palerne I give '*feute*, scent, track,' and quote from Morris: '*fewt*, a trace of a fox or beast of chace by the odour.' In the gloss. to Sir Gawain, Morris has '*fewte* or odour,' s.v. *Vewters*. I wish to point out that, etymologically, *fewte* is simply 'track,' and that the notion of 'scent' or 'odour' is unoriginal. It is possible that Stratmann's Dictionary is correct in deriving it from the F. *fuite*, lit. 'flight;' hence, 'a track.' The sense 'odour' was imported into the word; hence we find: '*fute*, odowre' in the Prompt. Parv. Of course Way is wrong in connecting this with *feuterer*; in fact, he only suggests this as a guess.

Gofish. This is really a ghost-word. It occurs in Troil. iii. 584, but only in the black-letter editions, which read: 'For to be war of *gofish* peples speche.' Tyrwhitt explains it as 'foolish, from the F. *goffe*, dull, stupid.' This is impossible for two reasons: (1) the F. *goffe* (see Littré and Godefroy) is not known before the 16th century, and appears to be merely borrowed from Ital. *goffo*, stupid, a word of unknown origin. Secondly, words in *-ish* are formed from sbs., not from adjectives; the exception *fool-ish* is accounted for by the fact that the word *fool*, properly an adjective, was commonly used, in English, as a sb. We might add a third reason, viz. that Chaucer would not add the suffix *-ish* to an unfamiliar word.

When we turn to the MSS., the Campsall MS. has *gosylyche*, by some mistake; for the line will not scan with this reading, nor does it give any sense. The Camb. MS. omits the word. But the Harleian MSS. have *goosish*, *gosissho*, though Morris's edition unluckily has *goofish* for the MS. reading *goosish*. Beyond question, the right reading is *gōsish*, and the sense is *goose-ish*, i.e. goose-like, silly. Dr. Murray finds no other example of the word, but it is quite intelligible and legitimately formed. It is also quite in Chaucer's manner; we may compare Parl. Foules, 568:—'Lo here, a parfit reson of a *goos*'; and 586:—'For sothe, I preyse noght the *gooses* reed.' I find that Chaucer uses the words *mannish*, *childish*, *cherlish*, and *rammish*; and Wyclif has *doggish*. The original forms of *childish*, *churlish*, *folkish*, *heathenish*, and

many more, occur in A.S. As for *gofish*, it is the old story of misreading a long *s* as an *f*; cf. *eftures*, in Malory, for *estres*.

Idle, Ydle, an isle. The form *ydle*, with the sense 'isle,' occurs repeatedly in King Alisaunder, ed. Weber, ll. 4840, 4856, 5040, etc. I find no notice of it in Stratmann or Halliwell or Godefroy. I wish to point out that it is formed quite regularly. In A.F. *sl* becomes *sdl*, as explained in my Eng. Etym. 2nd Ser. p. 236. Thus *mesle*, a medlar, became **mesdle*, whence, by loss of *s*, E. *medle*, the fruit of the medlar-tree; also *mesler*, whence **mesdler*, and the E. verb *to meddle*. So also A.F. *isle* became **isdle*, and by loss of *s*, **idle*; regularly. I find that this form is duly noted in Mätzner, but he does not account for it quite correctly. He associates it with yet another form *ilde*, which he correctly explains as formed with an excrescent *d* after *l*, just as we find *vilde* for *vile* in Tudor-English. There is, however, this distinction, that *idle* is due to an excrescent *d* after *s*, which *s* afterwards, as in other cases, dropped out. Thus *ilde* and *idle* were really formed in rather different ways, and should be dissociated from each other to that extent.

Loigne, a leash for a hawk. This word occurs in the Rom. of the Rose, l. 3882, where the original has *longe*. This is the mod. F. *longe*, in the sense of 'tether,' also spelt *loigne* in O.F., which accounts for the form here used. The Low Lat. form is *longia*, a tether (see Ducange), which is merely a derivative of *longus*, long. Hence the Century Dictionary merely gives a wild guess, in suggesting that *loigne* is another form of *line*. There is, of course, another O.F. *loigne*, E. *loin*, mod. F. *longe*, in the sense of 'loin;' from Lat. *lumbus*. It thus appears that the original sense of *loigne* was really 'a long piece' or 'a length;' and this result is remarkably confirmed by another passage in the Romaunt, l. 7050, where the F. text has: 'Il aura de corde une *longe*;' and the E. version has: 'He shal have of a corde a *loigne*,' i.e. a length of cord, enough cord to bind him and lead him away to be burnt, as the context shews.

Lunes, a hawk's jesses. Cotgrave gives 'a hawk's *lune*, or leash,' as one of the senses of F. *longe*. This is the mod. F. *longe*, a tether, Low Lat. *longia*, a derivative of *longus*; see *Loigne*.

I suspect that *lune* is merely a variant spelling of the M.E. *loigne*, a hawk's leash. Godefroy gives the spellings *loigne*, *longne*; and I think the form *longne*, which occurs in Froissart, is sufficiently near. I may add that, according to Godefroy, the distinct O.F.

loigne, a loin, was sometimes spelt *luine*, which seems to shew that *luine* is a possible variant of *loigne*, a tether. This brings us very near to *lune*. Cf. M.E. *moyl*, a mule.

Lyngell. This curious word occurs twice in Libeaus Disconus, in Ritson's Met. Romances, ii. pp. 37, 54, ll. 861, 1274. In the first case, we find: '*lyngell* and trappure:' in the second, 'lyngell, armes, trappur was swich.' *Trappure* means 'trappings;' and the reference is to heraldic display. I think *lyngell* represents O.F. *lincel*, a linen vestment; it may have been confused with the O.F. adj. *linge*, made of linen; we also find O.F. *lingette*, linen cloth (Godefroy). If so, *lyngell* means 'linen cloth,' which goes very well with trappings. The O.F. *lincel* is from Lat. *linteum*, made of linen; all from Lat. *linum*, flax. '*Lingel*, a shoemaker's thread,' in Halliwell, does not suit the context.

Mistery. The usual glossaries to Chaucer do not notice his use of *misterie* in the sense of 'ministry;' but an example is given in the Century Dictionary, s.v. *Mystery*. There is another example of it in Morris's Chaucer, iii. 348, l. 4, where it translates the Lat. *officium* of the Vulgate (1 Sam. ii. 12, 13): 'nescientes *officium* sacerdotum ad populum.' The Century Dict. explains it as formed by O.F. *mestier*, with added *-ie* or *-y*. I regard it as formed from the Low Lat. *misterium*, a shortened form of *ministerium*. The ultimate origin is the same either way.

Moysoun, measure, size; Rom. of the Rose, 1677. Not connected, as suggested in Bell, with *moisson*, harvest, but the same as O.F. *moison*, size, Lat. acc. *mensionem*. See *moison* in Stratmann.

Oubit, a hairy caterpillar; also spelt *woubit*, *wobat*, *vowbet* (for *woubet*); see Jamieson. The right M.E. form is *wolbode*, which occurs in Wright's Vocab. 706. 15 (cf. 766. 28), misspelt *welbode*, and explaining Lat. *hic multipes*. In the Shrewsbury MS. of the Ortus Vocabulorum, it is written *wolbede*, in which the second vowel is phonetically weakened. The etymology is easy, viz. from A.S. *wul*, mod. E. *wool*; and an A.S. form **boda* or **buda*, closely related to A.S. *budda*, a beetle. Cf. E. *bowd*, a weevil, and *bot*, a worm or maggot. Thus the sense is 'woolly worm,' i.e. hairy caterpillar. Of course, *wool* becomes '*oo*' in Lowland Scotch. (N. and Q. 7 S. x. 324).

Parodie. This is among the words in Chaucer which Tyrwhitt says that he could not explain. The passage is in Troil. v. 1548.

'Among al this, the fyn of the paródie
Of Hector gan approchen wonder blyve;
The fate wolde his soule sholde unbodie.'

I think it is certain, from the form of the word, that it can be no other than the modern *parody*, from Lat. *parōdia*, Gk. παρῳδία. The lit. sense is 'a song sung beside,' and we might take it in the simpler sense of 'song.' I think Chaucer took it to mean 'story;' the sense is:—'the end of the story of Hector was quickly approaching.' We may observe that Chaucer uses 'tragedie' to mean 'lamentable story;' and we may note Dante's use of '*Commedia*.' A note in Bell's Chaucer explains it from the Gk. παρῳδος, a passage, but used in the technical sense of the first appearance of a Greek chorus in the orchestra. But there are two fatal objections. First, the Gk. παρῳδος would only have given '*parod*;' it could not easily have produced a trisyllable. Secondly, Chaucer knew no Greek to speak of, and he certainly had no copy of Liddell and Scott in which to hunt up the meaning of a technical term of the old Greek theatre. Bell's note adds: '*parody*, in the modern sense, has quite a different derivation;' which is precisely the point which I dispute.

Pentacle. There seems to be little doubt that *pentacle* answers to the M.E. *pentangel*, for which see Gawain and the Green Knight, l. 627. The fact that a *pentacle* usually meant a six-pointed star-shaped figure, whereas a *pentangel* signifies 'five-angled' is easily explained by two considerations. The first is the similarity of the two figures; and the second is, the partial ignorance of Greek in England in the fifteenth century. As to the figures, their similarity is proved thus.

The *pentacle* was formed by two equal and equilateral triangles, one above the other, disposed thus: ✡

The *pentangel* is described in 'Sir Gawain' as being 'five-angled,' and also as being an 'endless knot;' i.e. the lines forming it were continuous. Hence its shape was this: ★

The substitution of the six-angled figure was natural enough. It was more easily connected with astrology, as it represented six of the aspects called 'trine;' whereas it was hardly possible to connect the *pentangel* with astrology in any way.

Peridote, Perydote, the name of a precious stone. The pl. *perydotes* occurs in a list of precious stones in Emare, l. 155; in Ritson, Met. Rom. ii. 210. Godefroy gives O.F. *peridot*, with five variants, and nine examples. He describes it as being of a

yellowish green, and less hard than rock-crystal. But what the etymology of the O.F. form is, I do not know.

Pomet. In Ritson's Met. Rom. ii. 55, in the Romance of Libeaus Disconus, l. 1295, we find a mention of 'pomet touris,' where 'touris' is 'towers.' It should rather be *pomed*; and the sense is, that the towers were finished off with *pomes*, i.e. apple-shaped ornaments, which were usually gilt. Cotgrave has: '*Pommeau d'un tour*, the ball of a tower, or middle of the top thereof: that part whereon the weather-fane or weather-cock is planted.' Godefroy, s.v. *pomel*, the diminutive of O.F. *pome*, has several examples of tents and towers being thus ornamented. Cf. E. *pommel*. Similar ornaments or knobs may still be seen at the summit of the poles of a cricket-tent.

Posset. I have given this as of Celtic origin; and perhaps it is so. But we must not overlook the O.F. *possette*, cited in Palsgrave as equivalent to E. *posset*. The Prompt. Parv. has *possot* as the M.E. form; it appears also as *poshoot* and *posset* in Wright's Vocabularies, but does not seem to be older than the 15th century. The history of the O.F. *possette* does not seem to be known. It seems to have meant a drink that is curdled, being explained by Lat. *coagulum*.

Pray, a flock, troop. This word is nowhere correctly explained. Weber's glossary to his Metrical Rom. has: '*Pray*, Alis. 2595, press, crowd, rhythmi gratia;' which shows that he fancied it was a licentious form of the word 'press.' Halliwell copies this in the form: '*Pray*, press, crowd; Weber.' The right explanation is something different. The lines are: 'Of his people theo grete *pray* Laste twente myle way;' i.e. the vast host of his army extended for 20 miles. *Pray* is precisely the same word as the mod. E. *prey*, but in a very different sense. The fact is, that the Low Lat. *præda*, O.F. *proie*, was used in the sense of a flock of sheep; evidently because a flock of sheep was a very convenient thing to make a prey of. See Ducange and Godefroy. Hence, in this passage, it means 'flock,' or 'multitude,' or 'host,' or 'troop.'

Prepense. In the phrase 'malice *prepense*,' it might seem that the etymology is from the F. *penser*, to think, with a prefix due to Lat. *præ*, beforehand. But this is not so certain. The prefixes *præ*, *per*, and *pro* were remarkably confused in French; and it is a fact that 'premeditated lying in wait' appears in the Laws of William I. as 'agwait purpensé;' sect. 2. Godefroy gives the O.F. phrase as:

'de malice *pourpense*.' Cf. 'felonie *purpense*' in Britton, i. 15; and the long note in Elyot's Governor, ed. Croft, ii. 375.

Quert. Stratmann gives: '*Qwert, whert*, adj. safe and sound;' and '*Quert*, sb. sound, health.' Ritson, in the gloss. to his Met. Romances, collects several examples, shewing that the phrase *in quert* is common; I should explain this phrase by 'at rest,' or 'in peace and quietness,' or 'in security.' An attempt has been made to explain it from the Fr. *cuer*, heart, as if the final *t* did not matter, and as if *in quert* meant 'in good heart,' which is a very forced explanation. I am clear that it is not a French word at all, but Scandinavian. It has the characteristic adverbial suffix *-t*, originally the sign of the neuter; and I have shewn (Etymology, 1, 467) that we cannot explain the final *t* in the words *athwar-t, scan-t, tof-t, wan-t*, and *wigh-t* (adj. active), in any other way. So here, the real origin is seen in an old Scandinavian form **kwert*, neuter of **kwer*. In mod. Icelandic, the adj. is *kyrr*, but the older form is *kvirr*, which, as Vigfusson notes, is common in Norse MSS. The Dan. form is *qvær*, quiet, silent, still; and the Icel. word likewise means quiet, still, at rest. In Swedish, it appears only in phrases, as in *ligga qvar*, to stay, remain; *qvar-blifva*, to remain, be left; *qvar-hålla*, to retain, lit. 'to hold safe;' *quar-lefva*, remainder, residue, etc. That *-t* is a suffix, appears from the Catholicon, p. 297, where we find: '*to make quar-full*, prosperare;' *quarfulness*, prosperitas; the same as *hele* [good health].' We also find '*quartfulle*' in the same, and even '*quartyfulle*,' with the senses, 'compos, prosper, sospes.' I take it that *quert* was first an adv., then an adj., and lastly, a sb., with the successive senses 'at peace,' 'peaceful,' and 'peacefulness.' We have further cognates in the G. *kirre*, calm, and the Goth *kwairrus*, gentle, whence the sb. *kwairrei*, gentleness, meekness. Kluge gives **kwer* as the form of the Teutonic root; which he writes *qer*. See the examples in Vigfusson, shewing that *vera kyrt* meant 'to be quiet:' *sitja um kyrt*, to sit at rest, not to stir; cf. *kyrr-ligr*, calm; *kyrr-laika*, tranquillity; *kyrr-sæta*, a living at rest. The notion of 'tranquillity' suits all the E. examples very well. This etymology also explains the variant form *whert*.

Quilt. Notice the M.E. *quelde-poynte*, a quilt, exactly representing the Lat. *culcita puncta*. It occurs in Gawain and the Grene Knight, l. 877; but the explanation in the Glossary is incorrect. It does not mean a 'hassock,' but a 'counterpane.'

Rankle. I have shewn that the A.F. form of the verb '*to rankle* is *rankler*. I have also said that it seems to be connected with the Lat. *rancidus*, and I daresay it may really have been so connected in the popular mind. But the real etymology is very different, and past all guessing. The fact is, the word has lost an initial *d*, as shewn by Godefroy. Godefroy gives *draoncle*, *drancle*, *raoncle*, *raancle*, *rancle*, an eruption of the skin, or, as we should say, a rankling sore. The verb is *draoncler*, *raoncler*, *rancler*, to suppurate. It is obvious that *draoncle* must be, in Low Latin, *dracunculus*; and we find accordingly, in Ducange, that *dracunculus*, also spelt *dranculus*, by contraction, is a Low Latin term for a kind of ulcer, or, as we should say, a rankling sore. But *dracunculus*, as Ducange says, means, literally, neither more nor less than 'paruus draco,' i.e. a little dragon, a diminutive of *draco*. It is thus quite clear that our verb to *rankle* is a derivative from the very Gk. sb. which we spell *dragon*. Dragons were supposed to be venomous; and *dracunculus* probably meant, at first, a small venomous thing, and was applied to a poisoned or suppurating wound or swelling. The Low Lat. *dracus*, properly a dragon, also meant a demon; and Ducange quotes the phrase *fa le drac*, to play the devil; as well as the O.F. *drage*, a sorceress. In Picardy, as Godefroy remarks, the initial *d* is still retained; he quotes 'j'ai le doigt *dranclé*,' I have an inflamed (lit. rankled) finger.

Reheten, to cheer. Given in Stratmann; add a reference to Rom. Rose, 6509. From O.F. *reheter*, *rehaiter*, *rehaitier*, to cheer, encourage; as said in Stratmann. The etymology of the O.F. verb is difficult. The most likely solution is that given by Diez, that it is from the O.F. sb. *hait*, pleasure, wish, whence F. *souhaiter*; and that this sb. is of Teut. origin. The Goth. *ga-hait* means a promise; Icel. *heit*, a vow; and Diez notes that, just as Lat. *uotum* combines the ideas of 'vow' and 'wish,' so the Icel. *heit*, a vow, may be represented in the O.F. phrase *a son hait*, according to his wish. Hence we come to the idea of pleasure, cheerfulness, etc. Schade takes the same view; under M.H.G. *heiz*, a command, promise, he ranges O.F. *hait*, wish, pleasure; O.F. *haitier*, to cheer, and F. *souhait*, a wish; and refers us to Diez.

Rencian. I only know of two examples of this rare word. It occurs in Morris's Old English Miscellany, p. 92, l. 70, and p. 96, l. 106. We there find mention of 'robes of russet, ne of *rencyan*;' and again, 'vouh, ne gray, ne *rencyan*.' It was therefore the name

of some sort of garment. Morris explains it by 'a robe of a roan colour,' but gives no reason, and it looks like a guess. The real sense is 'a robe made at Rheims;' and the etymology is from the O.F. adj. *raencien*, given by Godefroy as an adj. formed from that place-name. The suffix *-ien* is adjectival; Lat. *-ianus*.

Respice. *Respice* is given as the name of an unknown wine in the Squier of Low Degree, l. 756; ed. Ritson. I should guess it to stand for *raspice*, and to be allied to *raspure*, given in Godefroy as occurring in the phrase *vins de raspure*. Cf. *rape* (for *râpe*, i.e. *raspe*) in Cotgrave, as the name of a thin wine. Perhaps allied to E. *rasp-berry*.

Rideled, gathered, pleated, Rom. of the Rose, 1235. This is a verb formed from M.E. *ridel*, O.F. *ridel*, a curtain; see Stratmann. The sense is that the garment mentioned was pleated at the neck, like a surplice. Halliwell refers to Reliquiæ Antiquæ, i. 41, where we read of 'filettis, and wymplis, and *rydelid* gownes.' It does not mean 'riddled with holes,' as suggested in Bell's Chaucer.

Scale. I give, in my Dictionary, a quotation from Gower about 'the *scales* of a fish;' and another from P. Plowman which mentions 'the *scale* (or *shale*) of a walnut.' I have not made it clear, however, that the form *scale* must be of F. origin, viz. from O.F. *escale*, because the A.S. *sceale* or *scale* would only give the form *shale*. The ultimate source is, of course, the same, because the F. *escale* is from the cognate O.H.G. *scala*, but it makes a difference phonetically. There is a good example of O.F. *escale*, a shell, in the Gloss. to N. Bozon, *Contes Moralisés*.

Soak. I note, in my Dict., that the A.S. form should be *socian*, but that it is unauthorised. But it occurs in Cockayne's Leechdoms twice, in the phrase 'lǽt socian,' i.e. let it soak; ii. 240; iii. 14.

Taut. Spelt *taught* in Phillips, 1706. M.E. *toht* in Stratmann, also spelt *toght* in Chaucer, C.T., D 2267. Pp. of *toghen*, from Icel. *toga*, to draw, draw together; a secondary verb from *tjúga*, to draw, cognate with G. *ziehen*. Cf. E. *tow*, verb; practically, a doublet of *towed*.

Tranter, a carrier. Given as a dialect-word in Halliwell; it occurs in Hardy's novels. I think it refers to the old time when carrier's carts went at a foot-pace, and the carrier walked slowly beside the horse; or (as Dr. Murray suggests) to a still older time when *tranters* trudged along, carrying their packs on their own shoulders. See *trant*, *tranten*, in Stratmann. Hexham's

Du. Dict. has: '*trantelen*, or *tranten*, to goe lazely, softly, or a soft pace.' Also: '*een Trant*, a march, a pace, or a step.' Ultimately allied to E. *trend*, *trundle*.

Trayeres. This word occurs in Rich. Coeur de Lion, 4785; in Weber's Met. Rom. ii. 188. The line is—'Berges, schoutes, *trayeres* fele.' The Glossary has: '*Trayeres*, long boats, resembling trays or troughs.' This is all pure invention. But it is copied in Halliwell, who has: '*Trayeres*, long boats: Weber.' But the fact is, it is a ghost-word. By the ordinary mistake of *t* for *c*, it is a misprint for *crayeres*, a well-known word, discussed by me before this Society, June 7, 1889.

Vewter. In Sir Gawain and the Grene Knight, l. 1146, the word *vewters* occurs; it is explained in the Glossary by 'men who tracked deer by the *fewte* or odour.' To this there are two obvious objections; (1) men are not usually educated up to such keenness of scent; and (2), *fewte* does not necessarily mean odour. I deal with this second objection under the heading *Fewte*.

The fact is, that *f* never becomes *v* in this poem, as far as I know; the West-Midland Dialect hardly admits of it. Hence I take *vewters*, if correct, to mean a kind of dog, which in O.F. was *veutre*, and in Cotgrave is *vaultre*, and in Dante appears as *veltro*. But the context suggests that *vewters* refers rather to men, in which case it is a mere corruption of *vewtrers*; cf. Low Lat. *veltrarius*, a man in charge of *veutres*. I have fully explained all about this in my article on *Feuterer*, read before this Society on Nov. 6, 1885. But we may go further; *vewter* is no error, but simply a corrupt form of *vewtrer*, the former *r* being dropped. This will account for the entry: '*Vewter*, a keeper of hounds' in Halliwell, given, unfortunately, without a reference. This shews that the right explanation might have been found in Halliwell. Moreover, I can supply a reference. It occurs in the Glossary to Dr. Furnivall's Edition of the Babees Book, with a note on the word, which is correct throughout. We can now explain the passage: 'To trystors *vewters* yod, Couples huntes of kest;' i.e. Men with greyhounds went to stand beside the *tristors*, or men who kept the stations, and the hunters then cast off the couples, i.e. removed the leashes from the dogs.

Wayz-goose. I find this term in Bailey, ed. 1731. He says: '*Wayz-goose*, a Stubble Goose, an Entertainment given to Journeymen at the beginning of winter.' No doubt the entertainment is named from the fact that a 'stubble-goose' formed a principal dish

at the feast. I have said, in *Notes and Queries*, that this *wayz* is the same word as that which appears in Baily as '*Wayz*, a bundle of straw,' though the latter word is more commonly spelt *wase*, and its commonest sense is a straw pad, for carrying a weight on the head. I have been told, also in *Notes and Queries*, that I have not proved my point, as to the identity of *wayz*, stubble, and *wase*, a straw pad. But I believe it is quite capable of proof, and that the connection will appear to any one who consults the Swed. Dial. Dict. of Rietz and other authorities whom I shall mention. Moreover I take the word to be of native origin. From the A.S. *wríthan*, to writhe or twist, which is a strong verb, we have the sb. *wráden*, a chain, lit. a twist, for which see Grein. This would, regularly, have become *wrōde* in Mid. English; but we find what is doubtless an allied form in the M.E. *wrase*, also *warse*, noted in Stratmann. Thus, in O.E. Miscellany, ed. Morris, we have: 'Of one wrase of thornes, he wrythen hym one crune,' i.e. of a twist or wreath of thorns, they wreathed our Lord a crown. I think this form answers to an A.S. **wrāths*, which would regularly become *wrass*, by vowel-shortening. Then the *r* shifted, as shown in the Catholicon, which has the entry: '*A warse*, fasciculus;' at p. 425. We should particularly notice that, though spelt *wa*, it is entered, alphabetically, as if it began with *wr*. Of course, this is the same word. Next, we may note that Mr. Herrtage, in his note on the word, tells us that *warse* is 'probably a slip for *wase*,' because *wase* occurs in M.E. with the sense of a pad of straw; it also means 'hards,' or a wisp or bundle of hards for stopping up a hole with. But the fact is just the contrary, viz. that *wase* is a corrupted form of *warse* (the equivalent of *wrase*), due to the loss of the *r*. In this way, we see that *wase*, a wisp, twist of straw, is formally connected with *wrase*, and is ultimately derived from A.S. *wríthan*, whence also E. *wreath*. In fact *wase* and *wreath* have the same sense, and only differ in shewing different suffixes.

It remains to show the connection with stubble. To begin with, these twists were usually made of straw, and the connection between 'straw' and 'stubble' is sufficiently close. But it appears more clearly in this. The Swed. dial. *wrase* is explained by Rietz to mean precisely the corn which, in reaping-time, was not bound up in the sheaves, but was left by the binders, and raked up into heaps afterwards. This is just the very thing out of which the goose would pick up its living; I take a stubble-goose to mean precisely a goose which is turned into the corn-fields after the corn

is reaped and carried. Further, Rietz says that *vrase* or *vase* also means the lowest layer of hay in a hay-loft, though this may be a different word. Hence we may equate the form *vrase* with the common Swedish *vase*, a sheaf of corn; Norweg. *vase*, a wisp or bundle of thread or of hair, a bundle or heap of brush-wood; Dan. dial. *vase*, a sheaf, a bundle of straw with the corn in it (Molbech). Then, again, Hexham gives Du. *wase*, a torch, clearly because a torch was a 'twist,' as the derivation of *torch* shews. I think this is enough to shew that *wrase* and *warse* and *wase* are the same word, and that the senses were: (1) a twist, hence, a wreath, wisp, bundle, esp. of straw or faggots, and (2) a heap of straw, and hence, the leavings of corn in the fields, on which geese were fattened. The Du. *Wase*, turf, is a different word; see Schade, who distinguishes A.S. *wrāsen*, a chain, twist, from M.H.G. *wrase*, G. *Rasen*, turf; and shews that they are probably from different roots. I mention this last point, only to shew that I have not overlooked it. Lastly, I would observe that a similar loss of *r* occurs in *dace*, formerly *darce*, derived from O.F. *dars*, a dart; and again, in *gash*, formerly *garce*, from O.F. *garser*, to scarify, to lance. N.B. I find an instance of *wase*, a wisp of straw, in Lydgate's Troy-book, ch. 34; fol. y6, back, col. 1.

Yuly. Halliwell notes the wonderful word '*yuly*, handsome,' as given by Ritson; but thinks it is an error for *ynly*. There is no doubt about it; *inly* often means 'closely' or 'narrowly;' the line is—'He behelde *ynly* hur face;' Erl. of Tolous, 337. The sense 'handsome' is wrong.

IV.—ON THE BODLEIAN FRAGMENT OF CORMAC'S GLOSSARY. By WHITLEY STOKES, D.C.L.

[*Read December* 4, 1891.]

CORMAC's Glossary is a mediaeval Irish Etymologicum, full of absurd attempts to trace words to their sources, but valuable, partly as explaining many obscure vocables, partly as containing extracts from ancient law-books, whereof some are now lost, and partly as preserving sundry traditions and legends which interest the student of Celtic history, folk-lore and romance. It is ascribed to Cormac, the king-bishop of Cashel, who was slain in battle in the year 903; but its language proves that it was not written much before the eleventh century, when the change from Old- to Early-Middle-Irish had set in.

Two complete copies of this Glossary are known. The elder is in the Lebar Brecc, a fourteenth century MS. in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, pp. 263 to 272 of the fac-simile, Dublin, 1876. The younger is in the Yellow Book of Lecan, a vellum in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, cols. 3 to 87. This part of the codex was written in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Three fragments also are known, one in the Book of Leinster, a vellum of the middle of the twelfth century, p. 179 of the facsimile, Dublin, 1880, another in a Bodleian MS. of the fifteenth century, and a third, containing only the articles *Prull* and *Mug éme*, in ff. 75^{a}–76^{a} of Harl. 5280, a vellum in the British Museum. The Lebar Brecc

copy and the fragment in the Book of Leinster were published in *Three Irish Glossaries*, London, 1862, and a translation of the former by John O'Donovan was printed in Calcutta, in 1868. The copy in the Yellow Book of Lecan has not yet been printed; but a photographic facsimile of it and the rest of the vellum in which it is contained will be published next year by the Royal Irish Academy, with funds supplied by the British Government. The Bodleian fragment now for the first time appears *in extenso*.[1] It is taken from the MS. marked Laud 610, which has been described by Dr. Todd (*Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, ii. 336) and by Dr. O'Donovan (*Book of Rights*, pref. xxviii, xxxiii). This fragment begins at fol. 79ᵃ with the last four words of the article *iarmbélre*,[2] and it ends at fol. 86ᵃ with the article *turigein*, the nine articles beginning with *u* being omitted. The scribe of this part of the MS. was Seán Buidhe O'Clérigh, and his colophon, written in 1440, runs as follows:

IShé annal*a* inTig*er*na inuáir dosc*r*ib*ad* in sanasán so na Saltrach .i. mile blia*dan* 7 ceithri c*ét* blia*dan* 7 t*r*i blia*dna* déc 7 da *fichit*, in cúiced lá domí Ḟebra 7 into*cht*mad lá donesca. misi Seaan Bvidhi óCléir*ig* dosc*r*ib 7 dÉmann Bvillter m*a*c Risterd dosc*r*ib*ad* sanasan Saltrach Cor*mai*c so.

This is the year of the Lord when this little Glossary of the Psalter hath been written, to wit, a thousand years, and four hundred years, and two score, the fifth day of the month of February, and the eighth day of the moon. I am Yellow John O'Clery who wrote this, and for Edmund Butler Mac Richard hath been written this little glossary of Cormac's Psalter.[3]

[1] The articles *Imbass forosnai*, *Modebroth*, *Mug éme*, *Nós* and *Pátraic* were published from Laud 610 in the *Tripartite Life of Patrick*, Rolls Series, pp. 568, 570.

[2] d.h. die unbetonten Wörter, die für die Alliteration nicht mitzählen, Thurneysen, Irische Texte, 3ᵗᵉ serie, 1. heft, s. 116.

[3] *i.e.* the compilation called the Psalter of Cashel, as to which see Petrie, *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, pp. 38, 39, and O'Curry, *Lectures on the MS. Materials of Irish History*, p. 11.

The history of the MS. is continued by the following entry on the upper margin of fo. 110ᵇ:

Salttair maic Ruisderd Buitiler .i. Emonn Buitiler, in tsalttair seo nogo dtuca[d] maidm Baile in fPoill ar iarla Urmuman 7 ar mac Ruisderd le iarla Desmuman .i. Tomas, 7 do bained in leabar so 7 Leabar na Carruigi as fuasglad meic Ruisderd, 7 isse in Mac Ruisderd sin do chuir na leabair sin da scribad do fein nogur bain Tomas iarla Desmuman amach iad.[1]

This Psalter (was) the Psalter of Mac Richard Butler, to wit, Edmund Butler, until the defeat at Baile in Phoill (now Pilltown) was inflicted on the Earl of Ormond and on Mac Richard by the Earl of Desmond, to wit, Thomas.[2] And this book and the Book of Carrick were taken in ransom for Mac Richard, and it is that Mac Richard who caused those books to be written for himself, until Thomas Earl of Desmond took them away.

O'Clery must have transcribed from a very ancient manuscript, for the language and spelling of this Bodleian fragment (*L.*) are far more archaic than those of the copy in the Lebar Brecc (*LB.*), the oldest complete copy known to exist. The comparison of a few forms will justify this assertion. The corresponding forms in the Yellow Book of Lecan (*Y.*) have been added.

Laud 610.	*Lebar Brecc.*	*Yellow Book of Lecan.*
atopair	hidbraid	adodpair
cotagair	gutagair	cotagair
himmaig	amuig	imaig
isintig	istig	isintigh
tarsa mullag	darin mullach	tar mullach
forsa crand-sin	forsan crand sin	forsin crandsin
conammelt	coimlid	conamailt
condaig	cuindchis	condaig
na semmand (acc. pl.)	na semanda	na semand
ond anmuim sin	on ainm sin	on anmain sin
don chrund	do crand	don crund
forrumither	furmither	forruimther
banbrugid (nom. pl.)	banbrugadha	banbrugaid
bertatar	inrucsat	bertatar

[1] There is an incomplete and inaccurate copy of this entry in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, ii. 338.

[2] The eighth Earl, who was beheaded at Drogheda in 1467.

In the Bodleian fragment the neuter article is still in use (an-í, a tenm láida, s.v. *imbas forosnai*, an-etag, an-étach, s.v. *legam*, a cétnae, an-aithesc, s.v. *lethech*, a muin, a nduiu, a mbraut, s.v. *modebroth*, al-lathi-sin, s.v. *mairt*, tar-sa-mullag, s.v. *malland*, for-sa-crand-sin, s.v. *nescoit*, i-sal-leth n-aill, s.v. *prull*). Neuter stems in *n* are declined as in Old-Irish: thus we have sg. gen. *anma*, s.v. Morann, dat. *anmuim*, s.v. Mumu, dual nom. *dá n-ainm*, s.v. Morann, pl. nom. il-*anmann*, s.v. rout, acc. *semmend*, *semmand*, gen. *semmend*, s.v. *nescoit*, dat. *anmonnaib*, s.v. nemnall, *rémennaib*, s.v. triath.

Comparatives in *-thir* are frequent: *buidithir*, *caissidir*, *cuirrithir*, *duibithir*, *glaissidir*, *luaithidir*—all s.v. prull. A superlative is *nessom*, s.v. orc tréith, from **nedhsṃmo-s*, cognate with Umbr. and Osc. *nesimo-*, Skr. √*nah*, *naddha*, *nadh*. So *airegdam*, s.v. prull. *Moaib*, s.v. nemnall, is probably a scribal error for *móam*, another superlative.

Infixation of pronouns is still in full force. Thus:

sg. 1, fo-m-geillsat, s.v. *páin*, and imm-om-loiscet, nom-leicid-si, rom-bia, atom-glaite-sa, all s.v. *prull*.

sg. 2, ro-t-huc, s.v. *mumu*, and inn-ot-bia, ni-t-aicelladar, nit-acelladar, s.v. *prull*.

sg. 3, masc. *d*: ro-d-torinnai, s.v. *lethech*; immi-d-comairc, s.v. *prull*.

dn: do-dn-gní, s.v. *nith*; do-dn-géna, s.v. *imbas forosnai*.

idn: ass-id-cíd, s.v. *prull*; imm-id-rét, s.v. *rout*. for-idm-bi, s.v. *laith*; ar-idm-boi, s.v. *imbas forosnai*.

tn: co-tn-gair, co-tn-aitib, no-tn-acclestar, all s.v. *lethech*.

a: d-a-bir, s.v. *imbas forosnai*.

da: con-da-forruimi, s.v. *ninus*; cota-gair (=coth-da-g.), s.v. *imbas forosnai*.

n: do-n-iced, s.v. *nescoit*; arnach-n-imp[ar]ra, s.v. *imbas forosnai*; ta-m-bert, s.v. *orc*.

fem. *s*: ni-s-fuair, s.v. *prull*.

pl. 3. *da*: ata-gladastar (=ad-da-g.), s.v. *prull*.

os, *s*: imm-os-coemorcuir, s.v. *prull*; do-s-leicit, ro-s-fuair, s.v. *orc*.

Infixed relative: intan didiu ro-m-bo bruithe, s.v. *lethech*; imm-an-dergthar, s.v. *leos*; intan tra do-n-anic, s.v. *prull*; is dó con-s-secrad, s.v. *mairt*.

The verbal forms are equally archaic. Thus:

Verbal prefix infixed: fort-ro-r-gell, s.v. *imbas*; far-ro-laig, s.v. *lethech*; do-de-r-saig (=*to-di-ro-od-sech), s.v. *mug éme*; do-r-ónad, s.v. *prull*; pl. do-r-onta, s.v. *mug éme*; fo-r-acbad, s.v. *imbas*. In do-ind-ar-scansat (from *to-índ-ro-scansat), s.v. *mug éme*, as in *fo-ind-ar-lid* (gl. subintravit) Wb. 3ª 6, and *timm-ar-nai*, Lism. Lives, 222, 225, we seem to have a metathetic form of the posttonic *ro*.

Orthotonic forms of compound verbs: ad-miudur, s.v. *mann*; ad-rímed, s.v. *rincne*; at-cess, as-bert, s.v. *prull*; as-con-grad, s.v. *mug éme*; as-soilgi, s.v. *loch*; atopair, s.v. *imbas forosnai*; con-acrad, s.v. *lethech*; con-daig, s.v. *mug éme*; do-ad-benar, s.v. *imbas forosnai*; do-aitni, s.v. *samrad*; do-bert, s.v. *orc*; do-fuisim (*to-fo-ess-sem-), s.v. *lesmac*; do-fuarascaib, s.v. *imbas forosnai*; do-géni, s.v. *mug éme*; do-indarscansat, s.v. *mug éme*; fo-r-acaib, s.v. *mug éme*; for-rumither, s.v. *nescóit*; imme-luinethar, s.v. *loes*.

Enclitic forms of compound verbs: (con)epert, s.v. *mug éme*; (ní) fargaib, s.v. *imbas forosnai*; (hi)fuirmither, s.v. *nescoit*; (co nach) tarmesca, (arna) tarmescatar, s.v. *imbas forosnai*; (ní) tardad, s.v. *orc*; (na) tarta, s.v. *mug éme*; (arna) eillnet, s.v. *róut* (where *eillnet* stands for *ésslenet*, cf. the orthotonic *as-lénaimm*, Sg. 54ª 8); remeperthe, s.v. *prull*; tait, s.v. *milgetan*; (na) hacaldai, s.v. *prull*. In *tobreth*, s.v. lethech, *tobert*, s.v. mug éme, and *ta-m-bert*, s.v. orc, an enclitic is wrongly used for an orthotonic form.

The conjugations are still distinguished in the third sg. present ind. act. Thus we have the following subjoined (or 'conjunct') forms:

o-verbs: atfét, s.v. *lethech*; imm-id-rét, s.v. *róut*; atopair, s.v. *imbas forosnai*; con-gair, cota-gair, dicain *ibid.*; di-eim, s.v. *ollam*; do-beir, da-bir, s.v. *imbas forosnai*; do-fuisim, s.v. *lesmac*; do-fuarascaib, s.v. *imbas forosnai*; do-ling, s.v. *prull*; do-roich, s.v. *parn*; do-d-roig s.v. *róut*; fargaib, s.v. *imbas forosnai*; fo-cren, s.v. *róut*, for-dingair, s.vv. *laith*, *lethech*, *mairenn*; con-daig, s.v. *mug éme*; t-ic, s.vv. *orc*, *óimelgg*, and apparently (nad) fosad-som, s.v. *legam*.

ā-verbs: do-bruchta, s.v. *tipra*; forosnai (from *for-od-sunna), con-cná, s.v. *imbas forosnai*; tim-chella, s.vv. *loes*, *sceng*; fodera (=fo-d-fera) s.v. *mairenn*; do-srenga, s.v. *rop*.

ē-verbs: do-d-gní, s.v. *nith*; pass. sg. 3, dò-gníther, s.v. *imbas forosnai*.

I-verbs: assoilgi, s.v. *loch*; contuili, s.v. *imbas forosnai*; do-aitni, s.v. *samrad*; docruidi, s.v. *loch*; forruimi, s.v. *prull*.

The so-called consuetudinal forms in *-ann*, *-enn* do not occur. This points to a date before A.D. 1100.

Absolute forms: benaid s.v. *orc*, sochtaid s.v. *prull*, sluinnith s.v. *laith*, bíid s.v. *langfiter*, doithid s.v. *mug éime*: with suffixed pronouns: cingth-i, s.v. *prull*,[1] rant-ai (=rannaith-i), s.v. *orc*. Pass. sg. 3 étithir, s.v. *lámand*; bithir, s.v. *imbas forosnai*; lethaidir, ferthair, s.v. *lethech*, promthair, s.v. *pain*, maeltair, s.v. *ranc*; pl. 3, deiligtir, s.v. *triath*.

Subjoined (or 'conjunct') forms: pl. 3, dofocbat, immom-loiscet, r-ecat, s.v. *prull*. Do-s-leicit, s.v. *orc*, should be do-s-léicet. Pass. sg. 3 doadbenar, dogníther, s.v. *imbas forosnai*, aracialltar, fossaimther, s.v. *legam*, imma ndergthar, s.v. *leos*, co n-oenaigther, s.v. *turigin*, doberar, s.v. *lethech*, imcomarcar, s.v. *nairne*, adfiadar, s.v. *nescoit*, fothruicther, s.v. *prull*, i ngabthar, s.v. *sen*; pl. 3, i nglanaiter, ara nglanaiter, s.v. *róut*.

Reduplicated preterites are:

sg. 3, atchonnairc (√*derk*, Skr. *dadarça*, δέδορκε), s.v. *prull*; do-chuaid (√*kud*, Skr. *codayāmi*), s.vv. *mug éme*, *prull*; do-deochaid, s.vv. *ninus*, *prull*, *roscad*; pass. sg. 3, dochuas, s.v. *orc*; ra-cuala (from **kuklave*=Skr. *çuçrava*), s.v. *lethech*; ni thanic, s.v. *mug éme*, do-n-anic, s.v. *prull*, co farnaic, s.v. *orc* (√*ank*, Skr. √*aç*, *ānamça*); ro gáid (=Skr. *jagāda*), s.v. *orc*; dorrumidir (Goth. *mitan*), s.v. *laith*; do coemnacair (√*nank*, Lat. *nanc-iscor*), s.v. *orc*; immos-coemorcuir, s.v. *prull* (cf. imchomarcair, LU. 62[a] 7, √*ark*=Skr. *praç*).

pl. 3, con-accatar (√*kas*, Skr. √*caksh* for *cakas*), s.v. *prull*; ro lellatar (√*li*, Skr. *-lilye*), s.v. *morann*; romebdatar (leg. -memdatar, √*mat*, cf. Skr. *mamâtha*), a mbatar, s.v. *prull*. Absolute form: batir, s.v. *orc*.

T-preterites are:

sg. 3, ro-dn-ort, s.v. *lathirt* (cf. *ro ort* 'delevit,' LU. 48[c], √*org*); conammelt (√*mel*, Lat. *molo*), s.v. *mug éme*; luid, do-luid (√*lu*=*plu*), s.vv. *orc*, *mug éme*; doriucart (=*to-ro-od-gar-t), fris-gart (√*gar*,

[1] Such forms originally, perhaps, belonged to the middle voice. Thus *berid* may be from **bereté*=*φέρεται*, as *no-bered* is certainly=*ἐ-φέρετο*. See H. Collitz in Bezz. Beitr. xvii. 232, note, where he suggests that the absolute inflection is developed from the old middle, and the conjunct (*-beir*=Lat. *fer-t*) from the active.

Lith. *girià*), s.v. *prull*; as-bert, s.v. *lethech*; to-bert, s.v. *mug éme*. ad-acht, s.v. *rincne* (cf. do-sn-acht, imm-act, √*ag*, Lat. *ago*, Gr. ἄγω).

pl. 3, bertatar, as-bertatar, s.v. *prull* (√*ber*, Lat. *fero*, Gr. φέρω); for-ru-achtatar, s.v. *mátt* (cf. do-ru-achtatar, Z². 457, √*ak*, Skr. *aç*).

Reduplicated future: sg. 1, ni géb-sa, s.v. *mug éme*; sg. 2, asbéra, s.v. *lethech*; sg. 3, do-dn-géna, s.v. *imbas forosnai*; ass-m-béra, s.v. *lethech*. Secondary form, sg. 3, nach epérad, s.v. *morann*.

S-future, sg. 2, ni naiss, s.v. *mál*: deponential: meser, s.v. *segamlae*; sg. 3, ara ndig, s.v. *róut*: dep. cini fiastar, s.v. *parn*; pl. 3 (relative), cichsite, s.v. *mann*. Secondary forms: sg. 3, co feissed, ara tissed, s.v. *lethech*; co taudchissed, s.v. *orc*.[1] The curious form *iurthus*, s.v. róut, seems=*iurad*, the secondary redupl. s-fut. of *orgim*,[1] plus a suffixed pron. of the 3rd plur., just as *iúrthund*, LU. 108ª 19, is=*iurad* plus a suffixed pron. of the 1st plur.

Passive forms of the verb substantive are bithir, s.v. *imbas forosnai*, and -táthar, s.v. *prull*. *Bethir*, *-bether* occurs in the Würzburg codex, but I have not met *táthar* in Old-Irish.

So much from the grammarian's point of view. To the lexicographer all the articles now published, but especially *ranc* and *róut*, are of value. The historian of the movements of races in the British islands will find one of his most trustworthy documents in the article *Mugh éme*. Irish folklore and mythology are illustrated by the articles *Imbass forosnai*, *Lugnasad*, *Leos*, *Milliud*, *Morand*, *Mugh éme*, *Manannan mac lir*, *Néit*, *Ninus*, *Ruad rofessa*, *Sin*, and *Triath*: Irish manners and customs by *Laary*, *Leithech*, *Milgetan*, and *Ollam*: Irish law by *Mátt*, *Mann*, *Nóe*, *Noes*, *Ness*, *Segamla* and *Sau*: Irish romance by *Nescóit*, *Orc*, *Prull*, *Rincne*, and *Serb*. All these matters are more fully noticed in the preface to *Three Irish Glossaries*, and in the annotations to O'Donovan's translation of Cormac's Glossary. To that preface and those annotations the notes at the end of this paper may be taken as supplemental.

W. S.

[1] See as to *iurad* 'occideret,' Thurneysen, *Revue Celtique*, vi. 95, 372, note, and Hogan, ibid. viii. 535. With Ir. *orgim*, cf. the O.W. *orgiat* (gl. caesar, i.e. caesor), and Gaul. *Orgeto*-rix, which Persson connects with Gr. ῥέχθω, Ἐρεχθεύς.

FRAGMENT OF CORMAC'S GLOSSARY.

Laud 610.

[fo. 79a.] hurusa a thascelad ind.

IMbas forosnai .i. dofuarascaib sechi[p]ret bas maith lasin filid 7 bas adlacc[1] dó dofaillsigud. Is amlaid ón di*dis* dogníther ón .i. concná infili mír docharnu dirg muice *nó* chon no chaitt, 7 dabir iarum *for*licc iarcul nacomlad, 7 dichain[2] dichetal fair, 7 ato[d]pair do deib idol, 7 cotagair do, 7 nifargaib iarum arnabarach, 7 dicain[3] iarum *for*adabais,[4] 7 congair deo[5] idol chuici arna tarmescat[h]ar[6] achotluth, 7 dobeir adabois imadaleccoinn[7] 7 contuili, 7 bithir oca[f]horairi arnach nimprá[8] 7 connach tarmesca[9] nech, 7 do adbenar[10] do iarum aní aridmbói[11] cocend nomaithe[12] nó adó *nó* atrí fut gardi cotmeis*sed*[13] occond audbairt. *Et* ideo imbas d*icitur* .i. bas diśiu 7 bass anall imacenn. At*r*arpi[14] Pat*r*aicc anisein 7 atenm láida, 7 *for*trorgell[15] [a briathar] napa[d]nime na talman nachoen dodngéna, ar is diultud bathiss. [col. 2] Dichetal dochendaib imm*orro* i cor*us* cherdæ *for*acbad[16] son, ar issoas fot*e*ra son, 7 nihecen audpairt do demnaib occu, acht aisnéis dichendaib achnáme fochétoir.

Laech .i. a laico. Laiches .i. laech 7 fess: is[17] dinfess foas la laech.

Ligur .i. tengu.

Lugnasa[d] .i. nasad Loga m*ac* Ethlend .i. oenach nofertha laissom imthaitti fogomair.

Lelap .i. laulep .i. láu cech mbec.

Lesmaq .i. lismac .i. arindi dofuisim liss dond[f]ir *nó* donmnai inti is lesmac donechtar de. Síc lessathair 7 lesmathair. Les[18] da*no* q*uas*i lis[19] .i. immorgal[20] no debuid.

Legam .i. ligem, dindlige liges anetag. [Nó] ligáith .i. aith fri liga. Ní ariu em nad fosadsom[21] fri cach nétach cenibetis liga imbi, acht ismenciu aracialltar[22] 7 fossaimther anétach líga q*uam* aliud uestimentum.

[1] adlaic, Y. [2] décai, L. [3] dochain, Y. [4] foradibois, Y. [5] *sic*, Y.; da*no*, L. [6] tarmascthar, Y. [7] adibois ima dilecain, Y. [8] n-imparrae, Y. [9] toirmescae, Y. [10] doadbanar, Y. [11] aradmbi, Y. [12] nómaide, Y. [13] fut ngair *co*messad, Y. [14] Atrorbe, Y. [15] fotroirgell, Y. [16] fodracbad son i corus cerdae, Y. [17] *sic*, Y.; 7, L. [18] Lis, L. [19] liss, L. [20] imargail, Y.; imorgal, L. [21] na denand som fos, LB. [22] araciallathar, Y.

TRANSLATION.

easy to disclose it therein.

Imbas forosna 'Manifestation that enlightens': (it) discovers what thing soever the poet likes and which he desires to reveal. Thus then is that done. The poet chews a piece of the red flesh of a pig, or a dog, or a cat, and puts it then on a flagstone behind the door-valve, and chants an incantation over it, and offers it to idol gods, and calls them to him, and leaves them not on the morrow, and then chants over his two palms, and calls again idol gods to him, that his sleep may not be disturbed. Then he puts his two palms on his two cheeks and sleeps. And men are watching him that he may not turn over and that no one may disturb him. And then is revealed to him that for which he was (engaged) till the end of a *nómad* (three days and nights) or two or three for the long or the short time (?) that he may judge himself (to be) at the offering. And therefore it is called *Imm-bas*, to wit, a palm (*bas*) on this side and a palm on that around his head.

Patrick banished that and the *Tenm láida* 'illumination of song,' and declared that no one who shall do that shall belong to heaven or earth, for it is a denial of baptism. *Dichetal do chennaib* 'extempore incantation,' however, *that* was left, in right of art, for it is science that causes it, and no offering to devils is necessary, but a declaration from the ends of his bones at once.

Laech 'hero' from *laicus*. *Laichess* 'heroine,' that is *laech* and *fess* 'sleep:' it is from the sleep which she sleeps with the hero.

Ligor, that is 'tongue.'

Lugnasad 'lammas-day,' that is the festival (*nasad*) of Lugh, son of Ethliu, to wit, a fair that was held by him at the beginning of autumn.

Lelap 'child,' that is *lau-lep*. *Lau* is everything small.

Les-mac 'step-son,' that is *lis-mac*, because dissension (*lis*) is caused to the husband or to the wife by him who is step-son to either of them. Even so *les-athair* 'step-father,' and *les-máthair* 'step-mother.' *Les*, then, quasi *lis*, that is 'contest or quarrel.'

Legam 'moth,' that is *ligem*, from the licking with which it licks the raiment, or *lig-dith*, that is, 'sharp against colours.' Not because it does not settle on every cloth, though there be no colours thereon, but the coloured cloth is perceived (?) and is settled on oftener than another vesture.

Lecconn .i. leccend .i. leth chenn.

Lassamuin ab eo q*uod est* lass- [col. 3] -im .i. cech nán.

Lemlacht .i. lacht téith .i. lem cech téith.

Loch déde *for*dingair .i. loch .i. dub. un*de* d*icitur* assoilgi laith loch bronna .i. dub bronna .i. cid dorche samud cáich 7 cid rúndae[1] riam 7 iarum, docruidi arúna laith do ól. Loch d*ano* .i. huili, un*de* d*icitur* loch dub .i. huile dub.

Laarg .i. leo ball 7 arg .i. laech. ball. dagláich insin .i. ahage.[2]

Lám .i. luam in[3] chuirp.

Lamas .i. lamfoss .i. foss láme.

Lámand .i. lám ind .i. ind na laime etithir[4] di.

Lautu .i. lau cech mbecc .i. mér is lugu fil *for*sinláim.[5]

Lie ab eo quod est lidos gr*e*ice et interpretatur lapis.

Laith .i. déde *for*dingair .i. laith gaile 7 láith .i. med[6] ut pr*ae*diximus etir laithi Lugbai [li sula sochar, *Y.*] .i. ameid Lugbai cherrda dorrumidir Fachtna anargat arnabu 7 rl. INtan t*r*a as f*or*sail foridmbi issand sluinnit[h][7] hoc.

Laṅgphetir .i. aingliss insin. lang di*diu* .i. fottae, phetir im*morro* .i. glass. laṅgphetir di*diu* .i. glas fota .i. itir chois níarthair [fo. 79b] 7 chois nairthir bíid.[8] Non sic aurchomul .i. aur accomol .i. itir dichoiss airthir bíd son.

Lecht ab eo q*uod est* lectus.

Long bis formuir, ab eo q*uod est* longa.[9]

Luachair .i. taitnem, ab eo q*uod est* luceo *vel* lux[10] q*uasi* lucar.

Lebor q*uasi* libor .i. a libro.

Lott q*uasi* lott, ar is lott do mnai mert*r*ichus.

Láth q*uasi* luth[11] [.i. iarsinní lúthas].

Loman .i. lom fann, sech is lom is fann.

Lathirt .i. laith ort .i. laith rodnort .i. ól corma.

Lugbort meli*us* est .i. lubgort[12] .i. luib gort, ut dicitur gort luibe.

[1] rundae, Y.; rundu, L. [2] *For* .i. ahage, *Y. has* Lorg .i. lúi arg .i. laich í, no lar ricc. [3] *sic*, Y.; an, L. [4] eidigther, Y. [5] ise mer is lauga isin laim é, Y. [6] .i. láith 7 laith gaile .i. med, L. [7] sluinid, Y. [8] biis, Y. [9] longao, L. [10] .i. soillsi, Y. [11] Lát quasi lut, Y. [12] Lubgart meli*us* est .i. luigbort, .i. luib goirt, ut dica*tur*, L.

Lecconn 'cheek,' that is *leccenn*, that is 'half,' *leth*, 'head,' *cenn*.

Lassamuin 'flamy,' from *lassim* 'everything bright.'

Lemlacht 'new milk,' that is smooth milk, for *lem* is everything smooth.

Loch means two things, to wit, *loch* 'dark,' whence is said 'ale opens dark wombs,' that is, though dark be every one's council, and though it be secret before and after, to drink ale elicits (?)[1] its secrets. *Loch*, moreover, means 'all,' whence is said *lochdub*, that is 'all black.'

Laarg 'fork,' that is *leo* 'limb' and *arg* 'champion,' a good champion's limb is that, that is, his joint (*i.e.* his honorific portion of food).

Lám 'hand,' that is pilot (*luam*) of the body.

Lámos 'sleeve,' that is *lám-foss*, that is the resting-place (*foss*) of the arm.

Lámand 'glove,' that is *lám-ind*, i.e. the end (*ind*) of the hand (*lám*) is clad thereby.

Lautu 'the little finger,' i.e. *lau* is everything small, for it is the smallest finger on the hand.

Lie 'stone,' from the Greek λίθος, and it is interpreted *lapis*.

Laith, two things it means, i.e. *laith* 'a valiant hero,' and *láith* 'a measure,' as we said before. 'Between the scales of Lugba,' .... that is, 'in the balance of Lugba the goldsmith Fachtna adjusted the money for the cows.' It is when a *forsail* 'mark of length' is upon it that it signifies this.

Langphetir, 'spancel,' that is English: *lang* then means 'long,' and *phetir* means 'fetter.' *Langphetir* then means a long fetter—between a hind-foot and a fore-foot. Not so is *aurchomul*, i.e. *aur* 'front,' *accomol* 'binding,' that is, between two fore-feet.

Lecht 'sepulchre,' from *lectus*.

Long 'ship,' which is on the sea, from *longa*.

Luachair 'brightness,' from *luceo*, or *lux* quasi *lucar*.

Lebor 'book,' as if *libor*, i.e. from *liber*.

Lott 'harlot,' quasi *lot* 'destruction,' for harlotry is destruction to a woman.

Láth 'hero,' quasi *luth* 'motion,' because he moves with suppleness.

Lommann 'cloak,' that is *lomm-fann*, because it is bare (*lomm*) and weak (*fann*).

Lathirt, 'drunkenness,' that is *laith-ort*, i.e. *laith* 'liquor,' *rodn-ort* 'destroyed him,' that is a drinking of ale.

Lugbort, better *Lubgort* 'herb-garden,' i.e. *luib* 'herb,' *gort* 'garden': as is said, *gort luibe*, a garden of herbs.

[1] Cf. *ro-cruidi*, Fél. ep. 136.

Lín .i. a líno. Léne a línía.

Lánamain .i. lán-somuin insin,[1] aris leth-somuin nechtar de secharaile.[2]

Lethech .i. deide for[d]ingair .i. ainm [cétamus] docheneliu eisc dianid ainm [lethech] .i. ara lethet 7 ara thanadetaid, ar is mór lethet neich de bís[3] in ociano. Ainm dono do losait, arindí lethaidir bargin fuirri, amal isbert Cruiteni [file] fechtas luid dothig alaile éicis 7 agilla leis .i. écsini [é]side comenmain fithidrea.[4] Farrolaig didiu Cruiténi fadesin himmaig. Leicis agilla do hóigidecht[5] dothig indéicis. Tobreth[6] didiu tarr tuirc dó iscabáil[7] 7 ro [col. 2] bói calleic intéices occacallaim indeicsine, 7 occur súla tar a frithgnam. Rorathaigestar[8] iarum intéices mór-menmain indeicsine 7 laget afrithgnama. Intan didiu rombo bruithe intairr asbert intéices fiadindecsiniu .i. 'Dofotha tairr tein' .i. ismíthig athicseil dintein,[9] 7 ba[10] cofeissed son ciafrecra doberad intéicsine dó, fobith rachualasom intéices ocga[u]maidim[11] alanaile nairecc ningantae amal bidhe feisin aratissed[12] 7 niro [creit]son immorro inteces,[13] [Ba aire atbert inteces] dopromad indeicsine .i. 'tofotha tairr tein,' et tribus uicibus dixit, et non respondit éi ad ullum uerbum. Laissein didiu attraig inteicsine 7 teit cossinmbale[14] imbai Cruiteni, 7 atfét scela dó, 7 asbert fris anaithesc roradi inteces .i. 'tofotha tairr tein.' 'Maith,' ol Cruiteni, 'intan assmbéra[15] affrísi[16] asberasa fris occa .i. 'Tói lethaig foin fris. [adaind indlis .i. toi lossait faon fris] .i. fon tairr, 7 frisindle chaindill do deicse[17] dús inbruithe intairr.' INtan didiu dofessid inteicsine isintig thall [79b 3.] dixit intecess acetnae, et dixit inteicsini [col. 3] 'Tóe lethaig' 7rl 'Maith son,' ol intéces, 'ni bru ecsini rodtorinnai:[18] isin ocus atá Cruiteni. Cotngair demuig!' Conacrad iarum. Ferthair failti fris, 7 doberar biad naill hicoiri dosuidiu, 7 babecc a menmae de ineicsine fobith cotnuaitib[19] intéces cein notnaiclestar[20] Cruitini.

Leos immdergad[21] immandergthar duine iarnahair no iarnahécndug.

[1] *For* insin, *Y. has* o cach dib dia chelei. [2] Y. *adds*: Aliter lanamain quasi lenamain, ar ni fil etarscarad doib acht ar Dia. [3] nich bis de, L. [4] fithidire, Y. [5] do huigidecht, L.; do aigidecht, L.B. [6] Dobreth, Y. [7] iscabul, Y. [8] Roratáid, Y. [9] athiscal do teinidh, Y. [10] isba, L. [11] oc gumaidim, Y. [12] arahissed no araradissed, Y. [13] inteigsin, Y. [14] maighin, Y. [15] assinbera, L. [16] doridisi, LB. [17] dia deicsin, Y. [18] rotormai a inne, Y.; rotoirne *no* rotorma, LB. [19] cotnaitib, Y. [20] cech notnaichlestar, L.; ce chotnaiclestar, Y. [21] imndergad, L.

Lin 'flax,' from *linum*; *léne* 'shirt,' from *linia*.

Lánomain 'a married couple,' i.e. *lán-somain* 'full property,' for each without the other is only a half property.

Lethech, two things it means: it is a name for a kind of fish, because of its breadth and its thinness, for great is the breadth of it that is in the ocean. It is also a name for a kneading-trough, because a cake is spread (*lethaidir*) on it, as Cruiténe said once when he went to the house of a certain poet having with him his gillie, a bardling he, with a teacher's pride. Cruiténe himself remained outside, and sent his gillie for guesting to the poet's house. Then a hog's belly was given the bardling in a caldron, and meanwhile the poet began conversing with him, and casting an eye on his diligence (in preparing the meat). Then the poet perceived the great pride of the bardling and the smallness of his diligence. So when the belly was boiled, the poet said in the bardling's presence, *Dofotha tairr tein*, that is, 'it is time to take it off the fire;' and [it was in the poetic dialect he spoke], in order that he might know what answer the bardling would give him, because the poet had heard him falsely boasting of certain wonderful inventions, as if it were he himself that had invented them. But the poet did not believe that, and therefore he said, to prove the bardling, *Dofotha tairr tein*. Thrice he said it, and not even a word he got in answer. With that the bardling rises and goes to the stead where Cruiténe was staying, and tells him his tales, and repeated the words which the poet had uttered, even *Dofotha tairr tein*. "Good," quoth Cruiténe: "when he says them again, thou shalt say to him, *Toi lethaig foin fris adaind ind lis*, i.e. 'put a kneading-trough under it, (*i.e.* under the belly), and light a candle to see whether the belly is boiled.' So when the bardling (returned and) sat down in the house there, the poet said the same, and the bardling replied, '*Toi lethaig*,' etc. 'That is good!' saith the poet: 'it is not a bardling's womb that hath produced it: Cruiténe is at hand: call him from without.' So then he was called: welcome is made to him, and other food is put for him into the caldron; and small was the pride of the bardling because the poet had mocked him until Cruiténe had spoken to him.

Léos, a blush wherewith a person is reddened after being satirized or reviled.

Lóes .i. suilse, ut *est* inDúil [Roscad]: grin[n]iud lois .i. díbdud[1] suilsi .i. caindli. Item aiged fír imme lois luinethar .i. immatimchella[2] suilse.

Luacharnn .i. q*uasi* lúcernn .i. a lucerna.

Modebroth, ol[3] Pat*r*aicc, q*uod* Scoti corrupte dicunt. síc autem dici debet .i. muin duiu braut. amuin di*diu* is meus, anduiu is d*eus*, ambraut is iudex.

Marcc .i. ech. marcach .i. eich imdai laiss, ut d*icitur* buasach infer lasambit bái imdai, airmnech da*no* infer techt*as* arbur nimdai 7rl. Síc airgtech,[4] coilcthech.

Mathair q*uasi* m*ater*, aris*sed* rotruaillned and.

Mid .i. combrecc rot*r*uaillned and .i. med.

Methil q*uasi* metil, ab eo quod est méta[5] *vel* meto.

[fo. 80a.] Muccairbi .i. m*ac* fuirmid .i. is m*ac* dán dofuirem[6] adána.

Malland .i. féith bís tarsa mullag anuas, q*uasi* mulland.

Mass q*uasi* a ma[s]sa.[7]

Milliud q*uasi* misilliud .i. silliud olc.[8]

Míscath[9] .i. mi insce. scath .i. insce.

Milgetan .i. Mol-chuiten .i. cuit Muil dorsada Temrach. Mol di*diu* a ainm side, deg in muil noferad forna dúinib[10] .i. tait ass, tait ind. inde d*icitur* molach.

Melgg as, arindi mblegair.[11] Melgg da*no* .i. bás, un*de* melg-tene .i. tene mbáis.

Morann .i. morfind. bahed insin ahainm dob*er*t amáthair dó, 7 asb*er*t robad bibdu[12] báis nach eberad[13] fris [anainm sin]. M*ac* múin im*morro* is*sed* ainm dob*er*t aatha[i]r do .i. ba muin maith inm*ac*. 7 ba bidbu báis nach ep*er*ad *fris* inainmsin. Rolellatar[14] iarum a dá nainm infer in dún[15] oenanma. Mac som Choirpri Chind chaitt im*morro*.

[80, col. 1.] Menath .i. min áith.

Moth .i. cach ferdae .i. cech [fer-] insce, *et* nom*en* [est] uirili membro.[16]

Man .i. a manú.

[1] didbdud, L.; díbad, LB. [2] immathimchela, L.; imatimchella, Y. [3] od, L. [4] airgthech, L.; airgtec, Y.; airgdech, LB. [5] .i. buain, Y. [6] du fuirim, Y. [7] .i. on cáir, Y. [8] drochăill*iud*, Y. [9] Missach .i. inimsce, L. [10] forsna dóinib, Y. [11] melgair, L.; blegar, Y. [12] bidbu, L; bidba, Y. and LB. [13] nac[h]itnepred, Y. [14] Roleltar, Y.; rolenustar, LB. [15] indun, Y.; arson, LB. [16] .i. ball ferrda, Y.

Loes 'light,' as is in the Book of Maxims, *grinniud lois*, i.e. extinction of a light, *i.e.* a candle. Also *aiged fir imme lois luinethar*, 'the face of a man which light surrounds.'

Luacharn 'a lamp,' quasi *lucern* from *lucerna*.

Modebroth, says Patrick, which the Scoti say corruptly. It should be said thus: *muin Duiu braut*: the *muin*, then, is 'my,' the *Duiu* is 'God,' the *braut* is 'judge.'

Marc 'horse,' *marcach* 'one who has many horses,' ut dicitur *buasach*, the man who has many cows, *airmnech*, the man who owns much corn, etc. Even so *airgtech*, 'a moneyed man,' *coilctech*, 'one having quilts.'

Máthair 'mother,' quasi *mater*, for this was corrupted in it.

Mid 'mead.' Welsh was corrupted in it, to wit *med*.

Methil 'a party of reapers,' quasi *metil*, from *meta* or *mete*.

Muccairbe, that is a *mac fuirmid* (a poet of the sixth grade).....

Malland, a vein that is across the crown of the head (*mullach*), quasi *mulland*.

Mass 'a mass,' as if from *massa*.

Milliud 'destruction,' quasi *mi-silliud*, i.e. evil-eyeing.

Miscath 'a curse,' i.e. *mi-insce* 'evil-word,' *scath*, i.e. word.

Milgetan, i.e. *Mol-chuiten*, the share of Mol, the door-keeper of Tara. Mol, then, was his name because of the talk (*mol*) which he used to hold with the people, to wit, 'Go out! Go in!' Hence is said *molach* 'hoarse.'

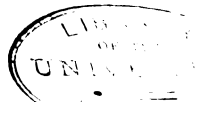
Melg 'milk,' because it is milked (*melgair*). *Melg*, also, 'death,' whence *melg-tene*, that is fire of death.

Morann, that is *mór-find*, i.e. great-fair. That was his name that his mother gave him, declaring that whoever should say that name to him would be guilty of death. *Mac-móin* was the name that his father gave him, *i.e.* the son (*mac*) was a good treasure (*móin*), and whoever should say that name to him would be guilty of death. So his two names clave to the man instead of one name. He was son of Coirpre Catshead.

Menath 'an awl,' i.e. *min* 'small,' *áith* 'sharp.'

Moth, everything masculine, *i.e.* every masculine word, et nomen uirili membro.

Mas 'hand,' from *manus*.



Manach .i. a monacho.[1]

Monach .i. clessach, ab eo q*uod est* mon .i. cles.

Methoss .i. a meta.[2]

Molad [fo. 80, col. 2.] [.i. mol-sód] .i. is mol ara menci 7 is[só]od aragnaith[ch]i.

Menmchossach .i. m*en*mae chassach .i. caingnech, [lais].

Muirtchend .i. ab eo q*uod* est morticinium.[3]

Muilend .i. mol 7 ond .i. cloch, aris*ed* déde asmuilend immulinn.[4]

Mertrech ab eo q*uod est* meretrix, merendo pretium stupri.[5]

Mátt .i. mucc, un*de est* isna Brethaib Nemed .i. forruachtatar mâtta mothuindi torgabail 7rl.

Mann .i. unge .i. un*de* Sencha d*ixit*:

> Mó ailib imdergad Emnæ.
> Admiudur de secht cactu cichsite crisu.
> Secht mugu moigfite morgnimu mugsaine.
> Secht manna óir forloiscthi[6] frifialgnúis[7] cona chaurathaib Conchobuir.

Munnu .i. mó finnu[8] .i. ainm buide Fintain enim dict*us est* .i. un*de* Moedóc Ferna d*ixit* occ áir Munnu m*ac* Tulchain:

> A chelén Dé chumachtaig!
> a m*ac* Tulchain, a bachlaich!
> ruc m*ac* nannsae[9] diamuintir
> mathair rothuc, a Fintain!

Milis q*uasi* mellis .i. isinand 7 mel.

Mál .i. rí[10] 7 fili, un*de* d*icitur* Ni naiss ór[11] na hargatt [fol. 80, col. 3.] acht f*or* mál.

Mairenn .i. déde f*or*dingair. ainm cetam*us* domnai .i. morfind. ainm dan*o* do gái .i. mírind[12] .i. droch rind .i. fodera bás.

Mugeme ainm incetna oirc cetarabe inHére .i. Coirpri Muse ceta tucside in Ere atirib Bretan. Ar intan ropumor cumachta nan-Goedel f*or*Bretnaib[13] rorannsat Albain eturru hiferanna, 7 rofitir cách durais diacharait[14] leo. 7 nibu lugu notrebtaís Goedil[15] frimuir anair quam in Scotia, 7 doronta anairusa[16] 7 arigdúine and. Inde [dicitur] Dind Tradui .i. dún tredui[17] .i. tredue Crimthain Moir m*ac*

[1] manacho, L.; manco, Y. [2] on crich, Y. [3] .i. marbadh, Y. [4] is muilend inmulinn, L; is muilend immuilend, Y.; asmaillem immuilend, LB. [5] .i. dligid si fiach a saothair, Y. [6] aithlegtha, LB. [7] fialgn*use*, Y. [8] mo a finda, Y. [9] L. *inserts* ruc nansae. [10] Y. *inserts* 7 cís. [11] óir, L. [12] mírfind, L. [13] L. and H. *insert* 7. [14] 7 a caruid, H. [15] goedelo, L.; gaoidil, Y. [16] anairse, H. anairlisi, Y. [17] *sic* H. tradui, L.

Manach 'a monk,' from *monachus*.

Menach 'tricky,' from *men* 'a trick.'

Methose 'a goal,' from *meta*.

Molad 'praise,' i.e. *mol* 'a mill-shaft,' from its frequency, and *sód* 'turning,' from its usualness.

Menmchossach, i.e. *menmas* 'a mind' *cassach* 'disputatious' hath he.

Muirtchenn 'carrion,' from *morticinium*.

Muilend 'a mill,' i.e. *mol* 'mill-shaft,' and *ond* 'stone,' for these are the two things that are together.

Mertrech 'harlot,' from *meretrix*; being entitled to (*merendo*) the price of her defilement.

Mátt 'pig,' whence in the Judgments of the Notables, *mátta* 'pigs' have attacked my . . . . . , etc.

Mann 'an ounce,' whence Sencha said:

'Greatest of disgraces is the reproach of Emain.
I adjudge therefor seven bondmaids who will embroider (?) girdles:
Seven slaves who will perform the great works of slavery,
Seven ounces of refined gold for a noble face, with Conor's champions.'

Munnu, i.e. *mo Finnu*, 'my Finnu,' a loving name. Finntan was so called. Hence said Maedóc of Ferns when satirizing Munnu, son of Tulchán:

O little vassal of mighty God!
O son of Tulchán, O shepherd!
She bore a child troublesome to his family
The mother who bore thee, O Finntan.

Milis 'sweet,' quasi *mellis*: it is the same as *mel* 'honey.'

Mál 'king' and 'poet.' Hence is said, 'Thou shalt not bind gold or silver except on a *mál*.'

Mairenn, two things it means, first, it is a name for a woman, i.e. *mór-find* 'great-fair:' then it is a name for a spear, i.e. *mi-rind* 'evil point,' that is, it causes death.

Mugh-éme 'slave of hilt,' the name of the first lapdog which was in Ireland. Coirpre Musc, he first brought one into Ireland out of the lands of the Britons. For at that time, great was the power of the Gaels over Britain, and they divided Albion among them into estates, and each of them knew his friend's abode. And the Gaels used to dwell to the east of the sea not less than in Scotia. And their dwellings and their royal forts were built therein. Hence is said *Dind Tradui*, i.e. Dún Tredui, *i.e.* the triple

Fidaig .i. rí Héirenn 7 Alban comuir nIcht. 7 inde *est* Glassdimbir [na nGóidel] .i. cell forbrú mara hIcht. Is*sed* aruiss insin irrobai Glass m*ac* Caiss muicid rígh Hirhuaithi occmucaib f*or* mess, 7 ishé insin dodersaig[1] Pat*r*aicc iartain .í. se fichit[2] bliadnae iarn[a]guin dofiannaib M*ai*c Con, 7 is dindraindsin beos ata Dind Map Letani[3] hitírib Bretan Corn .i. Dún m*ac* Liathan [ar is mac inní as map isin Bretnus]. Síc rorann cach cenél disiu, arrobói achut*r*umu allæ anair, 7 robatar fonchumachtu sin cociana cid iartichtain Pat*r*aicc. Disin trá d*idiu* robói Coirpri [fo. 80^{b}, col. 1] Musc occ aithigid sair coamuintir 7 coacairdea. Nithanic d*idiu* indinbuidsin oircci tír nÉir*enn*, 7 ascongrad[4] laBretnu natarta[5] oirci indáil nahaiscid nacaratrad na commain doGoed*elaib*.

IShí t*ra* cáin robói indinbaid si laBretnu: Cech bidbu innachinaid doneoch f*or*oesad [a cháin].[6]

(Boi) d*idiu* oirci aimind[7] isseilb charat Choirp*ri* Musc hitirib Brettan, 7 atroe[8] Coirpri huad. Dochuaid d*ano* Coirp*ri* corfectais dó athaigsidi,[9] 7 forricc[10] failti act immonoirci. Scían amrae d*ano* la Coirp*re* Musc 7 imdénam de ór 7 do argat imaheimh, 7 basét amrae 7rl. Tob*ert* iar*um* Coirp*ri* beóil comór 7 conammelt saill fo an em.[11] Fo*r*acaib inscín arbelaib indoirci. Rogab iar*um* intoirci cocnam indem*e* comatain .i. roluited iar*um* inscían *co*nabud alain[d][12] [i]arnabárach. Dogéni iar*um* Coirp*re* cáis móir desin, 7 ba bronach, 7 condaig cert nimbi coacharaitt. "Indraicside, d*ano*; [col. 2.] icfasa inchinaid," ollsuide. "Nigebsa," ol Coi[r]p*re*, "acht hi fil hi cáin Bretan .i. cach bibdu[13] inachinaid."[14] Iarsein, t*ra*, dobreth[15] intoirci innachinaid, 7 dobreth[16] ainm dó .i. Mug heme.

Ba banchú, t*ra*, intoirci, 7 batorrach intan dobreth tairis anall. Ailill Flann Bec, t*ra*, ba rí Muman intansin, 7 Corm*ac* hua Cuind hirrígu Temrach. Do indarscansat sidi fochetoir cuinghid [7 cosnam] indoirci. Ishe iar*um* c*ru*th rocoraiged eturra at*r*iur, aimser chinti dobeith donchoin hitig cachae. Doithid iar*um* incú [7] rohuc cách cuilén di[a]cuain,[17] 7 is onchoinsin oirci Heir*enn*, ut Scoti p*er*hibent.

[1] dedersaich, H.; rodersaig, Y. and LB. [2] fithit, L. [3] den roind beos sen atá dind mapledhain, H. [4] isracongradh, H. [5] conatárda, Y. [6] forsesed a chain no foruasnadfad ichain, Y.; rofess*ed* a cauain, H.; nofuasnabad cain, LB. [7] annind, L. [8] contori, LB. [9] aticcs*ide*, H. atsaighid, Y. [10] *sic*, Y.; forice H.; coránic, LB. We should perhaps read *forránic*, the perf. sg. 3 of *foricim*. [11] beoil comor ima heim 7 conammailt saill 7 bosaill foa, Y. [12] conarbo aloinn, H. [13] bidbdu, L. bidba, H. [14] cach rob ina chin, LB. [15] dobretha, Y.; tucad, LB. [16] rolil, LB. [17] Y *inserts* conaprait aceli uade 7 randsat fir Eirenn etorra.

foss of Crimthann the Great, son of Fidach, king of Ireland and of Albion as far as the Ictian Sea, and hence is Glastonbury of the Gaels, a church on the brink of the Ictian Sea. That is the residence in which dwelt Glass, son of Cass, the King of Hiruath's swineherd, with his swine mast-feeding, and it is he that Patrick afterwards raised from the dead, six score years after he had been slain by the Fianns of Mac Con. And from that division also, in the lands of the Cornish Britons stands Dind Map Letan, that is, the fort of the sons of Liathan, for *mac* 'son,' is the same as *map* in the British. Thus every tribe divided on that side, for its property on the east was equal to that on the west, and they continued in this power long after the coming of Patrick. Hence Coirpre Musc was paying a visit in the east to his family and his friends. At that time no lapdog had come to the land of Erin, and the Britons proclaimed that no lapdog should be given to Gaels in partition, or gift, or friendship, or barter.

Now at that time the Britons had this law: 'Every criminal for his crime to him whose law he shall have infringed.'

There was a beautiful lapdog in the possession of a friend of Coirpre Musc in the lands of the Britons, and Coirpre got it from him thus: Coirpre once went to his house, and was made welcome to everything save the lapdog. Now Coirpre had a wonderful dagger, with an adornment of gold and silver on its hilt. It was a marvellous jewel. So Coirpre put much grease upon it, and rubbed bacon to its haft, and left the dagger before the lapdog. The lapdog took to gnawing the hilt till morning, and the dagger was injured so that on the morrow it was not beautiful. Then Coirpre made great complaint thereof, and was mournful for it, and demandeth justice for it of his friend. 'That is fair indeed. I will pay for the crime,' said he. 'Nought will I take,' says Coirpre, 'save what is prescribed in the law of the Britons, namely, every criminal for his crime.' So after that the lapdog was surrendered for its crime, and a name was given to it, even *Mug-éme* 'slave of hilt.'

Now the lapdog was a bitch, and was in pup when it was taken over to Ireland. Ailill Flann the Little was then King of Munster, and Cormac, grandson of Conn, was then in the kingship of Tara. These began at once to demand and contend for the lapdog. This is the way in which matters were arranged between the three of them; that the bitch should be a certain time in the house of each. Then the bitch litters, and each of them took a pup of her litter; and from that bitch come (all) the lapdogs of Ireland, as the Irish declare.

Bamarb *tra* intoírci. Iarreíb cianaíb, im*morro*, fofuair Connlae *mac* Taidg *maic* Céin *maic* Ailella O'luim clocenn lom indoirci, 7 dobert[1] hiceist dondfilid doluid conairchetul[2] dia athair .i. Moen *mac* Etnae nomen poetæ illius. Tethnae iarum, intéces tre tenm laido, *con*e*pert*: 'Cáin tonna [tige[3]] húi [fo. 80b, col. 3] Eogain,[4] íth hitig húi Chuind cachthádath tobaraind.[5] Basa coem hitig Choir*pri* Musc, aMug héme. Cend Moga heime inso,' olse, 'incetna hoirce dobreth[6] inHérind.'

Mumu de no*mine* ali*cuius* regis, id *est* Eochu Garb Mumu .i. Eocho Mumo .i. mo agreimm 7 agreitt 7 achumachtae oldás cachrí, 7 isdi[a]anmuim rohainmniged Mumu 7 Muimnig dicun*tur*.[7]

Mug q*ua*si múch, aris fo múich 7 fo thodernam fognama bís.

Mugsaine .i. q*ua*si mug snime .i. snim bíss[8] f*or* me*n*main inmoga.

Much[9] *tra* ainm saindiles dodiaid, un*de* di*ci*tur muchad.

Mil .i. mel rotruaillned ann.

Midach q*ua*si medio, ab eo q*uod est* medic*us*.[10]

Mér arindi isahóenur bith[11] isind alt imbi .i. innameracht, 7 isahoenur téit[12] q*ua*si merulus .i. lón, et inde merul*us* gr*a*sce q*uod* uolat solus,[13] 7 nígnáth én aile cid diachinel fodeisin inacóimtecht.

Meracht q*ua*si mericht .i. icht *nó* acht mér .i. gnim mér ab eo q*uod est* actus.[14]

Mairt .i. a Marte .i. o dia chatha la genti dianid ainm Mars, is dó conasecrad[15] allathisin [fo. 81a, col. 1] 7 inmí dianid ainm Mártius .i. mí marta.

Míndech q*ua*si mendio .i. ab eo q*uod est* mendic*us*.[16]

Mart a morte, quasi mort.[17]

Mortlaith .i. a mortalitate.[18]

Manannan *mac* lir .i. cennaigi amrae robói inninis Manand. Ishé lúam[19] isdech robói f*or*muir iniarthar domuin. Rofinnad t*ri*anemgnacht (.i. gne nime) .i. tria deicsin indaeoir,[20] inderet nombiad intsuithnenn[7 in doinenn][21] 7 intan conoemchlabad[22] cechtarde arré. inde Scoti et Britónes eum deum maris uocau*er*unt, et inde filium maris esse dixerunt .i. mac lir; et de no*mi*ne Manann insola[23] Manannan dicta[24] *est*.

[1] combert, LB. [2] donairoetul, L.; co n-ái [.i.] airchetul, LB. [3] *sic*, H. [4] ecgom, L. [5] oech tratha dobarind, H. [6] dobretha, LB. [7] dicantur, L.; dicunt, Y. [8] *L. omits*; biss, Y.; íbs, LB. [9] Mug, L.; much, Y. and LB. [10] .i. liagh, Y.; liaigh, LB. [11] arindí bis ina aonar, Y. [12] isin aonar imteit, Y. [13] .i. etellaigid [a]aonar, Y. [14] .i. gnim, Y. [15] condosecrad, Y. [16] bregach, Y. [17] morte, L.; mort .i. on bass, Y. [18] on mortlaith, Y. [19] luamaire, Y. [20] tria deicsin gne in nime .i. in aeoir, Y. [21] ind airet nobith indtsoinind 7 ind donend, Y. [22] *co*claochlobadh, Y.; nosclaechlóbad, LB. [23] insole, L. [24] dicatus, L.

Now the lapdog died, and long afterwards Connlae, son of Tadg, son of Cian, son of Ailill Bare-ear, found the bare skull of the lapdog, and took it as a puzzle to the poet who had come with a eulogy to his father. Moen, son of Etna, was that poet's name. Then the poet solved it by *tenm láido* 'illumination of song,' and said '*Cain tonna*, etc., Thou wast dear in the house of Coirpre Musc, O Mugh-éme.' This, says he, 'is the head of Mugh-éme, the first lapdog that was brought into Ireland.'

Mumu 'Munster,' from the name of a certain king, to wit, Eochu Garb Mumu, *i.e.* Eochu Mu-mo, *i.e.* Greater (*mó*) his hold and his valour and his power than that of every other king, and from his name Mumu 'Munster,' was named, and Mumnig 'Munster-men,' are (so) called.

Mugh 'slave,' quasi *múch* 'mist,' for it is under the mist and tribulation of slavery he is continually.

Mughsaine 'slavery,' quasi *mugh snime*, the sadness that is on the mind of the slave.

Much, a name proper for smoke, whence is said *múchad* 'to smother.'

Mil 'honey': *mel* has been corrupted therein.

Midach, the name of a Tuath dé Danann leech, quasi *medic*, from *medicus*.

Mér 'blackbird,' because it is alone in the wooded valley where it lives, that is, in its madness (?). And it is alone it goes, quasi *merulus*, i.e. merle, and hence in Greek *merulus*, because it flies alone, and another bird, even of its own kind, is not often in its company.

Meracht 'madness,' quasi *mér-icht*, i.e. *icht* or *acht mér*, i.e. 'action of fingers,' from *actus*.

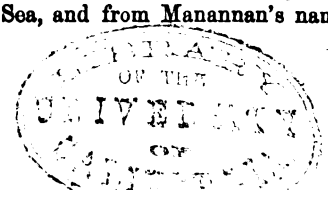
Mairt 'Tuesday,' from Mars, a god of battle with the Gentiles, whose name was Mars. To him that day was consecrated and the month whose name is Martius, that is March.

Mindech 'a bad man' (?), quasi *mendic* from *mendicus*.

Mart 'a beef,' quasi *mort*.

Mortlaith 'mortality,' from *mortalitas*.

Manannan mac lir, a famous merchant who dwelt in the Isle of Mann. He is the pilot who was best at sea in the west of the world. He used to know by studying the heavens, that is by looking at the sky, the time that would be fine weather, and foul weather, and when each of them would change. Hence the Irish and the Britons called him a god of the sea, and hence they said that he was Mac Lir, son of the Sea, and from Manannan's name the Isle of Mann has been called.



Nie .i. *mac* sethar. ut Cú Chulaind *dixit*, profetans de Christi aduentu .i. nie duine ticfa .i. *mac* sethar .i. *mac* sethar duine ticfa, ipse est Iesus.

Nemnall is*sed* ainm as moaib[1] de anmonnaib Héirenn[2] insin .i. nemnuall .i. nuall fer nime imbi.

Nínu*s* .i. nin[ḟ]os .i. nin .i. tonn [rogab foss] .i. tond [tanic don] fairgi anír. dodeochaid[3] iarsindaéor *con*da*for*ruimi[4] isintír [n-ucut], condeirgéni[5] tiprait dí. Inde *dicitur* Corcumruad Nínuiss.

Nemeth .i. nemiath anas dírde[6] doheclais : nemáith anas dírde[6] de ócaib : nemhuath anas dírde[6] dofil*ed*aib.

Néit .i. dia catha lagente Goedel. Nemon uxor illius.

Nacc[7] quasi nécc.

[Nith] .i. guin duine.

Ner .i. torc allaid, ut *est* isnaib Aistib .i. fail nir néit gríse grádaichdae.

Nóe .i. duine, un*de* *dicitur* diandama noe *for*tír .i. dían dama duine *for*tir.

Noes[8] .i. fess[9] n*ón*bair .i. *tri* ríg 7 *tri* epscoip 7 *tri* suid .i. súi filid*echta* 7 súi litre 7 sui bélrai Féne. Robatar huili ocdenam intŚenchasa [Máir].

Nim[b] .i. bróen, ab eo q*uod est* nimbus. Inde *dicitur* isnaBrethaib Némed .i. Oengu*s* fohóiblib[10] imbais aricht roluisc leth[11] fonimib nimb.

Nairnne .i. glaine,[12] no nairnne, am*al* bid naire nobeth and. Senbelræ did*iu* annairesin.[13] Isinann 7 asb*er*tha écin. Isgnath bélrasom [col. 3.] t*ra* [cid indiu] lahIrmúmain maxime, un*de* *dicunt* "Infil ni bes toich duit?" "Fil naire," arinti dianimcomarcar .i. fil eicin.

Nith .i. guin duine. Nie infer dodngni. Neithes da*no* .i. guin[14] duine. ut *est* ní idnae nethis nemthigedar.

Nescoit .i. isé senchas Goidhel .i. intan fechtae cath Muige Tuiredh bui Goibhne gobae isin cerdchai oc denum na narm do Thuathuibh nDea Domnand, 7 búi Luchtaine soer fri[15] denum crand isna goa, 7 boi Credne cerd fri denum semmend innangoe,[16]

[1] mo, Y.; mou, LB. [2] in domuin, Y.; in domain, LB. [3] tonn dodechaid dond fairgi aniar, Y. [4] co torchuir, Y. [5] conderna, Y. [6] dír, Y.; dirge, LB. [7] nac, Y. and LB.; niacc, L. [8] Nos, Y. [9] fis, LB. [10] fohaiblib, Y.; fohuilib, L.; foáiblib, LB. [11] Roloisceth a leth, Y. [12] glám, L.; glain, Y.; gláine, LB. [13] anairenisin, L.; innairesin, Y. [14] guine, L.; guin, Y. and LB. [15] oc, Y. and LB. [16] issna goib, Y.

Nia a sister's son, as said Cúchulainn prophesying of Christ's advent: 'The sister's Son of Man will come, and He is Jesus.'

Nemnuall, this is the noun that is greatest of the nouns of Erin, that is, *Nem-nuall* the acclamation of the men of Heaven around it.

Ninus a place-name, i.e. *nin-fess*, i.e. *nin* 'a wave,' which got *fess* 'an abode,' i.e. a sea-wave from the west which came along the air until it settled in yon country and made a well of itself: whence is said 'Corcumruaid of Ninus.'

Nemeth 'a chapel,' 'a sanctuary,' that is *nem-iath* 'heaven-land,' what is due to the church: *neim-áith* 'poison-sharp,' what is due to soldiers: *neim-uath* 'poison-horror,' what is due to poets.

Néit, a god of battle with the heathen of the Gaels. *Nemon*, his wife.

Nace 'no,' quasi *nec*.

Nith 'the slaying of a human being.'

Ner 'a wild boar,' as is in the Metres, to wit, 'the lair of a boar, the nest of a . . . griffin.'

Noe 'a human being.' Hence is said, "If thou sufferest a *nóe* on land," that is, if thou sufferest any one on land.

Nóes 'customary law,' i.e. *nói-fess* the wisdom of nine persons, to wit, three kings, three bishops and three sages, to wit, a sage of poetry and a sage of history and a sage of the language of the Féni. They were all composing the Senchas Mór.

Nimb 'a shower,' from *nimbus*. Hence is said in the Judgments of the Notables: "Oengus under the sparks of the *imbass* which was invented, half (of him) burnt under heavens of showers."

Nairne 'pure,' or *nairne* as if it were *naire*. Old language is that *nairne*. It is the same as if *éicen* 'indeed,' were said. It is common speech even to-day, in West Munster chiefly, whence they say, "Is there aught that is pleasing to thee?" "*Fil naire*," says he who is asked, that is, "There is indeed."

Nith 'the slaying of a human being.' *Nie*, the man that inflicts it. *Neithes* then, the slaying of a human being, as is said, "Not a weapon of slaughter that dignifies."

Necóit 'a boil.' This is a story of the Gaels. When the (second) Battle of Moytura was fought, Goibniu the Smith was in the forge making the weapons for the Tuatha déa Domnann, and Luchtaine the Wright was making shafts for the spears, and Credne the Brazier was making the rivets of the spears. More-

et dicunt autem Scoti quod Gobne[1] gobae [h]astas faciebat fri teora gressa, 7 ba feth[2] ingres dédenach.[3]

Dogníth dano Luchtaine sóer [na crunda] fri teora snassa, 7 ba feth intsnas dédenach. Síc [faciebat] et Credna nasemmand. Dobidgged iarum Goibne asintenchair nagoa conglentais isindaursain. Dolleiced Luchtaine saer nacranna innandíaid,[4] 7 balor insma doib. Dobidged iarum Credene cerd nasemmend abélaib[5] natenchoire, 7 balór [fo. 81b, col. 1.] insmai doib 7rl. Cene tra buí Goibne gobae occondísin líthe bine foramnái. Adfiadarson didiu doGobnind, 7 basaeth lais, 7 bahetaid imbi. Issed didiu dogéni fris .i. búi crann innalaim intan adféss[6] dó ascél .i. ness a ainm, is imbi dogníther indaurnaisi criad. Dicain [brichtu][7] didiu forsacrandsin, 7 cach fer doniced dobered fuasmaind[8] doncrand. Má adellad iarum induine dohurgbad focétoir cnocc ann lán doloimm chrú[9] 7 gur, 7 foloisced induine amal tene,[10] 7 huaire ba fuath[11] incraind dianidainn 'ness' nobid forsincnucc. Isaire roainmnigset ondanmuimsin as nescoit .i. ness [.i. cnoc] 7 scoítt .i. lind.

Ness tra cetharda fordingair .i. ness cétamus ainm indanmandai 7rl. Ness ainm donchrund ut pradiximus. Ness dano ainm dondaurnisi criad féssin,[12] amal asbert ben araile goibenn[13] dorigéni marbnaith doa[14] fir, dicens:

Badirsan lim sella[d] [col. 2.] friss,
forbir ifr[a]ig derc[15] aniss,
ba binniu nochantais dord
fri derc aniss adabolg.

Ness dano ainm donbeimm 7 doncrecht, ut est isint[Ṡ]enchas Már .i. agrannib cachtomus, aFenib gachforus, ammaínib cach mess.

a dirib cuirp duine, citili afuili,[16] rohordaiged[17] ness.

.i. amal mbes aurgnatu[18] inbaill isin duiniu hifuirmither increcht isfai[19] dano bíth indéraic .i. uerbi gratia .i. mad indagaid no inétan[20] no ismech forrumither incrécht *nó* inaithiss[21] ismóiti ahéraic 7 rl. amal rongab isint[Ṡ]enchus Már .i. mad fohetach *immorro* bis increcht *nó* indainim islugu son.[22]

[1] Gobniu, Y. [2] feith, Y. [3] degenach, L.; in tress gress, Y. [4] -díaig, L. [5] agobaib, LB. [6] adfedes, L.; atfes, Y.; atoúas, LB. [7] *sic*, LB. [8] fuasmad, Y.; fuasma ind, LB. [9] do lind chrú, Y.; do lindchro, LB. [10] tenid, LB. [11] arba hé fuath, Y. and LB. [12] fissin, L. [13] gobenn, Y.; gobann, LB. [14] dia, Y. and LB. [15] deiro, L.; derc, Y.; dercc, LB. [16] cidhat ili fuile, Y.; ciadat ile a fuile, LB. [17] rohairdiged, Y.; rohainmniged, LB. [18] urgnacht, LB. [19] issai, L.; isfai, Y.; as foi, LB. [20] anétan, L.; inetan, Y. [21] forruimther indathais, Y. [22] luga, Y.

over the Scoti say that Goibniu the Smith used to make spears by three processes, and the last process was the finish. Then Luchtaine the Wright would make the shafts by three cuts, and the last cut was the finish. So also Credne made the rivets. Then Goibniu used to cast the spear-heads out of the tongs, so that they stuck in the door-post. Luchtaine the Wright used to cast the spear-shafts out after them, and this was enough to set them in. Then Credne the Brazier would fling the rivets from the jaws of the tongs, and this was enough to insert them. Now while Goibniu was at that business, a crime is charged against his wife. That then is told to Goibniu, and it was grievous to him, and he grew jealous thereat. This is what he did in consequence. When the tidings were told him there was a pole in his hand, Ness is its name, and round it the furnace of clay is made, and he sings spells over that pole, and to every man who came to him, he would give a blow with the pole. If, then, the man escaped, a lump full of gory liquid and matter would rise and burn the man like fire. And because the form of the pole called *Ness* used to be on the lump, therefore they called it *nes-scóit* from that name, to wit, *ness* 'a lump,' and *scóit* 'a liquid.'

Ness, then, means four things, to wit:

Ness, first, the name of the animal (the weasel), etc.

Ness, a name for the pole, as we have said before.

Ness, then, a name for the furnace of clay itself, as said the wife of a certain smith who made an elegy for her husband, saying:

'Tis sad to me to look at him:
The red flame of his furnace grows into the wall:
Very sweet was the bass which his two bellows
Would chant to the hole of his furnace.'

Ness, then, is the name for the blow and for the wound, as is (said) in the Senchas Mór:

From grains every measurement, from the Féni every law, from treasures every appraisement,
From the fines for a man's body, though many be his wounds, the *ness* was graduated.

That is, according to the dignity of the member in the person on whom the wound is inflicted, so then is the eric. For example, if the wound or the insult is inflicted on the face, or the forehead, or the chin, the greater is its eric, etc., as is in the Senchas Mór. If, however, the wound or the blemish is under the clothing the eric is less.

[Ollam .i.] olldam .i. oll adám .i. cethrar ar . xx . Alit*er* [ollam .i.] ollhuam .i. am[ail]as nannsae saigid huame bis inaild síc isdoirb[1] saigid *for* dán 7 ei[c]si indollaman. Ailit*er* [ollam .i.] olldieim .i. oll aní dieim.[2]

O'i .i. cauru,[3] un*de* d*icitur* oisc .i. ói seisc.

Omelgg[4] .i. ói melg .i. isi aimser insin hitic ass cáirach[5] melgg [col. 3.] .i. ass, arindí melgair.[6]

O'en q*uasi* ún, ab eo q*uod est* un*us*.

Oénach .i. une[7] ech.

Oeth .i. luige.[8]

Oar .i. guth.[9]

O'ech .i. namae.

Orb .i. no*men* uiri a quo Oirbrige.[10]

Og quasi ob, id est ouum.[11]

Ordd .i. ab ordine.

Olchobor .i. occobor laiss ól.

Ornn[12] .i. orguin.[13]

Om in bid, *grec*c truaillnide insin .i. omon isinGréicc .i. cruor isinLaitin.

Opar[14] .i. ab op*er*atione.

Ong fochid[15] 7 cosc: inde d*ictum est* cossaig dom*ac*, aFithil, cotreseat[16] a oing.

Oraitt .i. óratio.[17]

Oslugud .i. huaslecud .i. lecud suas nacomlad.

Ogtách[18] .i. ogthech .i. ogude athech diabuith fair.

O'r quasi aur .i. ab auro.

Orcc treith .i. no*men* domac ríg, *tríath enim* rex uocatur [unde dixit poeta:] Oenach nuircc tréith .i. biad 7 étach lógmar, cluim 7 coilcid, [cuirm 7 cárna[19]] 7 brannub 7 fithchell, hech 7 carput[20] 7 mílchoin 7 éisrechta olchena.

Orcc da*no* ainm do brattán. Inde d*ixit* cend Lomnai druith iarnabein[21] de: "Orcc brecc brondfinn bruchtas [fo. 82a, col. 1.]

[1] am*ail* is doil*ig* uaim bis fo aill do togail no saigid uaime bis fo aill, sic is doilig, Y. [2] is oll inni ditness .i. cethrar ar fichit, no oll diemid .i. ollam ernes nacesta, Y. [3] caora, Y.; caera, LB. [4] óimelc, Y.; oimelc, LB. [5] cáirich, L.; is aimser andain tic as cairach, Y. [6] blegar, Y. and LB. [7] aine, Y.; úne, LB. [8] luidhe no eithech, Y.; luige no éthech, LB. [9] LB. *adds* no gairm. [10] orbroige nominatur, Y. [11] .i. og, LB.; .i. ogh, Y. [12] orn, Y. [13] creach no orguin, LB. [14] *sic*, L. and Y.; opair, LB. [15] ong .i. foiched, Y. [16] cot sescait, Y.; con secait, LB. [17] ab oratione .i. airnaigthi, Y. [18] ogthach, Y.; ochtach, LB. [19] *sic*, LB. [20] branndub 7 fidhcella, eich 7 carpait, Y. [21] iarna beimeim, Y.

Ollam 'professor,' that is *oll* 'great' his *dám* 'retinue,' that is, four-and-twenty men. Aliter *ollam*, i.e. *oll-uam*, as it is difficult to go to a cave (*uam*) which is in a cliff (*all*) so it is hard to attain to the poetry and learning of the Ollam. *Aliter Ollam*, i.e. *oll-dieim*, i.e. great (*oll*), is what protects (*dieim*) him, (the train of twenty-four persons).

O'i 'sheep.' Hence is said *óise*, i.e. 'a dry ewe.'

O'imelgg 'the first day of spring,' that is *ói-melgg* 'ewe-milk,' that is the time at which the sheep's milk comes. *Melgg*, i.e. milk, because it *melgar* 'is milked.'

Oen 'one,' quasi *ún*, from *unus*.

Oenach 'a fair,' that is *une ech* 'contention of horses.'

Oeth 'an oath.'

Oar 'a voice.'

Oech 'an enemy.'

Orb, the name of the man from whom are the Orbraige.

Og 'egg,' quasi *ob*, i.e. *ovum*.

Ord 'rank,' from *ordo*.

Olchobor, a man's name, i.e. drink (*ol*) is a desire (*accobor*) with him.

Orn 'destruction.'

Om 'raw' of the food. That is Greek corrupted: ὠμὸν in the Greek: *cruor* [leg. *crudum* ?] in the Latin.

Opar 'a work,' from *operatio*.

Ong 'tribulation,' and 'chastisement': hence was said, 'Chastise thy son, O Fithel, till his tribulations' . . .

Orait 'prayer,' 'blessing,' from *oratio*.

Oslucud 'an opening,' i.e. *uas-lecud* 'up-letting,' i.e. letting up the valve.

Ogtach 'ridge-pole,' i.e *óg-thech* 'perfect house,' i.e. the house (*tech*) is the more perfect (*ógu-de*) from its being thereon.

O'r 'gold,' quasi *aur* from *aurum*.

Orc tréith, a name for a king's son, for a king is called *triath*, whence a poet said *oenach oirc tréith* 'a king's son's fair,' to wit, food and costly raiment, feathers and quilt, ale and flesh-meat, draught-board and chess-board, horse and chariot and grey-hounds, and toys besides.

Orc also is a name for a salmon. Hence said the head of Lomna the Fool, after it had been cut off him: "A speckled white-bellied

demagur fo muirib nilabar nitoe tuathe toro nadric roimsi rorannais raind nad chert Coirpri."

Isde di*diu* boe anisein dossom.

Find huaBaiscne, is dó robo druth Lomnae midlach. Luid di*diu* Find lathe nand forcuaird selga. Darruaraid[1] Lomna hifus.[2] Búi ben laFind, de Luignib[3] di, áror[4] em cech roilbe 7 cech rofid nognathaiged Find conafeind[5] nobith ben aurdaltae arachind as cach tír banessom do béos. Batir banbrugid son, 7 batir maithi do[im]fulang nafiann, arnolethad ananae tar[na]tire, arnflamthe[7] nech olc friu. Docoemnacair[8] di*diu* fecht nann Find hiTethbae co[n]afeinn, 7 luid forcuaird selga. Dorruaraid tra Lomnae hifuss. Ambuiside occ imthecht immuig cofarnaic Coirpre .i. fennid doLuignib, illiugu lamnái Find hitáidiu. Rogaid di*diu* inben doLomnae adichlid, 7 basáith laissom brath Finn. Tic Find iarom. Benaid Lomnai di*diu* ogum hifleisc chetharchuir. Is*sed* [col. 2.] búi intiside .i.

Cuaillne fernae hi felaim[9] argaitt ath[aba] hifothrocht.[10] Fer mna druithe druthlach lafeinn[11] foircthe. hifroech[12] forhualaind linim luigi.[13]

Rofitir iarum Find ascel, 7 ba dognasach donmnái. Rofitir di*diu* inben is oLomnai rofess, 7 docuas[14] húadi coCoirpre cotaudchiss*ed* coromarb*ad* indrúth. Dognith són dano iarum, 7 tallad achenn de, 7 tambert Coirpre laiss.[15] Tic iarom Find dond huarbuid déod lái, cofarnaic in cholaind cen chenn. "Colunn sunn cen chend!" arFind. "Fintae dúnd," olind fiann "coich incholunn." Dobert iarum Find ahordain innabéolu, [7] dicain[16] tre thenm-láido, condepeirt: "Níconrubai dóini niconarlaig nicontopaig nais nicodergraig[17] nícorubai thorcc nicotorgrae niconarbairt[18] alige Lomnai. Colann Lomnai inso," olFinn, "7 rohucsat[19] namait acenn de."

Ticsid[20] dínaib[21] conaib 7 dosleicit forsinslicht.[22] Téid di*diu* Find forsin slicht na nóc, 7 rosfuair[23] hifastig ocfuiniu heisc forindein,[24] 7 bae cenn Lomnai forbir hicinn natened.[25] INcét

[1] Doruaraid, Y. and LB. [2] ibfus, Y. [3] *sic*, Y.; laignib, L. [4] arón, Y. [5] fein, Y. [6] in, Y. and LB. [7] tarna tirib cona lamad, Y. [8] deccomnacuir, Y. [9] feilm, Y. [10] athaba ifothlacht ifolurg .i. forlurg, LB. [11] fene, Y. [12] is fraoch, Y. [13] limm luigne, Y.; luimm lúigne, LB. [14] teit techta, LB. [15] co tudchaid side coro marb an druth, Y.; 7 co tall a cenn de combert lais, Y. [16] 7 dochain, Y. [17] ni cu dergraigi, Y. [18] ni con ruba torc ni *con*fornae ni contorgrae ni curarbairt, Y. [19] ronucsat, Y. [20] Ticsaid .i. benaid, LB. [21] Ticsat dona, Y. [22] for slicht na nog, Y. [23] fosfuair, Y. [24] for indiuin, Y. [25] for bir ocon teinid, Y.

salmon that bursts . . . . . Thou hast portioned a portion that is not fair, O Coirpre."

Thus, then, that happened to it. Finn, grandson of Baiscne, had as his fool Lomna the Coward. One day Finn went on a hunting excursion. Lomna remained at home. Finn had a wife of the Luigni, for on every mountain and in every forest that Finn and his Fiann used to frequent, there was a certain woman awaiting him from the neighbouring country. These were female land-holders, and they were good to support the Fiann, for their wealth spread over the territories, so that no one durst do evil to them. Once, then, it happened that Finn was in Teffia with his Fiann, and he went on a hunting excursion. Lomna stayed at home. While he was walking outside he found Coirpre, a champion of the Luigni, lying secretly with Finn's wife. Then the woman entreated Lomna to conceal it, but indeed it was grievous to him to betray Finn. Then Finn comes back. Lomna cuts an ogham on a four-cornered rod. This is what was therein: 'A stake of alder in . . . of silver, deadly nightshade in brook-lime. The husband of a lewd woman . . . with the well-taught Fiann. There is heather on Ualann . . .' Then Finn understood the story, and he became disgusted with the woman. So the woman knew that it was from Lomna, and she sent to Coirpre that he might come and kill the Fool. That then was done, and the Fool's head was cut off, and Coirpre took it away with him. Finn, at close of day, comes back to the hunting-bothy and found the headless body. 'A body here without a head!' says Finn. 'Make known to us,' say the Fiann, 'whose is the body.' Then Finn put his thumb into his mouth, and he chanted by *tenm ldido* 'illumination of song,' and he said: 'Not . . . . . from Lomna's bed. This is Lomna's body,' says Finn. 'His enemies have taken the head from him.'

They slip the sleuth-hounds and put them on the track. Finn goes on the track of the warriors and found them in an empty house cooking fish upon a gridiron, and Lomna's head was on

[col. 3.] lucht doralad[1] dindin[deoin] rantai Coirpre doa[2] trib nonburaib, 7 ni tardad dantmír imbéolu inchinn olsodain.[3] Bageis lafiannu.[4] Is andsein iarum asbert [a cend] fríu: "Orcc brecc bronnfind [bruchtas di magar fo muirib] inbratan di magur .i. issed adomnae."

INlucht tanaissi dano doralad[5] dindinn[eo]in rantai[6] Coirpre iterum priori modo, coclos ni dano, acenn: "Rorannais raind fonnail[7] nathrainn rann[8] nathbaig iarmuig medbae mós batoich mir metuail[9] bit fuaitne finna[10] lib Luigni. "Cuirid immag acend, sechas mi[f]ocul dunn," olCoirpri. Coclos ní, acenn dimuig. "Romechtatar cleth chuiri riuth ruirthech. Age catha cet ambá mescbaith. bacomme lib moage. ba condimdai biid moag tein doalasfaid Luigni laFind didiu.

[Lasin dodechaid Finn cucu, conid romarb.[11]]

Pátraicc a patricio : patricius autem qui ad latus regis sedet.

Pell .i. a pelle.[12]

[Pennait .i. a] pennitentia.

Peccad .i. ape[c]cato.

Pattu .i. póitho .i. pói coss : is to didiu forruimi inphattu [fo. 82b, col. 1.] achossa, ol ni lugu bís finn fo a dernaind oldas fuirri anúas.

Propost .i. prepost .i. praspositus.[13]

Port .i. a portu.[14]

Parche .i. a parruchia.

Parnn .i. nomen do blo[a]ch mara. Ní cech[15] díhalt[16] tra rosegar inne.[17] Nipmachdad lanech cini fiastar can doroich bloach dindi as parnn, et alia similia.

Puincne .i. screpul mede inbiche. ishe insin screpul Goidel .i. ofing.

Pugin [sellán] imbe .i. sellán cernnæ.[18]

Paín .i. bairgen, a páne. Inde est isin Gairi Echdach maic Luchtai .i. mo thri finndni fomgeillsat .i. imm ailt nEochach ailchetail gaire delóilig find forscing scailtir codipil promthair pain la pugin puinceirnn lasiail cernnach[19] cermnais coimmilg cuicbo bithbí cotamuicc midligen goss gessen cenosmessed connach innabethu baa.

[1] rolaad, Y. [2] dia, Y. [3] disodain, LB. [4] la find, Y. [5] dorala, Y. [6] randais, Y. [7] fond naile, Y.; fofael, LB. [8] raind, Y. [9] mo mir metail, Y. [10] fianna, Y. [11] *sic*, Y. [12] .i. ón croicend, Y. [13] [i.] nech remsuidigthe, Y. [14] a porta .i. on port, Y. [15] thiced, L.; cech, Y. and LB. [16] ndialt, Y.; dialt, LB. [17] ni cech ndialt tra rosegar a inne, Y. [18] Puingind .i. selland imme .i. selland cernae, Y.; Pinginn salund imbe .i. seland cernae innain .i. offaing, LB. [19] cennach, Y.; cenach, LB.

'a spit hard by the fire. The first batch that was taken from the gridiron, Coirpre distributes it to his thrice nine men, and not a morsel thereof was put into the mouth of the head. That was a *geis* (magical prohibition) of the Fiann's. So then spake the head to them: 'A speckled white-bellied *oro*, the salmon from a . . . this is his . . .'

The second batch, then, that came from the gridiron Coirpre distributes it again in the same way. Then was heard somewhat: the head (saying): 'Thou hast portioned a portion . . .' 'Put out the head,' says Coirpre, 'though it be an evil word for us.' Then was heard somewhat: the head from outside (saying): '*Romechtatar*,' etc.

With that Finn came up to them and slew them.

Pátraic 'Patrick' from *Patricius*. *Patricius* is one who sits beside the king.

Pell 'a covering,' from *pellis*.

Pennait 'penance,' from *poenitentia*.

Peccad 'sin,' from *peccatum*.

Pattu 'a hare,' i.e. *poi-tó*, i.e. *poi* 'foot,' silently (*tó*) does the hare put its foot down, for not less is hair under its sole than on it above.

Propost 'provost,' i.e. *prepost*, i.e. *praepositus*.

Port 'a port,' from *portus*.

Parche 'parish,' from *parochia*.

Parn, a name for a whale (?) of the sea. Not every syllable attains a meaning. Let no one wonder then though he know not whence *bloach* applies to a *parn*, et alia similia.

Puincne, a scruple of the notched beam. That is the scruple of the Gaels, to wit, an *ofing*.[1]

Pugin [leg. *Puinginn*?] . . . . . .

Páin 'a cake,' from *panis*; hence it is in the *Gaire* of Echaid son of Luchta, "My three," etc.

[1] The *afaing* .i. screpul of O'Davoren, p. 48.

Puincernn di*diu* cernn tomais sellae 7 med tomais indile .i. in med inbech.

[col. 2.] Pend .i. a penna.

Pertice .i. a p*er*tica .i. f*or*rach tomais tíre.

Pairt .i. a parte.

Póc q*ua*si pac .i. a pace, ar is ardhe sída in póc.

Praind .i. a prandio.

Prull aidbligud 7 métugud,[1] ut dixit ingen húi Dulsaini inbanlécer*t*[2] f*ri* Senchan Torpest hiManaind .i.

immomloiscet[3] modánó[4] prull.

F*ri*sgart iar*um* intécsine dimuintir Senchain .i.

incherd m*ac* húi Dulsaine

oLia[i]cc doTaursaigi Tull.

ISde t*ra* búi do Ṡenchan anísein.

Tochairastar[5] fair techt imManaind .i. fecht aniusa do chor chuarta indi. cóeca eices allín cenmotha[6] éicsiniu. Is[ing] má rodbuí di*diu*[7] riam imnach naili néices samail inchumdaig búi um Ṡenchán cid cenmotha a thugain[8] suad 7rl. Arrombuí dech da*no* do thimthaigib[9] ḟer (*sic*) nGóidel is*sed* b*er*tatar umpu indéicis chenae.

INtan t*ra* documlaiset forfairgi 7 dochorsatar aurlunn[10] f*ri*tír, atagladastar gilldae écuisc am*al* dastai[11] inandiaid dentír: 'Nomleicidse lib,' olsé. Doécet huile [col. 3.] ingilla. Niipu data[12] leo iar*um* alecud chucu arba fáe[13] leo nibu én comadas inna neill.[14] Arbádochruid ahécosc. Intan, cetam*us*, do[m]b*er*ed nech amer f*or*a etan nothéged athoesc digur brén [tria chluasaib] f*or*adichulaid: a chongr*us* chraiche[15] dó daramullach commoithan ada imdaid.[16] Ata lanech assidcid batar[17] caib ahinchindi romebdatar trea chlocenn. Cuirrithir og luin adíṡuil, duibithir écc [a drech:] luaithidir fiamuin[18] [a fégad]; buidithir ór rinn a fiacla, glassidir bun cuilinn ambun: dalurgain lomchoila: daseirid[19] birdai[20] brecduba fou. Dia tallta de inceirt bui imbi nícbu decmaing di techt f*or*imirghi a hoenur, manifuirmithe cloch fuirri, arimbud amṡl. Dorriucart commor[21] f*ri* Senchan 7 asbert f*ris*: 'Beatorbachasu[22] deitsiu,' olse, 'olldas ind ré f*or*uallach[23] f*or*baeth fil imut.' 'Insetir[24]

[1] médugud, L.; metugad, Y. [2] in bainlethcerd, Y.; in banlecerd, H.; in bannlicerd, LB. [3] imanomloiscet, L.; imomloiscet, Y.; immomloiscet, H. [4] modeno, L.; modanoo, H. [5] docor*us*tair, Y.; dei cor*us*tar, H.; docorustar, LB. [6] cinmothat, LB. [7] *L. repeats* di*diu*. [8] stuigen, LB. [9] H. inserts fiathe. [10] docorustar a lúi no urland, Y. [11] an ind*us*tae, Y.; an industai, H. [12] cáin, LB. [13] ar fæ leo, H. [14] dia n-elta, LB. [15] craicei, H. [16] imdad, H. [17] *sic*, Y.; badhar, L.; bótar, H. [18] luiathidir fiamum, L.; luaithitir fiamain, Y. [19] daṡeirr, L.; da seirr, H.; da sheirith, Y.; da serid, LB. [20] birrdai, L.; birdae, Y. [21] o guth mor, Y. [22] bem torbachsa, Y. [23] *sic*, Y. H. and LB.; forthuallach, L. [24] *sic* Y.; Insétar, H.; indester, LB.

Puincern, then, a dish for measuring a *seland*,[1] and a beam for weighing cattle, *i.e.* the notched-beam.

Penn 'a pen,' from *penna*.

Pertic, from *pertica*, a pole for measuring land.

Pairt 'a part,' from *pars*.

Póc 'a kiss,' quasi *pac*, from *pax*, for the kiss is a sign of peace.

Praind 'dinner,' from *prandium*.

Prull, greatly increasing and magnifying, as said Hua Dulsaine's daughter, the female rhymer, to Senchán Torpéist in Mann, to wit:

"My two ears burn me greatly" (*prull*).

Then answered the bardling of Senchán's family:

"The artist, son of Hua Dulsaine,
From Liacc of Taursaig Tull."

Now that happened to Senchán thus: It came to pass that he went to Mann, an excursion of pleasure, to make a circuit therein. Fifty poets were his retinue beside bardlings. Scarcely any poet had worn such a dress as Senchán had upon him, besides his sage's gown, etc. And what was best of the men of the Gaels' garments, this the other poets wore about them.

So when they had put to sea, and set (their) steering-oar to land, a foul-faced gillie called after them from the shore as if he were mad: "Let me go with you!" says he. They all look at the gillie. They did not like to let him come to them, for they deemed that he was not a bird fit for their flock, for his aspect was hideous. For, first, when any one would put his finger on his forehead, a gush of putrid matter would come through his ears on his poll. A *congrus craiche* (?) he had over the crown of his head to the gristle of his two shoulders. It seemed to every one who looked at him that the layers of his brain had broken through his skull. Rounder than a blackbird's egg were his two eyes; blacker than death his face; swifter than a fox his glance; yellower than gold the points of his teeth; greener than holly their base; two shins bare, slender; two heels spiky, black-speckled under him. If the rag that was round him were stript off, it would not be hard for it to go on a flitting alone, unless a stone were put upon it, because of the abundance of its lice. He shouted mightily to Senchán, and said to him, 'I should be more profitable to thee than the proud and wanton crew that is around thee.' 'Is it

[1] 'a ration of honey consisting of four eggfuls,' see O'Dav. 118, s.v. *Se(a)llann*.

latsu,' olSenchan, 'tuidecht iarsind lúith issin churach?' 'Promthit[1]' olse. Cingthi iarum iarsind luid isincurach, luaithidir lochaid iar forga[r]muin, combúi isincurach. Basuail tra corroib-[fo. 83a, col. 1.] -thide[2] in curach cona lucht arindi rombrochsat[3] indeicis riasom[4] asindala leith indlestair issalleth[5] naill, 7 asbertatar amal bid asind oéngin: 'Totro[r]pai[6] peist, aSenchan! Bíd si dano domuinter huile acht conerlám[7] dochom tíri."

Is disein rohainmniged dosom Senchan Torpéist .i. Senchan dororpai peist.[8]

Recat iarum iManaind. Dofócbat[9] acoblach hitír. Ambatar didiu hitír ocimthecht iarsintráig conacatar insentaindi mongléith móir forsin[10] carraicc, ocbuáin nafemna[11] 7 inmuirthoraid[12] olchenai. Airegdai gratai acossa 7 aláma, acht natbúi[13] etach maith impi, 7 búi anféth gorta fuirri; 7 ba liach ón immorro, árbasísi inbanlécerd ingen huiDulsaine dé Muscrugu Líacc Tuill acrích húaFígenti. Dochuaidside forcuaird Héirenn 7 Alban 7 Manann, 7 ba marb amuinter huile.

[col. 2.] Bui iarum abráthair mac húi Dulsaine, cerd amrae sidhe, oca hiarmóracht focricha Héirenn, 7 nísfuair 7rl.

INtan didiu atchonnairc[14] intsentainne innaheícsi[u] immoscoem-orcair[15] ceptar hé. Asbert iarum araili díb: 'Maith in re[16] immidcommairc. Senchán heices Héirenn huili [inso]' 7rl. 'INnotbia de humeldoit? a Senchán,' olsi, 'anad rommath-escsa?'[17] 'Rombía ém,' olSenchán.

Nipsa eola imnid odbaig[18]
ceso femmuin mbolgaig mbuŋg.

'Cate a leth-chomorgg?'[19] Sochtaid iarum Senchan 7 indéicis[20] huili dano. Doling lasodain ingilla remeperthe arbeolu Senchán anasbert: 'Tá,[21] achaillech! na hacaldai Senchán,[22] ní comadas deitt. Atomglaitese amne, ol nitaicelladar[23] nachaile dim muintirse.' 'Cid didiu?' ol in banleicerd, 'cate a lethrand?' 'Ni anse,' olse:

De muin carrci mara Manann
doronad mór saland sund.

[1] promfit, Y.; promfid, H.; proimfimit fris, LB. [2] corroibdithe, Y.; nach beite, LB. [3] robroccsat, I.B. [4] roimesium. [5] *sic*, H.; isalleith, L. [6] dotrorbai, Y.; dotrobai, H. [7] coroisium, LB. [8] Y. *adds* no paist. [9] fonacbat, Y. [10] iarsin, Y. [11] na femnuige, Y. [12] murthoracht, Y. [13] nadmbui, H. [14] atcondairc, H. [15] immoscoemcorcuir, L.; immuscæmorcair, H. [16] niath ire, L.; ni athire, H.; math ire, Y. [17] frim aithescsa, Y.; frim aithesxa, H. [18] adpaig, L.; odbaigh, Y.; adbaig, H. and LB. The right reading must be *odbaig*, rhyming with *mbolgaig*. [19] lethcomarc, Y.; lethcomrac, LB. [20] indéices, L. [21] asbert sta, Y.; asbertta, L.; anusbertai, H. [22] niraga il-leth Senchain, LB. [23] olnidaculdadhar, H.

possible for thee,' said Senchán, 'to come along the steering-oar into the boat?' 'I will try it,' says he. So he goes along the steering-oar into the boat, swifter than a shuttle along a weaver's beam, till he was in the boat. Now the boat with its crew was nearly swamped, because the poets pressed before him from the one side of the vessel to the other. And they said, as it were with one mouth: "A monster hath come to thee, O Senchán, and it will be thy whole family, provided we escape to land."

Hence he was named Senchán Torpéist, that is, Senchán to whom a monster (*péist*) hath come.

Then they reach Mann and haul their boat on land. Now while they were ashore, going along the beach, they saw an old woman, grey-haired and big, on the rock, reaping the sea-weed and the other sea-produce. Refined and noble were her feet and hands; but there was no goodly raiment around her, and upon her was the evil aspect of famine. Now that was a pity, for she was the female rhymer, the daughter of Húa Dulsaine of Muskerry, of Liacc Tull, from the territory of Húi Fidgente. She had gone on a circuit of Erin and Alba and Mann, and all her company was dead.

Now her brother, the son of Hua Dulsaine, a marvellous artist he, was seeking her throughout the territories of Ireland, and found her not.

So when the old woman saw the poets, she asked them who they were. Said a certain one of them: "Good are those thou questionest. This is Senchán, the poet of the whole of Erin," etc. "Wilt thou be humble enough, O Senchán," says she, "to wait and give me an answer?" "I will, in sooth," says Senchán. [Then she said:]

"I have no knowledge of knotty[1] tribulation,
Although it is blistered sea-weed that I reap."

"What is its corresponding half-quatrain?" Then Senchán is silent and all the other poets. But then the aforesaid gillie springs before Senchán and said: "Hearken, O hag! address not Senchán: 'tis not fitting for thee: but address me, for no other of my family holds speech with thee." "Well, then," says the female rhymer, "what is this other half-quatrain?" "Not hard," saith he:

"From the surface of the crag of the Sea of Mann
Much salt hath been made here."

[1] *i.e.* dark and hard, like a knot in a tree.

"ISfír," olsi, 7 inlethrann hísiu dano .i.

immomloiscet modá nao prull.

Cate alethrann, aSenchain, beos?" [col. 3.] "Amin," olingilla, "ocsaigid deit acallma Senchain. nitacelladar ém." "Cesi didiu, cate latsom? olíssem.[1] Olsessom:

incerd mac Húi Dulsaine.
oLiac do Tairsaige Tull."

"Fír son," olSenchan. "Intussu ingen Húi Dulsaine inbanléicerd occa táthar chuinchid sethno[2] Héirenn?"

"ISme ém," olsí. Fothruicther iarum laSenchán,[3] 7 dobrar dechelt[4] amra[5] impe, 7 dodeochaid laSencán inHeirinn.[6] INtan, tra, donanic Senchan inHéirinn[7] conaccatar ingillai remeperthe,[8] ba hóclach comoing órbuidi caissidir carra mennorott. Tlacht rígdha imme: delb isairegdam[9] atcess for duine fair.

Dothoet dessiul Senchain 7 amuintere, et nusquam apparuit ex illo tempore. Dubium itaque non est quod ille poematis erat spiritus.

Rectaire .i. rettor [leg. rector] a rege.

Ross .i. tréde fordingair .i. ross fidbuidi 7 ross lín 7 ross huisci. sain didiu accuiss as(ro)hainmniged cachae .i. ross fidbuide, cetamus .i. roi[10] oss: ross lin dano, rohás: ross huisci dano rofoss son, [fo. 83b col. 1.] oir nibi[11] acht for marb-huisci.

Remm ainm do fuirseóir fobith cech fuirseorachta 7 cách riasta[r]da dobeir foraaigid.

Rintaid ainm dofir aerchaid[12] rinnas cach naigid.

Rout .i. roset .i. mó oldas sét, semitta son unius animalis. Atátt tra ilanmann forsnaconairib .i. sét 7 rout 7 ramut 7 slige 7 lamrottea 7 tuagrotea 7 bothur.

sét cetamus ut prediximus.

róut .i. dáchubat carbat 7 daoenechda imbi.[13] doronad frihechraite mennato immedon.[14]

ramut .i. [mó] oldas róut .i. aurscur bis fordún ríg. cech comaithech asa tir dodróig[15] dlegar dó a glanad.

[1] olsi, Y. and H. [2] cuingidh sechnon, Y. [3] Y. *adds* dí. [4] étach, LB. [5] dobret dechelt n-amra, Y. [6] docum neirenn, Y. [7] tangatar docum nerend, Y. [8] nemeperthe, L.; remepertae, Y. [9] is airegdai, L.; is airechdam, Y. [10] *sic*, LB.; reoi, Y.; ruf, L. [11] nirbi, L. [12] aorchaid, Y.; aerad, LB.; fæschâid, L. [13] dacubat carpat 7 daonechdae imme, Y.; dacumat *nó* dachuat carpat doaenach dae imme, LB. The text here is corrupt, and my version is a mere guess. [14] armedon, Y. [15] dotroich, Y.; doró chuige, L.

"That is true," saith she, "and this half-quatrain moreover:

. . . . . .

My two ears burn me greatly.

What, O Senchán, is its half-quatrain also?"

"Verily," says the gillie, "thou art attempting to converse with Senchán; he holds no speech with thee." "What then," saith she, "what is it according to thee?" Saith the gillie:

"The artist, son of Hua Dulsaine,
From Liacc of Taursaig Tull."

"That is true," saith Senchán. "Art thou the daughter of Hua Dulsaine, the female rhymer, for whom there is searching throughout Ireland?"

"I am, indeed," saith she. Then she is washed by Senchán, and a wonderful dress is put upon her, and she went with Senchán to Ireland. Now, when Senchán arrived in Ireland, they saw the aforesaid gillie, that he was a young hero with golden-yellow hair curlier than cross-trees of small harps: royal raiment he wore, and his form was the noblest that hath been seen on a human being.

He went right-hand-wise round Senchán and his people, and thenceforward he never appeared. It is not, therefore, doubtful that he was the Spirit of Poetry.

Rechtaire 'a steward,' i.e. *rector*, from *rex*.

Ross, three things it means: *ross* 'a wood,' and *ross* 'flax-seed,' and *ross* of water ('duckweed'). The cause for which each of them was so named is different. *Ross* 'a wood,' in the first place, that is *roe-oss* an abode (?) of deer; *ross* 'flax-seed,' then *ro-dss* 'great growth;' *ross* of water, *ro-foss* that is 'great rest,' for it (duckweed) is only found on stagnant water.

Remm, a name for a buffoon, because of every buffoonery and every distortion which he puts on his face.

Rintaid, a name for a satirical (?) man who wounds every face.

Rót 'a road,' i.e. *ro-sét* 'a very great path,' i.e. greater than a *sét*, the path, that, of one animal. Now there are many names for the ways, to wit, *sét* and *rót*, and *rámut*, and *slige*, and *lám-rótas*, and *tuag-rótas*, and *bóthar*.

sét, in the first place, as we have said:

rót, two lengths of chariots and two one-horse vehicles (?) on it: it was made for the horses of a mansion in the middle.

rámut, i.e. greater than a *rót*, an area which is in front of the King's fort. Every neighbour whose land reaches it is bonnd to cleanse it.

sligi dano doscuat[1] carpait sech innaile, dorrónad fri himcomrac[2] dacarpat .i. carpat rig 7 carpat epscoip arandig cechtar dib sech araile.[3]

laimroitea .i. etor dá sligi .i. sligi tar tuaiscerd mendato alaile tar deiscerd frilessu fricui doronad.

tuagroitea focren fer trebar conair do ascnam raitea nó sleibe. issi iarum afochraicc anamin cach díne[4] immidrét cachala bliadain.

bothur, talla daboin fair, ala[n]ai forfot, alaili fortarsnu, aratalla allaegu 7 angamnu an[a f]arrad,[5] armad inna ndiaid beit íurthus[6] inbó bias diheiss.

Attat tri glantae docachae. Teora aimsera inglanaiter[7] .i. aimser [col. 2.] ech-rúathair 7 amser chue 7 amser choctha. Itte[8] a tri nglantae,[9] glanad afeda 7 ahuisci 7 acoclaid.

IThe aicsin[10] aranglanaiter .i. arna heillnet acarptea[11] ocdul for cúi,[12] arnahuallnet[13] echraide oc techt do oenuch. A choclaid arnahesarlaither nech fair octecht fothressu.[14]

Réo .i. gréic, reoi enim grece gelu interpretatur.

Rincne .i. quasi quinque. Inde dicitur Ferches mac Mosechess dixit intan adrímed Finn hua Baiscni cech coiciur ahuair[15] de sluag Luig[dech] maic Néit[16] dochuinchid ind[f]éindedo .i. Ferchess. Lassin didiu adacht Ferchiss tren foachnamai sech Find, 7 dolleici inslig for Luigid[17] conid romarb, 7 asbert occo : " Rincne cairincne ris[18] riig " .i. arbahed asbered[19] Finn beos o adrímed cach cóiciur arhuair.[20] Rincne quasi quinque.

Robuth quasi rebuth .i. rembu[b]thad.[21]

Retghlu .i. rét glé .i. ar[a]suilsi.

Roth .i. a rota.[22]

Rucht .i. inar, ut Ferchertne dixit .i. [ro ir dam] dech ruchtu dirggu.

Rúdrath .i. rodurath.

Ruam quasi róm a Róma.

Ranc issed a[s]seissed cenél namaili. Ranc didiu ité na hussin[23] arda.

[1] doscuet, Y. doscuchad, LB. [2] himcomarac, L. himcomarc, LB. [3] sic, Y. arandiche hí sechindili, L.; condechaid cachae dib sech araile, LB. [4] anam cach dine no cach mil, Y. [5] for a tallut a laeig nó angámna inafail, LB. [6] iurrus, L. iurthass, Y. iurtais, LB. [7] Y. inserts teorae tucaite aranglanaiter. [8] Iteat, Y. [9] glanta, Y. [10] achuis, Y. [11] cairpthiu, Y. [12] cai, Y. [13] arna huilled, Y. [14] fotressae, Y. fothress, LB. [15] Intan boi find ua baiscni oc airim cach coicir arnuair, Y. [16] niadh, Y.; con, LB. [17] luidig, L.; lugaid, Y. [18] rus, Y. [19] arbaheth atbeired, Y. [20] auair, Y. [21] Robuth quasi remfuath no robudh didiu .i. rembuptadh bios, Y. [22] .i. on cuairt, Y.; a cuairt, LB. [23] husine, LB. huisin, Y.

slige, then, chariots pass by each other on it: it was made for the meeting of two chariots, to wit, a king's chariot and a bishop's chariot, so that each of them may go by the other.

Lám-rótae, i.e. between two highroads, i.e. a highroad to the north of a mansion and another to the south: for garths . . . . . it was made.

Tuag-rotae, a husbandman buys a path to get at a pasture or a mountain. This then is its price, ... for every lamb that passes it every second year.

Bóthar, two cows fit on it, one lengthwise, the other athwart, that their calves and their yearlings may fit on it along with them, beside them; for if they were behind them the following cow would gore them.

For each of them (the ways) there are three cleansings, (and) three times at which they are cleansed, to wit, time of horse-racing, and time of winter, and time of warfare. These are its three cleansings: cleansing of its wood, and of its water, and of its weeds.

These are the causes for which they are cleansed, that their chariots may not be soiled in going on the way, that horses may not be . . . in going to a fair. From weeds that no one may be delayed (?) on it when going . . .

Reo 'frost,' i.e. Greek, for *reo* (ῥῖγος) in Greek is interpreted *gelu*.

Rinnne, quasi *quinque*. Hence said Ferches, son of MoSechess, when Finn grandson of Baiscne was counting every five in turn of the host of Lugaid, the son of Mac-neit, to seek the champion Ferches. With that Ferches gave . . . . past Finn and cast the spear on Lugaid and killed him, and said thereat *Rinnne cairinnne ris* (leg. *rus*?) *rig*, for that is what Finn used to say when he was numbering every pentad in turn, *Rinnne* quasi *quinque*.

Robuth 'a warning,' quasi *rebuth*, i.e. *rem-bubthad* 'a fore-threatening.'

Rotglu 'a star,' i.e. *rét glé* 'a bright thing,' because of its brightness.

Roth 'a wheel,' from *rota*.

Rucht 'tunic,' as Ferchertne said, 'He gave me ten red tunics.'

Rudrath 'period of prescription,' that is *rodúrath* 'very great duration.'

Ruam 'a cemetery,' from *Roma*.

Ranc, this is the sixth kind of baldness. *Rano*, then, here the temples are high.

Rach dano, ishe inróut namaili otha intedan[1] corrice amullach.

Romaili .i. eter indá náo huile.

Saal tria assa .i. assa firm- [col. 3.] -ullaig[2] maeltairside combi achaisi buidi inamullach amal śail duine tria assa.

Bude-réid[3] dano .i. mael achenn huili isidu combí glélom.

IMspeilp[4] dano .i. bíd folt for cectar indalethchend 7 bíd inróut réid otha intédan corrice claiss indáchulad.[5]

Ite insein se cinela namáili.

Rígan .i. a regína, uel apud Scotos rí rígan huad.

Rath ab eo quod est rata latine.

Ruam .i. luss dobeir cucht super faciem combi derg, unde dicitur ruamnad.[6]

Roscad .i. ro scad .i. roinnsced de deochaid inord insce[7] .i. scath .i. insce.

Relic .i. a relicis sanctorum.

Rop .i. rap. rop[8] didiu nach nanmanna gonas, ut sunt uaccae. Rap immorro nach nanmanna dosrenga [chugae[9]], ut sunt sues, sed tamen uicissim communiter dicuntur. Rap didiu ab eo quod est rapio. Rop vero ab eo quod est robustus.

Ribar .i. criathar.

Riss .i. scél, Rissi .i. scela. Inde Coirpre mac Ethna dixit isin cétna áir doronad inHere .i. cendil dam rissi ro[b]sen Brisse.

Ruad rofessa .i. nomen donDagdu.

Romnae aiss .i. lias 7 buidetu.

SanctBrigit .i. noebBrigit.[10]

Suil quasi sól, aristrithi ata soilsi do duine. Suilsi ab eo quod est suil. Solus .i. a sole.[11]

Sobraig .i. a sobrio.[12]

Senod .i. a senodo.[13]

Salonn .i. sal ond .i. cloch śáili.[14] Sal unde est sale.

Sanas .i. sain fis.

Segamla .i. blichtmaire. seg didiu .i. blicht. Inde dicitur isna-Brethaib Neimed .i. meser bu ara segamla.[15]

[1] indetan, Y. [2] firmullag, Y.; firmhullach, LB. [3] Buge reid, L.; Bugereth, Y.; Buide reid, LB. [4] Imspelip, Y. [5] conice achúl, LB. [6] diarmait ruanaidh, Y. [7] roindsciged .i. dodeochaidh innord nindsci, Y.; róindsce .i. dodhechaid in ord insce, LB. [8] *sic*, Y.; pop, L. [9] *sic*, Y. [10] *sic*, Y.; noembrigit, L. [11] .i. on grein, Y. [12] a sobrio .i. on subachus, Y. [13] synodo, Y. [14] cloch sail unde dicitur saile, Y. [15] Y. *adds* .i. ar a mblichtmaire.

rach, also, this is the road of baldness from the forehead as far as the crown.

romdile 'very great baldness,' to wit, all between the two ears.

sál tri assa, 'heel through hose.' From his very crown he is bald, so that his yellow *caise* (?) is in his crown like a man's heel through his hose.

buide-réid, 'yellow-smooth,' then. Bald is the whole of his head in him, so that he is completely bare.

imspeilp, then, there is hair on each of the two half-heads, and there is the smooth road from the forehead to the hollow of the poll.

Those are the six kinds of baldness.

Rigan 'queen,' from *regina*: vel apud Scotos *rí* 'king,' *rigan* from it.

Ráth 'a surety,' from *rata* in Latin.

Ruam, a herb that puts a colour on the face so that it is red, whence is said *ruamnad*.

Roscad 'maxim,' i.e. *ro-scad*, i.e. *ro-insced*. It went into the order of words, i.e. *scath* 'a word.'

Relic 'a burial-place,' from the *reliquiae*, 'relics,' of the saints.

Rop and *rap*. *Rop* is every animal that gores, such as kine: *rap*, however, is every animal that drags to it, sed tamen vicissim communiter dicuntur. *Rap*, then, from *rapio*, but *rop* from *robustus*.

Ribar 'a sieve.'

Riss 'a tale,' *rissi* 'tales.' Hence Coirpre, son of Ethna, said in the first satire that was composed in Ireland, 'Not to pay story-tellers, may that be Bress' fate.'

Ruad rofessa 'lord of vast knowledge,' a name for the Dagdae.

Romnae aiss, to wit, greyness and yellowness.

Sanct Brigit, i.e. Saint Brigit.

Súil 'eye,' from *sol* 'the sun,' for through it is light to man. *Soilse* light, from *Súil*. *Solas* 'manifest,' from *sol*.

Sobraig from *sobrius*.

Senod 'an assembly,' from *synodus*.

Salonn 'salt,' i.e. *sal-ond*, i.e. a stone of salt. *Sal*, whence is *saile* 'brine.'

Sanas 'a secret,' ('an etymologicum'?) i.e. *sain-fiss* 'rare knowledge.'

Segamla 'milkiness,' *seg* then is milk. Hence is said in the Judgments of the Notables: 'Thou shalt estimate kine by their milkiness.'

[Sméróit .i.] Smerfuaitt [fo. 84a, col. 1.] .i. smér .i. tene 7 fúde [1] .i. fuidell.

Sirem .i. iarsindi áires olucc collucc in capite *et* in toto corpore.

Serr .i. a serra.

Snúad .i. folt.

Secc 7 seccda ondi is[s]iccus.

Secnap [2] .i. secund-abb [3] .i. *secundus* abbati.[4]

Secht q*ua*si sept [5] ab eo q*uod est* septim.

[Se ab eo quod est sex.

Spirut ab eo quod est spiritus.

Spiracul ab eo quod est spiraculum.] [6]

Sponc .i. a sponcia.[7]

Sest .i. nomen domedon láe, q*ua*si sext .i. a sexta hora.

Semind .i. seim coahinn.

Screpul q*ua*si scripul, ab eo q*uod est* scripul*us*.

Sceng .i. imda, un*de est* imsceng .i. both becc immatimcella imdai. Inde d*icitur* ferr [imscing] adbul [8] il.

Sorbb .i. locht, q*ua*si sord .i. a sordendo.[9]

Slabrad q*ua*si slab[a]r-iad .i. iadad c*u*mang .i. slabar cach c*u*mang 7 eslabar cech fairsing.

Samrad .i. sam isindEbru, sol isindLaitin,[10] un*de* [dicitur] Samson 'sol eorum.' Samrad d*idiu* riad reithess gr*í*an, is ann ismó doaitni [11] asuilsi 7 ahairdi.

Sen ab eo q*uod est* senex. Senser .i. senex 7 fer.

Sailchóit .i. sail cóit. cóit .i. caill isin Combreicc. Sailchoit d*idiu* .i. caill mór dosailchedain robói ann.[12]

Sadb .i. so adba.

Sine [13] q*ua*si sn*ige*.

Serb .i. ingen Scethirndi in druad deChonnachtaib. Ishí rosádi feda Atha Lúain .i. Bron 7 Duba 7 Daurdibeoil [14] .i. intan rodalai nat*r*i dalai ocAth luain fri Corm*ac* Conloinges [15] (.i. Cond naloingse) m*ac* Conchobair.

Sin .i. cach cruind, un*de* sín M*aic* muín [16] .i. epis*til* bai immabragait [col. 2.] fri f*or*cell fírinne .i. intan [17] nob*er*ed [18] fírindi bafairsing d[i]a braigit. intan [17] bagó bacumang.[19]

[1] fuait, Y. [2] Sechnap, L. [3] secunda, L. [4] abbate, L. [5] septa, L. [6] *sic*, Y. [7] spongia, Y. [8] adbar, Y.; ádbai, LB. [9] a sordento .i. on tsalchar, Y.; a sordido, LB. [10] sam hebraice, sol latine, Y. [11] doaithne, L.; doatne, Y. [12] do sailchetain and prius, Y. [13] sene, L.; sine, B. [14] daurdebeoil, Y.; dur 7 díbeoil, LB. [15] *sic*, Y.; Coinloinges, L. [16] main, Y. [17] *sic*, Y.; antan, L. [18] atberedh, Y. [19] cumac. LB.

Sméróit 'embers,' that is *smér-fudit*; *smér* 'fire,' and *fuait* 'remnant.'

Sirem 'disease,' because it searches (*sires*) from place to place in the head and in the whole body.

Serr 'a reaping-hook,' from *serra*.

Snúad 'hair.'

Secc 'frost,' *secc* 'dry,' *secta*, *secda* 'dried,' from *siccus*.

Secnabb 'a prior,' i.e. *secund-abb*, i.e. secundus abbati.

Secht 'seven,' quasi *sept*, from *septem*.

Sé 'six,' from *sex*.

Spirut 'spirit,' from *spiritus*.

Spiracul 'a breathing-hole,' from *spiraculum*. (Genesis, vii. 22.)

Sponc 'sponge,' from *spongia*.

Sest, a name for mid-day, quasi *sext*, i.e. from *sexta hora*.

Semind 'a rush,' i.e. slender (*séim*) to its end (*ind*).

Screpul, quasi *scripul*, from *scripulus*.

Sceng 'a bed,' whence is *im-scing*, a little bothy in which a bed fits. Hence is said, 'Better is a bed-booth than a . . .'

Sorb 'a fault,' quasi *sord* from *sordendo*.

Slabrad 'a chain,' quasi *slabar-iad*, i.e. a narrow closing (*iadad*). *Slabar* is everything narrow, and *esslabar* everything ample.

Samrad 'summer,' *sam* in the Hebrew and *sol* in the Latin, whence is said *Samson* 'sol eorum.' *Samrad* then is the course which the sun runs. Then (*i.e.* in summer) its brightness shines most and its height.

Sen 'old,' from *senex*. *Senser* 'ancestor,' from *senex* and *fer* 'man.'

Sailchóit (a place-name), i.e. *sail-cóit*. *Coit* is 'a wood' in the Welsh. *Sailchoit*, then, a great wood of willows that was there.

Sadb 'a dwelling'? that is, *so-adba* 'a good abode.'

Sine 'a teat,' quasi *snige* 'a dropping.'

Serb, the daughter of Scetherne the wizard of Connaught. She it is that planted the trees of Athlone, to wit, Grief and Darkness and Hard-Dumb, when she trysted the three trysts at Athlone with Cormac Conloinges (*i.e.* Conn of the Exile) son of Conor.

Sin, everything round. Whence is Mac móin's *sin*, i.e. an epistle which was about his neck for declaring truth. When he used to pass a true judgment the *sin* was wide for his neck. When the judgment was false the *sin* was narrow.

Serrach .i. serr cech nuachell[1] .i. cech noccla. Inde d*icitur* serr [cech] ócdam. *Nó* serrach .i. ser-ech .i. indiaid amathar bís.

Scuit .i. a Scota ingen rig Foraind rig Egept[e].

Sath .i. biad, un*de* d*icitur* sathech.

Sanb .i. m*ac* Augaine Móir, un*de* Mag Sainb d*icitur*.

Ségda .i. cosmail [fri séig é] arafegi 7 aglicc*us*.[2]

Seṅg cech segda isinDuil Feda Móir.[3]

Subaid .i. subiate (*sic*: leg. a sobrietate ?).

San .i. rí*fr*iget.

Sról[4] .i. suilsi, un*de est* apud Scottos [diu[5] sról .i.] dies sol*is*.

Sopaltair .i. sepultair .i. a sepult*ura* .i. relicc nanduneba .i. inadnaictis.[6]

Saim .i. cech córait bís et*er* da duine[7] *nó* it*er* da hech.

Séd[8] .i. oss allaid, un*de est* sédguine[9] .i. fer gon*as* ossu allaid (*sic*: leg. alltai).

Sanc[t] ab eo q*uod est* sanctus.

Sen .i. lín ingabthar éoin, un*de* sen-bretha.

Sau cach sóer ut *est* isnaBrethaib Neimed : faircditeir[10] mairc mathi maccaib sau socharde.[11]

Triath .i. rí .i. tremi etha iath.[12]

Tí .i. bratt.[13]

Tort .i. bairgen .i. no*men* de sono f*actu*m. [inde dicitur] torténe .i. bairgenéni.

Toisc .i. uoluntas hominis. ca*ch* ní iar*u*m aslaind 7 isadlaic laduini is*ed* atb*eir* istoisc dam.

Tríath da*no* tréde f*or*dingair .i. tríath .i. rí, 7 t*r*iath muir, 7 t*r*iath torc. [col. 3.] Deiligtir di*diu* innarémendaib. Triath rí di*diu* tréith areim. T*r*iath muir .i. t*r*ethan aréim. T*r*iath torc da*no* tréith[i] areim.[14]

Tech ab eo q*uod est* tectum.

Torc q*ua*si porc .i. cendṫochr*us*.

Tarb q*ua*si taurb .i. a tauro.

Tethru .i. rí Fomori, ut *est* isind Immacaldaim in da Thúaru .i. et*er* tri[u]*n*u Tethrach.[15]

[1] nuallach, LB. [2] Y. *adds* 7 ara gabailchi. [3] Y. *prefixes* Segon quasi segan .i. gen segdae, ab eo quod est. [4] sroll, Y. [5] *sic*, Y. [6] relec na duineba .i. mag mar a n-idhnaictis na genti, Y. [7] dam, Y. [8] seg, Y. ség, LB. [9] seguinidh, Y. séghuinech, LB. [10] faircdither, Y. [11] sochraite, Y. [12] trem atha iath, L.; treime ethae iathae, Y. [13] LB. *and* Y. *add* .i. breo ar fuit. [14] Y. *adds* Triath .i. ri, tir-sith a taithmech. Triath muir, tir-uath a taithmech. Triath .i. torc, tir-sod a taithmech. [15] trethrach, L.

Serrach 'a foal.' *Serr* everything proud (?), everything vehement (?). Hence is said: Every band of warriors is *serr*. Or *serrach* i.e. *ser-ech* 'heel-horse,' *i.e.* behind his dam he is.

Scuitt 'the Scots,' from Scota, daughter of King Pharaoh, king of Egypt.

Sáth 'food.' Hence is said *sáthech* 'satiated.'

Sanb, son of Augaine the Great. Hence is said Magh Sainb 'the Plain of Sanb.'

Segda, he is like to a *seg* (hawk?) for his keenness and his acuteness.

Seng is everything *segda* in the Book of the Great Wood.

Subaid subiate (?).

San, i.e. rifriget [read refrigeret?].

Sról 'sun,' whence is said by the Scots '*diu sról*,' i.e. Sunday.

Sopaltair, i.e. *sepultair*, from *sepultura*, i.e. the graveyard of the plagues, in which they (the heathen) used to be buried.

Saim, every yoke that is between two persons or between two horses.

Séd 'a deer,' when is said *sédguine*, a man who kills wild deer.

Sanct 'holy,' from *sanctus*.

Sén 'a net in which birds are caught,' whence *sén-bretha* 'bird-net judgments.'

Sau, every noble, as is in the Judgments of the Notables: 'Let good horses be kept by the sons of a noble host.'

Triath 'a king.' Through him (*trem*) are the foods (*etha*) of the lands.

Tí 'a mantle.'

Tort 'a cake,' a name made from the sound. Hence is said *torténe* 'a cakelet.'

Toisc, one's desire, everything that is pleasing and desirable in a person's eyes he says it is a *toisc*, it is a desire, of mine.

Triath, three things it means, to wit, *triath* 'king,' and *triath* 'sea,' and *triath* 'boar.' They are distinguished by their genitives. *Triath* 'king,' *tréith* is its genitive. *Triath* 'sea,' *trethan* is its genitive. *Triath* 'boar,' *tréithi* is its genitive.

Tech 'house,' from *tectum*.

Torc, quasi *porc*, a mutation.

Tarbh 'a bull,' quasi *taurbh*, from *taurus*.

Tethru, a king of the Fomorians, as is in the Dialogue of the two Sages: 'among Tethru's mighty men.'

Tenlach ab eo q*uod est* tene lige.

Tet .i. no*men* de sono f*actu*m.

Temair .i. G*rei*c rot*r*uaillned ann .i. teomoro .i. conspicio. Temair di*di*u cachloc asnad airgna decsin, un*de*[1] d*icitur* temair natuathe 7 temair intige.

Tem cech ndorcha, un*de* d*icitur* temen.

Tip*r*a q*ua*si topra .i. iarsindi dobruchta [uisce as] . *nó* tipra .i. tepersiu.

Troech[2] .i. ca*o*h nechtraide .i. cach neo*tur*.[3]

Turigen .i. rí. Turigein (.i. tuili) gein .i. gein tollin [.i. tolin] a fir (asin)daic*niud* con*o*enaigter fri fir na screptra. Alit*er* turigin .i. tur i[n]gena .i. tenga. Aliter turigein .i. gein turi.[4] am*al* bís tuir mór ocfulang thighi 7 illama essi [sic ised in teg in doman centarach[5]]. IShí intuir firindi rechta aic*nid*. Itte na hillama [asin tuirid .i.[6]] ilchialla 7 ilchonora inbreithemnais 7rl. Aliter tuirigein .i. rí, ut est isinDuil Roscad 7rl.

[1] cech loc as mbi aurgnam deicsi it*ir* mag 7 tech, ut, Y. [2] Troeth, Y.; Traæth, LB.; traeth, Book of Lecan, 150[b] 2. [3] .i. gach neut*ur* .i. nemnechtardea 'not-either-of-them,' Y. [= nemnechtardha (gl. neutrum), Uraicecht, Book of Lecan, fo. 145[b] 1]. [4] quasi gein a tuir, Y. [5] *sic*, Y. [6] *sic*, Y. Y. adds the quotation: Ni tulach fri tuirigin tuigethar tuile mar muirne 'not a hill for a king who . . . a great flood of spears' [muirenn .i. slegh, O'Dav. 105, mairenn, supra, p. 16].

Tenlach 'hearth,' from *teno* 'fire' and *ligo* 'bed.'

Tét 'a string,' a name made from the sound.

Temair, Greek was corrupted therein, i.e. teomoro (θεωρέω ?), that is, conspicio. *Temair*, then, is every place from which there is a remarkable prospect, whence is said the *temair* of the country, and the *temair* of the house.

Tem, everything dark, whence is said *temen* 'dark grey.'

Tipra 'a well,' quasi *topru*, because water bursts (*dobruchta*) out of it, or *tipra*, a dropping (*teperseiu*).

Troeth, everything neutral, every neuter.

Turigen 'a king,' *turigein*, i.e. *tuli-gein* 'flood-mouth,' i.e. a mouth that fills itself, i.e. its truth fills out of nature, so that it is made one with the truth of the Scripture. Aliter *turigin*, i.e. *tur in gena* 'the tower of the mouth,' *i.e.* a tongue. Aliter *turigein*, i.e. *gein turi*, as there is a great tower supporting a house with many arms out of it, so is the house in the present world. This is the tower, the truth of the law of nature. These are the many arms out of the tower, the many meanings and many ways of judicature, etc. Aliter *turigein* 'a king,' as is in the Book of Maxims, etc.

NOTES.

Imbas forosnai or *Imbass forosna*, see LU. 55[b] 14, 125[b] 9. My translation of this difficult article is merely tentative. *Imbas*, LL. 30[d] 29. *Imbass*, H. 3. 18, pp. 70, col. 3, and 635, col. 3. *Imbass*, gen. *imbais*, supra, s.v. nimb,[1] from **embi-bat-to-*, cognate with the Latin *fateor*.

forosnai, from **for-od-sunna*, verbal noun *fursunnud*, seems cogn. with Goth. *sunnô*, A.S. *sunne*. As to *carna derg*, see Laws, ii. 202, where *derg-carna* is contrasted with *carna bruithe* 'boiled flesh.' In *tenm láida* 'illumination of song,' we have a derivative of *ten* 'fire,' √*tep*.

Láichess, voc. pl. a láichessa, LU. 103[b] 35.

Lugnasad, gen. óenach Táilten cech lúgnasaid, LU. 52[a] 20. As to Lug mac Ethlenn, see LU. 78[a] 18 and Revue Celtique, xii. 127.

Lelap. The *lau* 'little' here and s.v. *lautu* seems borrowed from an Old-Welsh **lau* = Ir. *lug*, Gr. ἐ-λαχύς, Skr. *laghu*.

Lemlacht. lem cach maeth, H. 3. 18, p. 635[d]. The *téith* (leg. *teith ?*) here cited occurs compounded in *teith-millsi* 'smooth-sweet,' an epithet for the rivers in Fairyland, LU. 131, l. 37, and *teith-blaithi* 'smooth-soft,' an epithet for a woman's thighs, H. 2. 16, col. 716.

Loch. O'Donovan renders *assoilgi laith lochbronna* by 'prosperous is a king of dark secrets'—a signal instance of unlucky guess-work. · *Assoilgi* is 3rd sg. pres. ind. act. of a verb, √*salc*, cognate with *osslaicim* 'I open,' and *arosailcther*, Ml. 14[c] 15, *irsolooth* 'an opening,' *dufuasailce*, Ml. 29[b] 10, and the verbal noun *tuaslucud* 'an opening': *laith* is a common word for ale, cognate with Corn. *lad* (gl. liquor), Gr. λάταξ, and Lat. *latex*; and *bronna* is the acc. pl. of *brú*, a fem. *nn*-stem.

Laith, from **(p)lati*, cogn. with πάλη, πόλεμος, as *flaith* with *valeo*. *Láith* 'balance,' perh. from **tlāti*, cogn. with Gr. τάλαντον, Skr. *tulā*, Lat. *tuli*, *(t)lātus*. The *t* of the soundgroup *tl* seems lost also in *lucht* 'a charge'=O.W. *tluith* in *or maur-dluithruim* (gl. multo uecte). The grammatical term *forsail* is thus explained in

[1] And so ba rand immais, LL. 187[b] 15. fornesa ceard n-eicse donessa cerd n-iumuis, *he who reproaches the art of* imbass *reproaches the art of poetry*, H. 3. 18, p. 62, col. 3.

the Uraicecht, BB. 318b 20: *forsail in fuilled ele dobeir* cumang fedha for in son dia fot, amail ata sron, slog [leg. srón, slóg]. So in BB. 328a 44, *forsail, ut est* sron 7 slog 7 mor.

Langfiter. The corresponding loanword in Welsh is *lawhethyr*, Laws, i. 558, now *llowethir* in Cardiganshire, according to Rhŷs, *Welsh Fairy Tales*, 36.

Lommand. The acc. sg. *lummain* is in Mac Conglinne's Vision, LB. 213b. The adj. *lomm* (W. *llwmm*) here mentioned is, according to Strachan, from **lup-mo-*, cf. O.-Slav. *lupiti* detrahere, Lith. *lupti* schälen, *laupiti* rauben. So Old-Ir. *ámm* 'hand,' Ascoli, Gloss. pal.-hib. p. xl, seems from **ap-men*, cogn. with Lat. *apere*, *aptus*, *apisci*, Skr. √*ap*.

Lethech 'plaice' ('flounder'?), cogn. with Mid.-High-Germ. *vluoder* 'flounder.'

fithidrea, sg. gen. of *fithithair*, Laws, ii. 344, 348. dat. do fithidir, Laws, ii. 228.

Lóes. The stem of the verb *-luinethar* here cited seems in form identical with that of πλόνω from πλυ-ν-ι-ω (KZ. vi. 89). Root (*p*)*lu*. With the tmesis, *immo- loes -luinethar*, cf. *as- rúna -r'indid*, Fél. Jan. 12.

Mo debroth. This is spelt *mudebroth* in the Bk. of Armagh, 6b 1, *mudebrod*, ibid. 7a 2.

Marc. In *airmnech*, cogn. with *arba*, pl. *arbann*, the *m* is for *v*. *Airgtech* (which I have not met elsewhere) is derived from *argat*=*argentum*.

Muccairbe, see Laws, iv. 360, l. 6.

Milliud, LU. 97a. Cf. oc admilliud ind ríg, LU. 86a. do admilliud ind ríg, LU. 87a. fer tuádcáech co suil millethaig, LU. 97a.

Milgetan is an honorific portion of an animal; but *what* portion is not known.

Melg. The compound *melgthene* is exemplified in the Amra Conroi: firu batar fo meilgtine .i. bás.

Morann. See now as to him *Irische Texte*, 3te serie, 1. heft, pp. 206, 207, 208. The *Audacht Morainn* is in the Book of Leinster, pp. 293, 294. With *bibda báis*, cf. is bidba báis (gl. reus est mortis), LB. 165a 42, 169b 59.

Menad. W. *mynawyd*, M. Bret. *menauet*. Etym. obscure.

Monach: *mon* is cognate with Ch. Slav. *manja*, *maniti* 'trügen, täuschen,' Lith. *mónai* 'Trug,' Lett. *mánis* 'Gaukler,' as to which word see Fick in Bezz. Beitr. ii. 201.

Methoss 'boundary-mark,' cogn. with Skr. *mit* 'post.' The Ir. *méde* 'neck' (from **meitio*-) and Lat. *mēta* are radically connected. As to the twelve kinds of boundary-marks, see Laws, iv. 142.

Muilenn. The *maillem* of LB., which corresponds with the *muilend* of L. and Y., was rendered by O'Donovan 'together' —a mere guess.

Mátt. Cogn. perhaps with Lat. *mājālis* 'barrow-hog.' Another form, *máta*, gen. sg. *mátai* .i. mucci, occurs in LU. 109ª 30. dat. sg. *matai*, Book of Leinster, 118ª 48, 50. As to the Bretha Nemed, cited here and s.vv. *nimb*, *segamlae*, *sau*, see Laws, i. 112, 113, ii. 70. *Nemed* includes a chieftain, cleric, sage, poet, judge and chief artificer. See also O'Don. Supp. s.v. *neimheadh*.

Mann. The Sencha here quoted was doubtless one of the Senchas mentioned in the Laws, i. 22. The second word of his decree, *dílib*, is the pl. dat. of *díl* from **agli*-, cogn. with Goth. *agls* 'disgrace' (Strachan). *Cichsite* seems a redupl. *s*-fut. (relative form) from √*qik*, whence also *cicht*, a carver or engraver, with which Windisch connects *Picti*, *Pictones*, *Pictavi*.

mál, gen. *máil*, from **maglo-s*, cogn. with Lat. *mag-nu-s*. An Old-Celtic 'Maglus Conomagli filius' is cited by Becker, Kuhn's Beitr. iii. 349. Mál i Cliu Máil, LL. 21ᵇ. Mál mac Ṭelbaind, LU. 90ª 32.

Mug-éime. In the footnotes marked H. are given the more important various readings of the copy of this article in Harl. 5280.

As to Coirpre Múse, the ancestor of the Muscraige in Tipperary and Cork, see LL. 38ᵇ 2. He fought in the battle of Cennfebrat, A.D. 186, according to the Four Masters.

The statements here made as to the power of the Gaels in south-western Britain agree with Nennius, and have of late years been confirmed by the discovery of some Ogham inscriptions in South Wales and Devon, which were certainly the work of a Gaelic population.

As to Glastonbury of the Gaels, see the notes to the Calendar of Oengus, Aug. 24 (Glastingbera na nGaedel i ndeisciurt Saxan, A.S. Glæstingabyrig).

For the resuscitation of Glass, son of Cass, see the Tripartite Life of Patrick, Rolls edition, p. 122, and the Book of Armagh, fo. 14ª 2, cited *ibid*. pp. 324, 325.

As to the maic Liathain, here said to have settled in Cornwall, see Nennius, ed. Stevenson, c. 14, the *Irish Nennius*, edd. Todd and

Herbert, p. 52, and Rhŷs, *The Arthurian Legend*, 329, whence it would seem that the Children of Liathan were in Pembrokeshire ('in regione Demetorum'), the peninsula of Gower (*Guir*) in Somerset, and Kidwelly (*Cetgueli*), in Carmarthen.

To the British law 'every criminal for his crime, etc.,' there seems to have been something similar in Ireland: see a story cited from *Lebar Gabála* in Petrie's *Tara*, p. 195, where a horse is adjudged to lose the leg with which he had kicked a boy. The offending thing, not its owner, was liable (O. W. Holmes, *The Common Law*, p. 10). So under Solon's law: ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ βλάβης τετραπόδων νόμον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ κύνα δακόντα παραδοῦναι κελεύει κλοιῷ τετραπήχει δεδεμένον.[1] By the Roman law of *pauperies*,[2] the owner of the animal doing damage had either to surrender it to the injured party, or to make full compensation, see Ulp. in Dig. ix. 1, 1; Justin. Inst. iv. 9. So King Alfred enacts: Gif neat mon gewundige, weorpe þ neat to honda oþþe fore þingie.[3] These and other ancient laws, in that they give the owner of the peccant beast the option of making compensation for its crime, are less primitive than the Celtic and Solonean rules above cited.

Éi, the name in LB. of the eulogy brought by the poet to Tadg, is an interesting word. The gen. sg. is *uath*,[4] acc. sg. *uith*, pl. gen. *uaéb*, Thurneysen, Irische Texte, third series, part i. pp. 127, 128. Hence the Old-Irish nom. sg. would be *ui*, which becomes *dí* in Middle-Irish, as *drui* druid, *sui* sage, become *drái*, *sái*. With this **ui* I venture to connect Gr. ὔμνος for ὐ-μνος as ὑπέρ, ὑπό for ὑπερ, ὑπο. Curtius' etymology of ὕμνος (ὑφ-μνος) is, as Brugmann shows (Studien, ix. 286), impossible, because the suffix μνο when added to a root ending in a consonant requires a connective vowel; and Brugmann's own combination with Skr. *syūman* 'Band, Streifen,' is questionable, as the υ of ὕμνος is short by nature. See Aesch. Ag. 990: τὸν δ' ἄνευ λύρας ὅμως ὑμνῳδεῖ. There seems to have been an Indo-European √ŭ, 'to call, cry, proclaim,' whence Ir. *u-i, Gr. ὐ-μνος; but whether the Vedic *uvé* (uvé . . . yathevàñgá bhavishyáti *I proclaim how it will be indeed*, Rv. 10, 86. 7) is to be referred to it I do not venture to say.

[1] Plut. Solon, 24 (ed. Reiske).

[2] Is this for **pŏp* . . . cognate with Skr. *pápman*, with which Fröhde and Wackernagel have connected Gr. *πῆμα from *πημμα, *πηπμα? For Lat. *au* from *ŏ* see Stolz, *Lat. Gr.* 272. The suffix may be due to confusion with *paup-per-ies* 'poverty.'

[3] Ancient Laws, etc., ed. Thorpe, i. 78.

[4] Or *uad*, Corm. s.v. ercne.

Much 'smoke,' W. *mwg*, Arm. *mux*, and perhaps Gr. *σμύχω* from **smukhō*?

Mér 'blackbird,' has been deduced from **meisro-*, cognate not only with W. *mwyalch* (from **meisalko-*?), but with Germ. *meise*. Cormac's etym. is taken from Isidore, Origg. xii. 7. 69: Alii merulam aiunt uocatam, quia sola volat, quasi mera uolans. So also Festus (ed. Müller, p. 124): Merum antiqui dicebant solum; unde et avis *merula* nomen accepit, quod solivaga est et sola pascitur.

Mindech = minneach .i. breg, 'falsehood,' O'Cl. But cf. the nom. pl. mindig a tigh .i. drochdaine no an t-óes deroil, Harl. 5280, fo. 41^{b}. Cognate are Lat. *menda*, *mendum*, Skr. *mindā*.

Manannan mac lir. See also BB. 258^{a}, ll. 48–56.

Nemnuall. This obscure word is glossed by *ceol aingeal* 'music of angels,' in the Book of Lecan vocabulary.

Nemeth. See Petrie's *Eccl. Architecture*, 59. As to *nem-uath* see LL. 38^{b} 38. These absurd etymologies are thus given in H. 2. 16, col. 120: Nemid intan is fri heclais .i. nem-iath .i. iath neme. Nemed flathae .i. neim (no nim)-aith .i. aith neime (no nime) for armaib inn oesa flathae. Nem*ed* fil*ed* .i. nim-uath [.i.] uath nime for tengthaib na fil*ed*—the sharpness of poison being on the weapons of the nobles, the horror of poison being on the tongues of the (satirical) poets!

Nóe. The quotation is explained in the Book of Lecan, 151^{b} 1 = BB. 328^{b} 43.

Nóes custom, 'customary law,' whence *nóisige*, LL. 234^{b}, and the verb *ro-nóeseged*, LU. 90^{b}, nonoisigthe, LL. 106^{b}, is obscure. The synonymous *nós* is borrowed from W. *naws* 'disposition,' which is cogn. with Ir. *gnás* 'custom,' and *gnáth* 'usual.'

Nescoit. An abridgment of the story of the Second Battle of Moytura is now published, with a translation, in the *Revue Celtique*, xii. pp. 56–111. For the part corresponding with Cormac see *ibid.* pp. 92–94.

a bélaib na tenchoire, lit. 'out of the lips of the tongs:' *bél* from **gvetlo-s*, cogn. perhaps with Goth. *qiþan*, A.S. *cweðan*. So Lat. *labrum* with Ir. *labraim* 'I speak.'

Ollam. Compare Laws, iv. 358. In the earliest times his retinue was 24 in number, BB. 333^{a} 1. The *dám* here mentioned is a fem. *ā*-stem, and, acc. to Windisch, cogn. with Dor. *δᾶμος*.

O'i. The gen. pl. of *óisc* occurs in the Saltair na Rann, 2844: co tret n-ooisce Iacob.

Oimelc. So in Harl. 5280, fo. 32ª, O samsuan co hoimelc, ho oimelc co beltine, ho beltine co brontrogain 'from the first day of winter to the first day of spring, from the first day of spring to the first day of summer, from the first day of summer to Lammas.'

O'ech. A.S. *ge-fâa* 'foe,' Goth. *faih* Betrug, Lith. *peikiù, peikti* fluchen. *For-oesad*, p. 18, l. 14, may be the 2dy *s*-fut. sg. 3 of a cognate verb.

Orn. This seems cognate with Gr. ἔρις, Ἄρης, ἄρη and Skr. *áruh* 'wound,' *r-nó-ti*. From the same root are *ort* .i. bás, *ort* .i. orgain, O'Dav. 109, and *air*: i n-air a prim-róit 'for injuring his chief road,' E. 3. 5, p. 39ᵇ, cited in O'Don. Supp. The W. *ornest* 'monomachia,' which has been compared, is borrowed from A.S. *eornost* 'a duel.'

Ochtach. The acc. sg. occurs in LU. 108ᵇ 22: focheird iarom in roth co hochtaig ind rígthigi *then he cast the wheel to the ridgepole of the palace.* Is it the same word as the (corrupt) O.-Ir. *octgag* (gl. pinus), *octhgach* as ardu alailiu (gl. habies), MS. Lat. 7260 (Bibl. Nationale), fo. 9ᵇ? Cf. the gloss Ailm dno .i. crann giuis .i. ochtach, Book of Lecan, 149ᵇ 1=BB. 325ª 50.

Orc tréith, cf. LL. 187ᵇ 49: i n-oenuch thuirc thréith[1] .i. i n-oenuch *maic* ind rig .i. clúim 7 cholcid 7rl.

Oro. The story of Lomna's head is noticed in Rhŷs' *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 98, 99. But surely the head's displeasure at not being given part of the salmon is nothing but vexation at the breach, in its case, of a law of hospitality which bound the Fiann, and the "offering to the Celtic Dis" is mere ingenious guesswork. For other tales of a speaking head see LU. 98ª 35 and *Three Fragments of Irish Annals*, pp. 44, 46.

The *indeoin* which I have rendered tentatively by 'gridiron,' is some kind of cooking apparatus. Hence the verbal noun *indeonad* 'to broil.'

a cenn, pp. 28, l. 30, 30, ll. 5 and 9. Hence *cenn* seems to have been sometimes neuter. Cf. friscichset for cenna díb, LU. 89ª 44, and BB. 320ᵇ 3: hilugud labartha, ut est is *ed* a cenn 7 is lia-te ind aurlabra.

conid-ro marb. Here the *d* (*id*?) is an infixed pers. pron. of 3rd pl. See G.C. 332.

Pattu, gen. pl. *pattan*, LB. 183ᵇ 37, seems a loan-word, cogn. with Fr. *patte* and *pataud*. See Diez, s.v. *patta*. So *pói* 'foot,' is a loan from O.Fr. *poe* (K. Meyer).

[1] do thurc Thomair 'to prince Tomair,' Book of Rights, 206, 3.

Páin. The Bretha Echach maic Luchta are mentioned in the Laws, i. p. 18, l. 23. Some of the words in the obscure extract here quoted are thus glossed by D. Mac Firbis: *form scing* .i. ar mo leaba: *pain* .i. aran: *puncern* .i. tomas: *lasiail* (leg. *la siail*?) .i. oileamhain: *goss*[1] .i. gédh: *geisen* .i. eala.

Póc: sain-poc 7 pócnat (gl. osculum), Sg. 46ª 2. dí láim im Étain 7 póc di, ol Midir, LU. 131, l. 24. It is borrowed from an oblique case of Lat. *pax*.

Prull. Of the copy of this article in Harl. 5280, fo. 75ª, the more important various readings are given in the footnotes marked H. Rhŷs (*Hibbert Lectures*), p. 567, note 1, equates *prull* with W. *prwystl* 'tumultuous.' With the description of the monster which appeared to Senchán cf. the description of the *pishācha* in Hoernle's edition of the Jaina *Uvāsagadāso*, pp. 65–69, translated by Morris, *Philolog. Soc. Proceedings*, April 15, 1887. Rhŷs (*Hibbert Lectures*, 567) says that Cormac's picture of the *Spiritus Poematis* is "in fact a description of a corpse in an advanced stage of decomposition," and accounts for this by alleging "the ancient notion that poetry traced its origin to the world of the dead, whose king was sometimes given the outward appearance and lividness of a corpse." But where is there any evidence of the existence of this "ancient notion"? And what people had a corpse-like *king* of the shades? Not the Indians, nor the Greeks, nor the Finns. Neither Yama nor Hades, nor Tuoni had anything corpse-like about him. Hel, no doubt, is described as *blá* (or half-*blá*); but she was a goddess.

promthit for *promfit* ex *promfa*+*it*, as *gebait*, LU. 87ª 45, for *géba*+*it*.

luaithidir lochaid iar forgarmain 'swifter than a shuttle along a weaver's beam': cf. Job vii. 6: 'My days are swifter than a weaver's shuttle.' The primary meaning of the word rendered 'shuttle' is 'mouse.' The Welsh term for shuttle, *gwennol gwcydd*, lit. 'weaver's swallow,' also recognizes the swiftness of this instrument. With *for-garmain* cf. *lu-garmain*, Laws, i. 150, l. 7, and Welsh *carfan*.

setir, *-sétar*, pass. pres. indic. sg. 3 of *sétaim*, a sister-form of *fétaim* 'possum,' both from an Old-Celtic **sxentó* cogn. with Goth. *svinþs* 'strong,' *svinþjan* κρατεῖν, *svinþnan* κραταιοῦσθαι.

lue 'steering-oar,' dat. *luith*, from **lu(p)et*, cogn. with Slav. *lopata* 'shovel.'

[1] A loan either from A.S. *gós* or O.N. *gás*.

Another instance in Irish literature of challenges to give corresponding couplets will be found in the Lebar Brecc, p. 85, lower margin, where the challenger is the Devil and the person challenged is Saint Colomb cille. The practice seems to exist in Portugal, where singing *ao desafio* is a favourite amusement: see Latouche, *Travels in Portugal*, p. 47. So in India: *samasyá* 'the giving to another person part of a stanza, and requiring him to complete it' (Benfey).

odbaig, sg. acc. fem. of *odbach*, derived from *odb* (=W. *oddf* 'tuberculum'), later *fadb*, with prothetic *f*.

buiṅg (=Old-Celtic **bongó*, later *bongaim*) is, as K. Meyer first saw, the act. pres. ind. sg. 1 of the verb of which *búain* (=**bogni*) p. 39, l. 12, is the infinitive, and *bocht* 'poor' an old participle passive. Skr. √*bhañj*, *bhanájmi*, 'I break,' Lith. *bangà* 'wave.'

Tá, cf. Tá (.i. clostid) cein, LU. 85a.

The description of the Spirit of Poetry, after he had assumed his proper form, is thus given in Y. cols. 75–76:

Intan, tra, tangat*ar* docum nErend conacatar in gillae remepertae, ar ba hocl*aech* ruithentae, righ[d]ae, romor, roiscletan, mormileta eseom, co muing órbuidhe órṡnaith fathmaindigh caisidir carra menncrot. Tlacht rochaom rigdae uimbe: milech orduide a n-imdunad in tlachta sin. Sciath corcra cobradach cetharochair, lan do gemaib carrmogail 7 liag logmar 7 nemthand 7 cristal 7 sathfire, for a clíu. Cloidhemh coilgdirech, co tairchetlaib [= trocheltaib, LL. 231a 47] oir deirg, for a deiscib. Cathbarr airg[d]idhe co coróin órduighe ima cend. Dealb is airechdam 7 is aidbli luchracht [?] bui for duine riamh fair.

So when they came to Ireland they beheld the youth aforesaid, for he was a hero radiant, royal, huge, broad-eyed, warrior-like, with golden-yellow hair of gold-thread, *fathmainnech* (?), curlier than cross-trees of small harps. A costly, royal robe around him: a golden brooch closing that robe. A shield purple, bossy, four-edged, full of gems of carbuncle and precious stones and pearls and crystals and sapphires, on his left. A sword-straight glaive, with inlayings (?) of red gold, on his right hand. A silvern helmet with a golden crown on his head. A shape the noblest and grandest . . . . . that had ever been on man was on him.

In the phrase *carra mennorott* K. Meyer takes *carra* to be for *corra*, acc. pl. of *corr*, the curved cross-tree of a harp, see O'Curry,

Manners and Customs, iii. 256. *Mennerott* (=mendcrott, LL. 18[b] 50) seems a compound of *mend* 'kid' (cogn. with Alb. *ment* 'to suck,' as *dinu* 'lamb' with Lat. *fē-lare*, Gr. *θή-σατο*, Strachan) and *crott*=W. *crwth*. O'Curry's *benn chroit* (M. and C. iii. 305) is a mere figment.

Ross. The acc. pl. of *ross* 'a wood,' occurs in LB. 208[a] 1: am*al* trascraid slóig dochéin réid rossa do thuagaib rogéra 'as hosts from afar fell smooth woods with keenest axes.' The gen. sg. of *ross* 'flax-seed,' *rois*, occurs in Laws, ii. 368. It is said in the Uraicecht (Bk. of Lecan, 143[b] 1 = BB. 317[a] 43) to have been one of the nine components of the Tower of Babel—the others being clay, water, oil, blood, lime, flax, shittim and bitumen. The '*ross* of water' is = *ros lachan* (gl. lenticula aquatica), Rev. Celt. ix. 236.

áss 'growth,' is from **(p)át-to-*, cogn. with Gr. *πατέομαι*, *ἄ-παστος*, and Goth. *fódjan* (Strachan).

Similar explanations are given in the Uraicecht (Leb. Lec. 150[a] 1 = BB. 326[a] 50): ross .i. rói oss, quando .i. intan, is ros caille, 7 rass iar lind intan is ros usce .i. rofhos mad *for* marbusci, no róidh ass mad for sruth, 7 rofhás intan is ros lín .i. ara luas 7 ar[a]thighe fhásas.

Remm. Spelt *reimm* and glossed by *fuirseoir no druth* in Laws, iv. 354.

Róut. The whole article is printed and translated by O'Donovan in his edition of the Book of Rights, Dublin, 1847, pp. lvi–lviii. As to *róut* and *ramut*, see Laws, i. 232, l. 18. From *ramut* comes the adj. *ramatach*, Laws, iii. 112. The description of *sligo* reminds one of *ἁμαξιτός* 'a carriage-road.' As to the five great *sligid* of Ireland, see LL. 155[b] 8. With *ldmrotae* cf. O'Cl. Gl. *lamrod* .i. ród laimh le rod aile. With the gen. sg. *raitea* cf. *raite* .i. cuairt ingelta, O'Don. Supp. *Bóthar* seems borrowed from an Old-Welsh **bautr*, √*gā*, whence also Skr. *ji-gāti*, *a-gāt*, Gr. *ἔ-βαν*, A.S. *pæþ*, O.H.G. *pfad*. In *amser chuo* (rectius *chúad*) we seem to have a cognate of W. *cawad* 'imber,' Corn. *couat* (gl. nimbus). See H. 3. 18, p. 639[b], where *cúadh* is glossed by *gemred* 'winter.'

Rinone. This article is, to me, unintelligible. The usual meaning of *rinone* is 'spear': do rindcne .i. do sleigh, Rawl. B. 488, fo. 4[b] 2.

Robuth, gen. *robaid*, LU. 57[a] 36, 87[a] 13, 15. pl. dat. *robthaib*, LL. 57[b] 22, seems a compound of *ro-*=*pro* and **beuto-* from **gveuto-*, cogn. with *βοFά* and *γόος*, Fick[4] 406. So the Welsh *rhybudd* 'monitio,' comes from *ro* and **peud*, **peujo-*, √*qu* 'to cry,' Fick[4] 380,

Rucht from **ruk-tu*, cogn. with Germ. *Rock*, *Rocken*, A.S. *rocc*, Low Lat. *roccus*, whence Fr. and Eng. *rochet*, pronounced *rocket* in the Co. Cork. The quotation is from the Amra Conroi (H. 3. 18, p. 49): ro ir dam .x. ruchta derga 'he gave me ten red tunics.'

Rúam 'cemetery,' from *Rōma*. See the Tripartite Life, p. 656, col. 2. See also the Divina Commedia, Par. ix. 140: xxvii. 25.

Ranc seems borrowed from a British cognate of Lat. *runco*, Persius 4. 36, *runcina*. For the ablaut *a—u*, see Fröhde, Bezz. Beitr. xvii. 306. The *imspeilp* here mentioned is a compound of *imm-* =Lat. *amb-*, Gr. *ἀμφί*, and *speilp* borrowed (with prothetic *s* and metathesis of *l*) from the gen. sg. of Lat. *peplum*. Speilp (gl. coopertorium), Ir. Gl. 730. Cor' scail in speilp bói imme, LB. 160[a] 42.

Ráth. The Low-Latin *rata* occurs often in the Canones Hibern. Ducange explains it by 'stipulatio, contractus;' but it seems always to mean 'a security' or 'guarantee.'

Ruam: hence *ruamadh*, O'Curry, M. and C. iii. 119.

Roscad, pl. nom. dotiagait asna foclaib sin . . . roscaid 7 fasaig 7 aircheadail, L.Lec. 143[b] 2=BB. 317[b] 30.

Ribar 'sieve' seems cogn. with Lith. *rė-tis*, the suffix being borrowed from Lat. *cribrum* (krei-dhro-). So in *láichess*, supra, p. 8, the suffix is=Lat. *-issa*, Gr. *-ισσα*.

Riss, pl. n. áil ríg risi rede, LL. 187[a] 37, rissi ruada, LL. 187[b] 20.

Sobraig. Rop sobraig, LL. 343[d] 3.

Semind. So semind .i. séim co hind, LL. 186[a] 29.

Sen. *senser* is, acc. to Windisch, from **seniastero-*. *O'sser* 'younger' and Lat. *magis-ter*, *minis-ter*, are similar formations.

Sail-choit=Sulchóid, Four Masters, A.D. 1602, p. 2312, is a loan from *salicoitum*, the Old-British pronunciation of Lat. *salicētum*. The Welsh *coit* here cited is from **keito-n*, whence the Old-British *cēton* in *Lēto-cēton*, *Luit-coit* 'grey-wood,' now Litchfield. See Bradley, in the *Academy*, October 30, 1886. The Goth. *haithi* 'a heath,' is cognate.

Sine is compared by Bugge with Lith. *spenys* 'teat.' But *triphne*, LU. 77[a] 38=*trí sine*, LL. 75[b] 21, seems to point to a primeval Celtic *svenio*. Cf. however the redupl. perf. *sephaind* 'played (the harp),' which Strachan brings from *√sphendh*, 'zucken,' whereto Fick[4] 149, refers Skr. *pa-spande*, Gr. *σφενδανός*.

Serb. As to the *Feda*, or woods, of Athlone see the Four Masters, ed. O'Donovan, A.D. 1536, p. 1435, note o.

Sin. See now *Irische Texte*, 3te serie, 1. heft, pp. 188–198, where this and eleven other Irish ordeals are described. The 'epistle' was got from S. Paul.

Scuitt. So in the Bk. of Lecan, 152a 2: Nel mac Feniusa dofuc Scotai ingen Foraind, conid dia hanmaim-sein dogairthear Scuitt 'Nel son of Fenius wedded Scota Pharaoh's daughter, so that from her name the Scots are (so) called.'

Sopaltair. Soppaltair la Forbraigi, Tripartite Life, p. 250.

Saim, cogn. with Skr. *samám*, Gr. ἅμα, ὁμός, ὁμοῦ, Germ. *zusammen.*

Sén 'net' (W. *hwyn*), from **seg-no*, √*segh*, whence Gr. ἔχω. To the same root Strachan refers Ir. *semmenn* 'rivets,' s.v. nescoit, from **sesmen*, **segh-s-men.*

Séd. pl. gen. re trichait sedh lurganda, Bk. of Lecan, 149b 1 = BB. 325b.

Sau, O'Donovan Supp. takes *sóer* to be for *saer*, and accordingly renders *sau* by 'carpenter.'

Tí 'mantle,' tíi dubglass co lubain aircit, Egerton 1782, fo. 37b 2: pl. n. tii dubglasso, Ir. Texte, 3te ser. 1. Heft, p. 239, l. 136. From **to-vesio-*, √*ves* (Strachan).

Tríath 'king,' may be cogn. with Lat. *strī-avus* 'an ancestor in the sixth degree.' As to the superstition here referred to,—the influence of a righteous king on the seasons and crops,—see the Odyssey, xix. 109–114; Horace, Odes, iv. 5, ll. 7, 8; Manu, ix. 246, 247; and the Irish documents mentioned in the Tripartite Life, pp. clx, 507, 670.

Tethra. The quotation from the Dialogue of the Two Sages may be found in LL. 187b 37.

Tem=A.S. *þimm.* The adj. *temen* occurs in Rumann's poem in praise of the sea, Laud 610, fo. 10a, as an epithet for a wave: *conn* dutraic tuinn temen cruaid. It also seems to have been a proper name, whence *Temenrigi*, Book of Armagh, 15a 2.

Turigen. The similarity of *tur-* with the first syll. of Gr. τύραννος, said to be borrowed from Lydian, is probably accidental. The *Dúil Roscad* 'Book of Maxims,' cited here and s.v. *lóes*, is said to have been composed by Cennfaelad, son of Ailill, after his skull had been split in the Battle of Moira, A.D. 637, and his 'brain of forgetfulness' (*inchinn dermait*) removed: see Laws, iii. 86, 88, 550. He is also alleged to have been the author of the Uraicecht.

V.—NOTE ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF THE ENGLISH VOWELS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By Russell Martineau, M.A.

[*Read at the Society's Meeting on Friday, Nov 6th*, 1891.]

The elder Joannes Buxtorf, the great Hebraist, was born at Kamen in Westfalia in 1564. He was Professor of Hebrew at Basle for 38 years, and died in 1629. His son of the same name was a worthy son of his father, and carried on his work. Several of the father's works, left unfinished at his death, were edited by the son. One of these appears to be the "Epitome Grammaticae Hebraeae," which, probably owing to the esteem in which the younger Buxtorf was held in England, where he resided for some time, was published first in London in 1653. This was written in Latin; but at the beginning, where the Hebrew vowels are enumerated, their value is given by citation of both *German* and *English* words. These give us interesting information respecting the pronunciation of the English vowels in the age before 1629 when the author died, or at least before 1653 when the book was published. It might indeed be objected that, Buxtorf being a foreigner, his estimate of the English vowels is not to be implicitly believed. But very fortunately for my argument this objection is met by the existence of an English translation of this little grammar made by John Davis and published in London 1656. The translation omits the German instances, but retains all the English ones—except in one case where Buxtorf gave two instances, and the translator thinks only one necessary. Thus we have native English evidence of the time. I shall also show (though it is not

the subject of this paper) that the German instances afford interesting indications of Buxtorf's German pronunciation, showing him to have retained (at least in the vowels) the Low-German sounds of his native country of Westfalia, and not to have adopted the High-German of Basle, where he lived for the greater part of his life.

I now give the passages (at the beginning of the grammar) in which Buxtorf explains the Hebrew vowels,[1] and the corresponding ones in Davis's translation.

BUXTORF, EPITOME GRAMMATICAE HEBRAEAE. London, 1653.

Vocales.

Longae.	*Breves.*
Kametz אָ A obscurum quasi cum O mixtum, ut in Germanicis *Avend*[1] vespera, *Samen* semen, Angli *salt* sal, *small*[2] parvus.	*Pathach* אַ A clarum, ut in *Vatter* pater, *Samlen* colligere, *Dach* tectum, Angl. *art* ars.
Tzere אֵ E purum et siccum, *Ehr* honor, *Lehr* doctrina, Angl. *we* nos.	*Segol* אֶ E impurum et dilutum, *ahr*[3] arista, Angl. an *eare* of corn, *bed* lectus.

[1] Of the consonants he gives only three English sounds: 'Sajin ז, 7, s lenissimum, Angl. z'; 'Caph כ, 20, ch, χ Graecorum, Angl. c'; 'Schin שׁ, 300, sc vel σχ aut sch German. Angl. sh.'

[1] This is Frisian; Dutch is avond. Buxtorf was born at Kamen in Westfalia, and his German pronunciation here and in Note 4 is *Low*—not as one might imagine from his long residence at Basle eminently *High*. It is clear that he pronounced âvend. In this word the *a* tends in many dialects towards *o*, as in Swiss *obed*.

[2] He means the modern aw (Sw. å) sound in *salt, small*. It is the modern Jewish pronunciation of kametz, and Buxtorf's teachers were Rabbis. Christian scholars generally treat the kametz as the ordinary long â of *father*.

[3] Legend. ähr, properly ähre. Engl. *eare* is meant not as translation of ähre, but to show pronunciation of segol, and is retained in the Engl. translation in that sense. It would appear therefore that the vowel of Engl. eare is identical with that of Germ. ähre; but both these examples are puzzling, for they would seem rather equal to ê Tzere, with the vowel of Ger. ehr, lehr. Perhaps Buxtorf had a recondite reason for selecting ähr, ear. The pronunciation of the segolate substantive *in pausa* (which, moreover, is the pronunciation adopted in the transliteration of proper names in the Greek and Latin versions) lengthens the segol (ĕ) into kametz (ā), as in הֶבֶל, pausal הָבֶל Ἄβελ Abel. Thus there

Longae.

Chirek longum אִי I *Ihr* vos, *Ihnen* ipsis, *Slider* [legend. Glider] membra, Angl. *Alive* vivus.

Cholem אֹ אוֹ O *Ohr* auris, *Sohn* filius, Angl. *open* apertus, *over* supra.

Schurek שׁוּ U *Unser* noster, *Unschuldig* innocens, *gesund*[1] sanus, Angl. *a lute* barbitum, testudo.

Breves.

Chirek breve אִ I *Irren* errare, *Sinn* sensus, *gelitten* passus, *to live* vivere.

Kametz chatuph אָ O *Ort* locus, *Son* sol, *Trott* torcular, Angl. to trot, succussare.

Kibbutz אֻ u vel Y, *Sunde* peccatum, *verfuhren* seducere, Angl. *but* sed, *shut*,[2] clausus.

Impropria vocalis est, quae vel non semper, aut non omnium literarum vocalis est; estque *Simplex* vel *Composita*. Simplex dicitur Sheva . . . valetque E brevissimum, quale in *berahlt*,[3] *gestrafft*, quod rapide effertur quasi *brahlt*, *gstrafft*, ut *e* med. in Angl. *beggery*. Vulgo vocatur Sheva mobile.

seems to be an affinity between the Hebrew *a* and *e*, so that Buxtorf might treat it as an umlaut like the Germ. a, ä. Anyhow, the Eng. bed (his other instance) is unequivocal; the surprising thing is that he should put side by side ear and bed, the vowels of which surely never can have been identical.

[1] The German instances of long û seem faulty, *i.e.* to be short rather than long: unser, unschuldig (he probably means both vowels to serve as examples), gesund. Happily for us the Eng. *lute* is unequivocal; for even if that was pronounced lyute, the vowel which represents the Heb. shurek is not yu but u.

[2] These identifications are interesting; and, as with shurek, the Eng. instances are most obviously correct. *But*, *shut* are clearly to be pronounced with the original short u as in *bull*. The German instances are curious: *sunde*, *verfuhren*. It looks as if he pronounced the Heb. ŭ like Germ. ü with umlaut, though his Eng. instances will not lend themselves to that. But the umlaut is not written, nor I believe used by Buxtorf in these words. Führen had by no means generally the umlaut in the earlier times down to at least the middle of the sixteenth century, and in the Netherlands we have voeren [pron. fûren]. similarly in the other instance: *sünde* is the High-German pronunciation; but the Low is in Dutch *zonde*, which implies High-Germ. *sunde*, as D. ŏ = G. ü, e.g. *onder* = unter, *rond* = rund, *sprong* = sprung.)

[3] This word *berahlt* is not easily explicable, as no verb at all like *rahlen* is known, It seems to be a misprint.

JOHN DAVIS'S TRANSLATION. London, 1656.

Long Vowels.

Kametz אָ it's an obscure A as though the vowel O were mixt with it, as in English *salt, small.*

Tzere אֵ it's a plaine, and single E in English thus, *we.*

Long *Chirek* אִי it's the vowel I, in English thus, *alive.*

Cholem אֹ אוֹ is the vowel O in English *open, over.*

Schurek, it is the vowel U in English thus, a *lute.*

Short Vowels.

Pathach אַ is a cleare and shrill A, in English thus, *art.*

Sægol אֶ is a dubble or mixed E, in English thus, an *eare* of corne.

Short *Chirek* אִ it's the vowel I, in English thus, to *live.*

Kametz-chatuph אֳ אָ it's the vowel O, in English to *trot.*

Kibbutz אֻ is either u, or else it is y, as in English *but* or *shut.*

The simple improper vowel is Sheva, and it's cast under the letter in two pricks just down right thus אְ, and it hath the force of a most shorte e, as in English thus *beggery*; it's commonly called the movable Sheva.

VI.—THE GREEK INDIRECT NEGATIVE. By E. R. Wharton, M.A.

[*Read at the Society's Meeting held on Friday, Nov.* 6, 1891.]

The real nature of the particle μή is allowed to be the greatest difficulty of Greek syntax.[1] I shall endeavour to show that (1) primarily and essentially μή is not a negative or prohibitive particle, but an interrogative; that (2) many μή-sentences which are at present printed as assertions might better be printed as questions;[2] and that (3) even in other cases the apparent negation contains or pre-supposes an interrogative meaning.

(1) Greek μή is plainly the same word as the Arian *mā* (Old Persian and Zend *mā*,[3] Sanskrit *mā́*:[4] the so-called 'prohibitive' particle). That both are identical with the Accusative of the Pronoun of the first person (Latin *mē*, Zend *mā*, Sanskrit *mā* enclitic), used, as in Vergil's 'me, me, adsum qui feci,' to call attention to the speaker, is an old but over-bold suggestion. It is possible that μή and μήν were originally byforms like νύ and νύν, ἐγώ and ἐγών, since τί μή and τί μήν equally mean (like our 'Why now,' introducing a sentence) 'of course': but in practice μή was confined to questions, μήν was not.[5] That

[1] See Madvig, Greek Syntax, sections 122–124, 131, 200–212; Goodwin, Moods and Tenses,[3] sec. 259–283, 289–301, 305–310, 315–316, 333, 352–354, 365–371, 550–551, 576, 595–599, 685–688, 734, 784, 811–819, and Appendix II.; Monro, Homeric Grammar,[2] sec. 278, 281, 303, 316, 328, 358–361; Gildersleeve, American Journal of Philology, I. p. 45–57; J. Cook Wilson, Transactions of the Oxford Philological Society, 1890.

[2] Of course our present system of punctuation in Greek, dating only from post-classical times, can prove nothing as to the usage of the classical period.

[3] See Spiegel, Grammatik der Alteranischen Sprachen, sec. 388.

[4] Böhtlingk, Sanskrit-Wörterbuch, s.v.; Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, sec. 579–580; Delbrück, Altindische Syntax, sec. 177, 191, 203, 265–267; Speijer, Sanskrit Syntax, sec. 353, 405.

[5] Before a mute or spirant μήν regularly became μέν, e.g. in the combinations μέν τοι, μὲν γάρ, which form then became common before vowels also. See Brugmann, Grundriss, I. sec. 611, and to the consonant combinations there mentioned as shortening the preceding vowel in Greek add δν: κεδνός for *κηδ-νός must be an Ionic derivative from κῆδος (the form in other dialects would be *καδνός, from κᾶδος), and ψεδνός stand for *ψη-δ-νός from ψῆν 'to rub.' The Greek grammarians notice the shortening of the semivowel before ξ in φοῖνιξ κῆρυξ beside φοίνικα κήρυκα.

μή usually begins the clause and μήν never does is no objection to their connexion: δή is often initial in Homer, though never in Attic.

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(2) In the Homeric interrogative formula ἦ μή (Od. 6. 200, 9. 405–406), as in the Attic combinations ἆρα μή, μῶν μή, τί μή, the μή merely adds a slight emphasis to the initial interrogative particle. In Attic (see Madvig 199 b) μή in direct questions has an indeterminate force, the answer expected may range over the whole field of possibilities, from 'No' through 'Perhaps' and 'Probably' to a covert or ironical 'Yes'; it is only the context that can show which answer is intended. But that this use of μή in questions was Homeric as well as Attic may appear if we view the following combinations as interrogative:

(α) μή with Indicative: Il. 9. 698 μηδ' ὄφελες λίσσεσθαι; '*Ought* you to have prayed? (We cannot say that in such cases the μή, for οὐ, goes with the Infinitive, for then we should have equally μὴ χρῆν λίσσεσθαι, μὴ καλὸν ἦν λίσσεσθαι.)—Eur. Med. 822 λέξεις (λέξῃς is only a conjecture) δὲ μηδέν; '*Will* you say anything?—Ar. Av. 195 (see Goodwin 686) μὴ 'γὼ νόημα κομψότερον ἤκουσά πω; '*Did* I ever hear?'

(β) μή with Subjunctive, used as future: Il. 16. 128 μὴ δὴ νῆας ἕλωσι; 'Shall they seize the ships?'—Eur. Or. 776 μὴ λάβωσί σε; So, first in Herodotus and often in Plato (Goodwin 265), where the answer really expected is 'Yes,' *e.g.* μὴ φαῦλον ᾖ; 'May it be bad? Quite possibly': cf. the use of ἆρα for ἆρ' οὐ, Soph. Oed. Rex 822 ἆρ' ἔφυν κακός; ἆρ' οὐχὶ πᾶς ἀναγνος; —Also with Optative, a less direct form of the Subjunctive: Od. 7. 316 μὴ τοῦτο φίλον Διὶ πατρὶ γένοιτο; '*Should* this be the will of Zeus?' and so μὴ γένοιτο; 'Should it be so? God forbid.'

(γ) μή with Imperative, which is really (see Rutherford, Babrius, p. 38) a Future with a sense of command:[6] μὴ κλέπτε; '*Will* you cheat? Don't.'—The corresponding use of *mā́* in Sanskrit with Imperative is not found in the Vedas (the only

[6] Aristophanes' οἶσθ' ὃ δρᾶσον and Euripides' οἶσθ' ὃ δράσεις equally mean 'Do you know what you must do?,' and so I would explain the Homeric εἰ δ' ἄγε 'But if you *must* come—.' So the Sanskrit Imperative is used in questions (Whitney 572 b).

instance quoted is probably corrupt, Whitney 579 c), though common in Classical Sanskrit; whence we may infer (Monro 328) that the Imperative was originally used only in commands, and perhaps that its extension to prohibitions was due to the analogy of the Subjunctive.

(δ) μή with imperatival Infinitive: Il. 2. 413 μὴ πρὶν ἐπ' ἠέλιον δῦναι; 'Is the sun to set before?' *i.e.* let not the sun set before.

(ε) μή used elliptically, without a Verb: Soph. Oed. Col. 1441 εἰ χρὴ θανοῦμαι.—μὴ σύ γ'; ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ πιθοῦ 'What, *you* die? Nay, hear me;' Ant. 577 μὴ τριβὰς ἔτ'; 'What, still tarrying?' So μὴ ὅτι (or ὅπως) is the interrogative equivalent of οὐχ ὅτι (or ὅπως), and in Dem. 18. 200 (=295) τίς οὐχὶ κατέπτυσεν ἂν σοῦ; μὴ γὰρ τῆς πόλεώς γε the latter clause is as much interrogative as the former.

In the same way we may analyse every complex sentence in which the second clause begins with μή (usually translated 'lest' or 'whether,' though the latter would properly be εἰ) into an affirmative clause + a question:[1]

(α) μή with Indicative in oaths in Homer: Il. 10. 329–330 ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς . . . μὴ μὲν τοῖς ἵπποισιν ἀνὴρ ἐποχήσεται ἄλλος; 'Shall any other drive them? I call Zeus to witness, No,' and so 15. 36–42.

(β) μή with Subjunctive or Optative in final sentences: Il. 1. 522 ἀπόστιχε· μή τι νοήσῃ; 'Shall she notice anything? Withdraw,' *i.e.* 'Withdraw, or she will notice something.'

(γ) μή in sentences expressing apprehension, with Indicative: Od. 5. 300 δείδω· μὴ δὴ πάντα θεὰ νημερτέα εἶπεν; 'Was it all true? I fear it was,' see Fäsi ad loc.; Plat. Theaet. 145 b ὅρα· μὴ παίζων ἔλεγεν; 'Was he joking? See to it'; Soph. Ant. 1253 εἰσόμεσθα· μή τι . . . καλύπτει; 'Is she concealing something? We shall find out' (Goodwin 369 note); Thuc. 3. 53 φοβούμεθα· μὴ ἀμφοτέρων ἡμαρτήκαμεν; So with Subjunctive in the sense of a Future: Il. 11. 470 δείδω· μή τι πάθῃσιν; Plat. Gorg. 512 d ὅρα· μὴ ἄλλο τι . . . ᾖ;

[1] In Sanskrit the Verb after *mā́* is always enclitic (Delbrück 267) *i.e.* the clause was a principal one, not dependent, and the *mā́* cannot be translated 'lest.' In really dependent sentences *nā́d*, not *mā́*, is used.

(3) Finally, even where we cannot print interrogatively we may fairly see a question underlying the use of μή. Instances in Homer are comparatively rare (Goodwin 315, Monro 361), while in Attic they are numerous and in later Greek preponderate (see Gildersleeve): the Greeks increasingly loved 'dubitantius loqui,' to view facts as possibilities.

A. μή before a Verb:

(α) After a Relative (Monro 359 b) Homer always has οὐ, except in Il. 2. 301 ἐστὲ δὲ πάντες μάρτυροι οὓς μὴ κῆρες ἔβαν θανάτοιο φέρουσαι, which contains the question 'Are some of you gone? Perhaps'; and so Soph. Ant. 546 μηδ' ἃ μὴ 'θίγες ποιοῦ σεαυτῆς, 'Had you a hand in it? No: then do not claim to have had.' So after a 'final' Relatival particle: ἵνα μὴ γένηται is a less original way of saying μὴ γένηται, which (see 2 β) is really interrogative.

(β) In Protasis. A hypothetical sentence may be viewed either affirmatively, 'This is so, then that follows,' or interrogatively, 'Is this so? then that follows.' To the first form belong the Sanskrit hypothetical sentence, which always has the direct negative *nâ*, not *mâ* (Speijer 405 Rem. 2), and the Greek use of οὐ after εἰ:[8] Homer always (with one exception, Od. 9. 410, see Monro 359 c) has εἰ οὐ with Indicative unless the natural order of the clauses is reversed and the apodosis put first, and so Soph. Aj. 1131 εἰ . . οὐκ ἐᾷς, Thuc. 1. 121 fin. εἰ . . οὐκ ἀπεροῦσιν, and with Subjunctive Il. 3. 288 εἰ . . . οὐκ ἐθέλωσιν, Plat. Apol. 25 b ἐάν τε . . οὐ φῆτε (Goodwin 384). We cannot explain such cases by saying that here the Negative forms one idea with the Verb, since this is equally true in all cases, *e.g.* Dem. 21. 205 ἄν τε μὴ φῶ, Thuc. 3. 68 ὁπότε μὴ φαίεν, 'the negative particle was treated originally like the prepositions, placed immediately before the Verb and closely connected with it' (Monro 355).— But the commoner way in Greek was to regard the Protasis as involving a question: εἰ μή τι ἔχω οὔτι δίδωμι, 'Have I nothing? then I give nothing.'

(γ) In Oratio Obliqua after ὅτι or ὡς the regular Negative is οὐ: Soph. Ant. 685 ὅπως σὺ μὴ λέγεις ὀρθῶς τάδε is a kind of anacoluthon for an interrogative μὴ λέγεις ὀρθῶς τάδε. But in later Greek (see Gildersleeve) ὅτι μὴ became common, reported state-

[8] εἰ in itself no more necessitates μή than its compound ἐπ-εί does, which is always followed by οὐ.

ments were regarded as involving questions.—Before Infinitive also οὐ is used (Goodwin 685), except where the narration is but half oblique, after Verbs like 'hope, promise, swear, agree': Il. 9. 132 ὀμοῦμαι μή ποτε τῆς εὐνῆς ἐπιβήμεναι ('Shall I ever do it? I will swear an oath'), Thuc. 2. 101 ἀπιστοῦντες αὐτὸν μὴ ἥξειν ('Would he come? They doubted'), and so 1. 139 προὔλεγον . . μὴ ἂν γίγνεσθαι πόλεμον, as if it were 'They agreed not to fight.'

(δ) οὐ μὴ γένηται (or γενήσεται) plainly, see Goodwin p. 391 note 1, contains the question μὴ γένηται (or γενήσεται); 'Shall it be? No,' and so='There is no question of its being.'

(ε) ὥστε οὐ with Infinitive (instances in Goodwin 598) contains an assertion, Soph. El. 780 ὥστ' οὔτε νυκτὸς ὕπνον . . . ἐμὲ στεγάζειν, 'I never slept: such was the consequence of my alarm,' while the more usual ὥστε μή contains a question, 'Did I ever sleep?'

(ζ) Before a Participle: οὐ πιστεύων involves the assertion 'He disbelieves,' μὴ πιστεύων ('if he disbelieves') the question 'Does he believe?' So Soph. Oed. Rex 397 ὁ μηδὲν εἰδὼς Οἰδίπους ('Do I know anything? Perhaps'), 289 μὴ παρὼν θαυμάζεται ('Is he here? It is strange if he is not,' while οὐ παρὼν would involve a definite οὐ πάρεστι). So Thuc. 2. 40 fin. εἰδὼς οὐκ . . . ἀποδώσων='He will not pay, and he knows it,' while 2. 17 προῄδει μὴ . . . κατοικισθησόμενον='Would it be occupied? The oracle knew,' 1. 76 ἴσμεν μὴ ἂν ἧσσον ὑμᾶς λυπηροὺς γενομένους= 'Would you have been gentler? We know all about *that*.'

B. μή before a Noun: Ar. Eccl. 115 δεινὸν . . ἡ μὴ 'μπειρία involves the question 'Is there experience?', Thuc. 1. 137 fin. τὴν τῶν γεφυρῶν . . . οὐ διάλυσιν contains the assertion τὰς γεφύρας οὐ διέλυσαν. So Thuc. 1. 22 τὸ μὴ μυθώδες αὐτῶν presupposes 'Is there a mythical element in it? Perhaps not.' In Soph. Aj. 1231 ὅτ' οὐδὲν ὢν τοῦ μηδὲν ἀντέστης ὕπερ we have both the assertion 'You were worth nothing' and the question '*Was* he worth anything?'—But in Thuc. 1. 118 μὴ ταχεῖς can only be a Byzantine gloss (see Rutherford, Thuc. IV. p. xxxiv) which has taken the place of the original βραδεῖς.

The particle *mā* is used (*α*) in Old Persian, the Gāthās, and Sanskrit, with the '*Injunctive*,' i.e. Aor. or Imperf., almost always unaugmented and so having no connotation of time;[9] (*β*) in Old Persian, the younger Avesta, and Classical Sanskrit, with *Optative* (or 'Potential'); and in the two former languages also with *Subjunctive* (in Old Persian only after *mātya*), while in Vedic both Moods almost always take *nā́*, not *mā́*; (*γ*) in Classical Sanskrit alone, see above, 2 *γ*, with *Imperative*; (*δ*) in Sanskrit epics with *Future*. In Sanskrit (see note 7), and therefore doubtless in the Iranian languages too, *mā*-clauses were always regarded as principal, not dependent; and I would explain them in just the same way as Greek *μή*-clauses, sec. 2, *i.e.* as really questions. The Injunctive then will be a 'timeless' Indicative, the Subjunctive a direct (the Optative a less direct) Future, the Imperative a Future of command.

[9] The Injunctive in Sanskrit often takes *nā́* instead of *mā́*, Delbrück 203.

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VII.—THE COMPENSATORY LENGTHENING OF VOWELS IN IRISH.

By J. Strachan, M.A., Professor of Greek and Comparative Philology, Owens College, Manchester.[1]

"Ψηλαφῶντες ὥσπερ ἐν σκότει."

Though the lengthening of vowels in Irish by way of compensation for a lost consonant has often been noted in isolated cases, the subject is one that has never been systematically treated as a whole. The unsatisfactory state of the question was forced upon the writer's notice by a remark of Dr. Richard Schmidt in Vol. I. of *Indogermanische Forschungen*, to the effect that for *dér* 'tear'=**dacru*, O.W. *dacr*, one might have expected **dár*. That *dér* stands for **dacr-* there can be no doubt. But should *dacr-* have given **dár*? The investigation of this question led on to the consideration of other similar problems, until at last it seemed desirable to bring together and discuss as many instances as possible of such compensatory lengthening with a view to determining the laws by which it is governed. For the sake of completeness there have also been included in this paper those combinations of which the laws are already known. It is not to be expected that all the details of this difficult subject have been finally settled: a further analysis of words that have hitherto defied analysis will doubtless fill up some gaps and correct some of the following statements. But it is hoped that something may have been done to advance the question, or, at least, to clear the way for further research.

It is necessary at the outset to call attention to the peculiar difficulty of the subject, which is that in Irish itself there is often nothing to indicate that a consonant

[1] The writer's best thanks are due to Dr. Whitley Stokes for much friendly criticism and for information freely given from his stores of Keltic lore.

has been lost, and, even when that is certain, there is still often an embarrassing variety of possibilities. Sometimes help is to be got from the British dialects: thus *én* 'bird' might, so far as Irish is concerned, go back to **egno-* or **ecno-* or **etno-*; O.W. *etn* decides in favour of the last. When this help fails, the only course left is to look around for cognate words in the other Indo-Germanic languages. Such evidence is naturally not so conclusive; a wider knowledge might reveal a more satisfactory etymology; a word put under one heading might have to be transferred to another.

I. Sound Groups ending in *n*.

1. *ăcn* > *ēn*.[1]

lén 'sorrow,' Gael. *leòn* 'wound, grief, vexation,' Mid. Ir. *lénaim* 'I wound' = **placnāi̯ō*: Lith. *plàkti* 'strike,'

[1] Stokes (*Kuhn's Zeitschrift* xxix. 375) has suggested that pretonic *gn*, *dn*, *bn* (so also pretonic *kn*, *tn*, *pn*), became in Keltic *c* (*cc*), *t*, *p*, as in Teutonic *kk*, *tt*, *pp*. There is a considerable amount of evidence in favour of this: *cnocc* 'hill' may be most simply explained from **cnocnos* Germ. *nacken* (Kluge, *Etym. Wb.* s.v.); *boc* 'tender' = **bhugnós*, Skr. *bhugnás* 'bent'; *aicc* 'bond' = **pacnis*, Skr. *pā́ça-* 'fetter,' Gr. πήγνυμι (*Kuhn u. Schleicher's Beiträge*, viii. 332); *lecc* 'flat stone,' W. *llech* 'lapis, tabula saxea,' *llych* 'what is flat' = **pl̥cnā́*, **pl̥cnó-*, Gr. πλάξ, Lett. *plũ̆ku* 'become flat' (*KSB.* viii. 317); *lecco* 'maxilla' = **licn-*, Old Pruss. *laygnan*, Ch. Slav. *lice* 'vultus' (*KSB.* viii. 439); *bocc* 'he-goat,' W. *bwch*, Eng. *buck* = **bhugnós*, Zd. *būza* 'he-goat' (cf, however, Skr. *bhukka*), *menicc* 'often,' W. *mynych* = *menogní-*, Goth. *manags*; so Johansson (*KZ.*, xxx. 426) would derive *cacc* 'excrement' from *caqn-*, Skr. *çaknás*: here, however, *kk* appears outside Keltic, Gr. κάκκη, Lat. *caccare*; *brecc* 'variegated, speckled,' W. *brych* = **mrignó-* **mr̥gnó-* a participial formation parallel to *mr̥któ-*, in W. *braith*, Ir. *mrechtrad*; if *mucc* 'pig,' W. *moch* is to be connected with Gr. μυκτήρ etc., Skr. *muñcáti* 'lets loose.' (Stokes *KSB.* viii. 316, Brugmann, *Grundriss* I. 327), it might be derived from **muknŭ* (original decl. **muknḗ*, **muknúās*, etc., cf. Thurneysen, *KZ.* xxviii. 149, Stokes, *KZ.* xxviii. 291, J. Schmidt, *Pluralbildungen der Indogermanischen Neutra*, 54 sq). In view of a forthcoming paper of Mr. Stokes it is unnecessary to enter further into the subject here. There is one point, however, to which I should like to call attention—the two-fold treatment of Old Ir. *cc* in the modern dialects. It sometimes appears as *c*, *boc*, 'he-goat,' *muc* 'pig,' sometimes as *g*, *beag* 'small,' Old Ir. *becc*, W. *bychan*. Probably under certain conditions of sandhi the double consonant was reduced. There was probably also a still earlier interchange of *cc*, *c* in Keltic, cf. W. *clwch* 'crag' = **cluoco-* by W. *clwg* 'crag,' Ir. *cloch* 'stone' = **cluco-*, **clucā*, unless

Gr. πλήσσω=*πλᾰκ̯ω, √*plāk*. By the side of a tenuis a media often appears at the end of a root,[1] and thus we find also *plāg-*,[2] which in Lat. *plangere*, Goth. *faiflôk* 'lament' shows the same development of meaning as in *lén* 'sorrow.'

léne 'camisia, shirt, shift'=*lacn-*, Lat. *lacerna*, *lacinia*.[3]

mén i. *bél* 'mouth'[4]=**macn-*: Ags. *maga*, Eng. *maw*, N.H.G. *magen*=**maγón*. At first sight the meanings lie far apart, but it seems possible to reconcile them. *Mén* means not simply 'mouth,' but 'open mouth, rictus, hiatus,' as is evident from the derivative *ménaigim*, Ml. 71[d] 4 *menaigte*, gl. inhiare, i.e. 'qui inhiant,' *ménogud* 'hiatus,' Sg. 8[b] 11, 40[b] 8; cf. also Gael. *meunan* 'gape, yawn.' The transition of meaning would then be from 'gape' to 'throat,' and from 'throat' to 'stomach.' Cf. Lith. *gomurỹs* 'palate, throat,' Lett. *gāmurs* 'windpipe,' Gr. χάσκω, χήμη,[5] further the change of meaning in Gr. στόμαχος.[6] Formally **makn-* would stand in the same relation to **makṓn*, as Skr. *ahna-* to *áhan* 'day.'[7] With *mén* has been compared W. *min* 'edge, lip.'[8] Thurneysen remarks, "die wörter können nur verbunden werden, wenn für das brittische ein stamm auf *i* (**megni-*) angesetzt wird, in welchem das *e* durch das folgende *i* umgelautet wurde wie im cymr. *llith* aus lat. *lectio*." But short *i* in a final syllable does not produce umlaut in Welsh[9]: *nith* 'niece'

here **cluco-* comes from **cluc-*, **clucco-* from **clucn-*. Where *c g* etc. remained before *n* and disappeared only at a later period, we should then have to assume that the accent fell on a preceding syllable.

[1] Cf. Brugmann *Grundriss* I. 190 sq., 348; *Griech. Gram.*[3] 51 with the works referred to there.

[2] Fick I[4]. 486.

[3] *léne* represents the development of an *n* stem, *lacerna* the mixture of an *n* and an *r* stem, cf. Johansson, *Beiträge z. Griech. Sprachkunde* 110.

[4] Cf. Stokes, *Metrical Irish Glosses* 84.

[5] Persson, *Zur Lehre v. d. Wurzelerweiterung* 139.

[6] If old Slav. *želądŭkŭ* 'stomach,' is connected with *želądŭ* 'acorn,' one might conjecture that *želądŭkŭ* meant first 'Adam's apple,' then 'throat,' then 'stomach.'

[7] Cf. Brugmann, *Morphologische Untersuchungen* II. 166, sqq.

[8] Thurneysen, *Kelto-Romanisches* 69; Stokes, *Metr. Ir. Gl. l.c.*

[9] *Grammatica Celtica*[2] 175; Windisch, *KZ.* xxvii. 157.

(=**nepti*) may be directly compared with Skr. *napti*. Perhaps a stem **megnī-* would give the desired result, only then the British stem would be different from the Irish, which points to *-no-* or *-nā-*; we should have in this case to postulate a pre-Keltic *megh-* with ablaut *mogh-* in Teutonic. On the assumption that *mén* comes from **macn-* the W. form admits of a simple explanation. To **macn-* there might be an ablaut form **mēcn-* and **mēcno-* or **mēcnā* could in W. give *min*. There seems to be no doubt that, under some circumstances at all events, *c* was lost before *n* in the British dialects, that is to say *cn* had become *gn* by the time that *g* was lost before *n*. Only thus can be explained W. *croen* 'skin' by Bret. *croc'henn*, Ir. *croccenn*; *croen*=**erogn-*, **erocn-* with a weak form of the suffix. W. *dwyn*, Bret. *doen* 'to carry,' have been explained as standing for *ducn-*,[1] and whether Zimmer[2] is right in his account of *duc* or not, *dwyn* can hardly be explained otherwise. See below *brén*, *tón*. Where *c* appears as *g*, as in W. *mign* 'bog'[3] it is easy to suppose that a vowel has been lost between *e* and *n*. It seems simplest then to refer *mén*, *magen*, *min* to *māk-*, *mēk-*, though the possibility of *megh-*, *mogh-* is not altogether excluded.

scén 'shyness, fright'=**scacno-*: Lith. *szókti*, 'jump, spring,' etc.[4] From this can hardly be separated *scuchim* 'I depart'=**scaciō*. Zimmer[5] postulates *scec-*, but the cognate languages show an ablaut *skāk-*, *skāk-*, and the Irish forms may be equally well explained from *scac-*; for *scuchim*=**scaciō* cf. *cechuin*=**cecane*. The perf. *roscáich* =**pro-scāce* is not in itself absolutely decisive, as such perfects also come from undoubted *e* roots, as *rogád*, √*ghedh*. With the use of the perf. *roscáich* in the sense of 'it is past,

[1] Rhys, *Revue Celtique*, vi. 17; Ernault, *Dictionnaire etymologique du breton moyen* 275.

[2] *KZ.* xxx. 188 sq.

[3] *Bezzenbergers Beiträge*, xvii. 303.

[4] *BB.* xvii. 303; Fick, I⁴. 41.

[5] *Keltische Studien* II. 80, 97. [If, however, M.H.G. *schēhen* 'run, hasten,' is to be compared, we must assume a √*skek*, cf. Franck, *Etymologisch Woordenboek d. Nederlandsche Taal*, 286; *scén* would then=**scecno-*.]

was past,'[1] cf. Lith. *praszókti*, in expressions like *szis mẽtas greĩtai praszóko* 'this year has passed by quickly.'[2]

brén 'rotten, stinking,' W. *braen* 'putidus, tabidus,'= **mracnǫ-*, cognate with Ir. *mraich*, *braich* 'malt' (=**mraci-*), Lat. *marceo*, *marcidus*. For a trace of the primary meaning in the Latin words Osthoff[3] refers to *corpus occisi marcescit*, Pliny, H.N. x. §134. He points out also the analogous development of meaning in Ags. *mealt* 'malt,' Ags. *meltan* 'dissolve, melt,' O.N. *maltr* 'rotten, corrupted, become sour,' O.H.G. *malz* 'melting away, soft, flabby.'[3] In **mracno- ra* would represent *r̥*; cf. *fraig* 'wall,' Gr. *ἐFέργω*, *flaith* 'sovereignty,'=**vlatis*, √*u̯el-*, Lat. *uelle*.[4]

blén 'inguen' may=**mlacnā*, Gr. *μαλακός*.[5]

Where the following syllable originally contained a slender vowel[6] *é* appears as *eói*, g. *leóin*=**lacnī* (*Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, 3206); *sceóin* (*do chor scéoin* 'to cause terror,' LL. 302[a] 24); *bleóin* acc. of *blén* (Wind. *Wb.*). This *eó* may make its way further by analogy, e.g. Gael. nom. *leòn* after gen. *leòin*.

On the other hand *ācn* > *ān*. The long vowel resists the change of quality.

cáinim[7] 'I revile, satirize'=**cācnio*: O.H.G. *huohôn*.

[1] Windisch, *Wörterbuch* 763.

[2] Kurschat, *Littauisch-deutsches Wörterbuch* 437.

[3] *Morphologische Untersuchungen* V. 105 sq. His further comparison of Lat. *fraces* is tempting, but the change of initial *mr* to *fr* in Latin cannot be regarded as established.

[4] Osthoff, *Morph. Unterruch* V. iv. sq. *Flaith* goes better with Lat. *valeo* (Fick. I.[4] 541); another Keltic cognate of *valeo* seems to be W. *gwell* 'better,' cf. Oscan *valaemom* 'optimum.'

[5] Formally Ir. *blén* is very like W. *blaen* 'cuspis, summitas, pars interior': the gender is different. Are the words the same, Ir. *blén* representing some highly specialised meaning?

[6] As R. Schmidt points out (*Indogermanische Forschungen* I. 65) this infection took place only when the following slender vowel was actually lost. In the modern language a levelling has set in. According to O'Donovan's *Ir. Gram.* 85 *éi* is now the usual form of the gen. If the Irish Tales edited by Mr. Douglas Hyde represent the popular usage in this respect, they only confirm O'Donovan's observation. In no single instance have I observed *eu eói* in the same paradigm. The levelling is commonly at the expense of the *eói* forms, *beul— béil*, *feur— féir*, *muineul— muinéil*. It may, however, also take place in the opposite direction, as in *deór* 'tear' after gen. *deóir*. In Gaelic, so far as it is possible to judge from grammars and printed books, this levelling has not gone on to nearly the same extent.

[7] At the same time it is also possible to connect *cáinim* with Goth. *haunś* 'mean, humble,' *haunjan* '*ταπεινοῦν*'; Lett. *kauns* 'disgrace,' on the assumption

cráin 'sow'=**crācnix*, properly 'grunter'; Lith. *krõkti*, 'grunt,' Lett. *krakt*, 'snort, rattle,' Lat. *crocio*.

2. *agn* > *ān*.

áin 'driving' (*oc áin liathróite* 'driving a ball,' LU. 60[b] 5) =**agni-*, *agim* 'I drive.' So the compounds *immáin* to *imm-agim* 'I drive about,' and *táin* 'cattlespoil,' to *do-agim*.

gráin 'disgust, loathing'=**gragni-* W. **graen* 'lamentabilis, luctuosus' (Davies).

stán 'tin,' W. *ystaen*, borrowed from Lat. *stagnum*.[1] Güterbock[2] remarks: "die länge des vocals in *stán*= stannum ist vielleicht aufzufassen wie die in den seite 17 erörterten wörtern wie *bárc*, *spiritáldle*," etc. (where the mark of length is put over vowels naturally short, but long by position). But W. *ystaen* points conclusively to derivation from a form *stagnum*; cf. Ital. *stagno*, Span. *estaño*, Fr. *étain*.[3]

-ān=*-agnos*, *Broccán*=*Broccagnos*, etc.[4]

fán 'sloping' (*etir réid 7 amreid etir fán 7 ardd* 'both smooth and unsmooth, both slope and height,' Ml. 140[a] 2; *glenta 7 fánta* 'glens and slopes,' LL. 101[a] 45; *barallsam a tilcha cofailet ina fántaib* 'we have cast down their hills

of an ablaut *kōu̯n-*, *kau̯n-*, with loss of *u* after the long vowel, Schulze, *KZ.* xxvii. 420 sqq.; J. Schmidt *Plur. d. Idg. Neutra*, 407; Kretschmer *KZ.* xxxi. 451 sqq.; Streitberg, *IF.* I. 278. The effect of the loss of *u* in a final syllable on the accentuation of the preceding long vowel is disputed. Streitberg, *IF.* I. 270, supposes that on the loss of *i* or *u* the preceding long vowel took the circumflex, *βῶν*, Skr. *gām*=**ǧōu̯m*. On the other hand Hirt *IF.* I. 22n. thinks that *i* and *u* did not have this effect, cf. nom. dual, Gr. *ἀγρώ*, Lith. *butù* =*ōu̯*, and explains *βῶν* by a rather complicated process of analogy. It may be worth while pointing out that, in Lithuanian, where in the interior of a word *u* has been lost after *û* (=*ō*), the accent is the acute (gestossener accent)—*kû'piu*, *kû'pti* 'to heap': *kaûpti*, 'to heap,' *kaûpas* 'heap'; *szlû'ju*, *szlû'ti* 'to wipe,' *szlû'ta* 'besom': pret. *szlaviaú*, Gr. *κλύζω*; *dû'bti* 'to hollow out': *dùbti* 'become hollow,' *gû'sti* 'bewail': *gaũsti*, 'wail,' *gaudùs*, 'pitiful'; *dû'žis* 'breach': *daũžti* (*daúžti* Leskien), 'strike hard.' On the other hand, so far as I have observed *o* in such cases appears with the circumflex (geschliffener accent) *kōpti* 'heap,' by *kû'pti*; *glōdinu* 'make smooth,' *glodùs* n. *glōdu* 'smooth,' by *glaudùs*, *glaũdu* 'smooth.' Does this indicate that the loss took place at different times? Perhaps some Lithuanian scholar will give an explanation.

[1] Ebel, *KSB.* II. 153.

[2] *Lateinische Lehnwörter im Irischen* 41 n.

[3] Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*[2], 315.

[4] Cf. Holder, *Altkeltischer Sprachschatz* 60, 164.

so that they are in their valleys,' LL. 95b 11) may stand for **vāgno-* or **vācno-*: √*u̯āg, u̯āk*, Fick I.[4] 123; W. *gwaen*, 'plain, meadow,' pl. *gweunydd* points to **vāgno-* or **vācno-*.[1]

3. *atn* > *ān*.

tánaise 'secundus,' *imthanu* 'alternation' (*imthanu aidche* 'noctis vicissitudo,' Ml. 21c 3; *inna imthanad* gl. proprias vices, Ml. 93c 7; *innimthánad* gl. talionem, Sg. 181a 6) =**to-atn-*, **ambi-to-atn-*: √*at* 'go,' Skr. *at*, with which Schulze[2] has connected Goth. *aþn* 'year.' From the same root may be derived Ir. *amm* 'time'=**atsmen*.

án 'drinking vessel' has been connected by Bezzenberger[3] with Gr. πατάνη, Lat. *patina* (*án*=**patnā*). Against this is the Old Keltic *anax*; patenam et urceum qui *anax* dicitur, Greg. Tur. *Mir.* 2, 8 (quoted by Holder, *Alt. Kelt. Spr.* 137), as *t* is not lost in the Gaulish dialects. Stokes[4] has already connected the word with Skr. *pā́nam*.

4. *apn*.

There is no clear instance of lengthening here. *ána* 'wealth' has been connected with Skr. *ápnas*, Lat. *ops*. *o* is also found in Irish in *somme* 'rich,' *domme* 'poor'=**su-op-mio-*, etc.: thus it is improbable that we should also find *a*. On the supposition of an ablaut *ŏ*, *ō*, *ánae* may be explained as=**āpn-* **ōpn-* (*ā*[*p*]*naios*, Stokes[5]).

5 *ecsn*.

trén 'strong,' compar. *tressa* W. *trech*=**trexios*, is commonly derived from **trecsnos*. This is not free from difficulties. It is impossible to separate from *trén* W. *tren*, 'impetuous, strenuous,' and the Welsh word indicates that *csn* was treated like *sn*, i.e. became *n* without lengthening the preceding vowel; compare the parallel change of *csm* like *sm* > *mm*, and *csl* like *sl* > *ll* (see below). It is difficult to get any

[1] For *ae* > *eu* when a syllable is added cf. *aeth* 'ivit,' *euthom* 'ivi,' *haer* 'certus,' *heuruyd* 'certa scientia,' *Gram. Celt.* 103, cf. also Nettlau, *Beitr. z. Cymr. Gramm.* 61. Bret. *gueun* 'marsh,' seems to point to a form **vācn-* or **vāgn-*.

[2] *KZ.* xxviii. 164.

[3] In Stokes' *Altkeltischer Sprachschatz* 27. Through the kindness of Mr. Stokes I have been able to see the first few sheets of this work.

[4] *KSB.* viii. 334. Perhaps a British reflex of *án* is to be found in Corn. *engurbor* 'patena,' Is. **curbor* a corruption of Lat. *ciborium*?

[5] *Altkelt. Spr.* 14.

certain instances of *csn.* Irish *lon* 'elk' might be derived from **locsno-* and connected with Russian *losĭ* 'elk,' which like **locsno-* points to a base *lok̑.*[1] A different form of base is found in Ags. *eolh*, O.N. *elgr*, O.H.G. *elaho.* We may postulate as the original base *elok̑-*, whence by different weakenings *elk̑-*, *lok̑-*. Keltic *locsno-* might be regarded as an expansion of an *s* stem, cf. Lat. *alnus* 'aldertree'= **alsnos*, Lith. *elksznis*, Ags. *alor*, O.H.G. *elira*, Ch. Slav. *jelĭcha.* *men* 'farina,' might be derived from *mecsn-*, an unnasalized form of *menk*[2] 'grind,' Ch. Slav. *mąka* 'meal.' It might, however=**men-* and be connected with Lith. *mìnti* 'tread,' Ch. Slav. *męti* '*θλίβειν*,' Gr. *μάτημι* (*BB.* xvii. 205), though the meaning does not come so close. If **trecsnos* became in Keltic **trenos*, Ir. *trén* might be explained as follows. At one time there stood side by side pos. **trenos*, comp. **trecsios*, whence *cs* made its way into the positive—**trecsnos*, **trecsios*; **trecsnos* then by a *later* law became *trén.* There is an analogy to this in the treatment of the prep. *ess=ex*, e.g. *énirt* 'weak'=**ecsnertis*, where *ecs* was retained or restored from cases where it regularly remained, as before a vowel e.g. *esomain* 'fearless,' Gaul. *exobnus.* *csl* becomes *ll*, hence **ecs-lāi̯ō*, 'I escape,' should have given **ellāi̯ō*, **ellaim.* We find instead *élaim.* **ecs* (or *ess*) was restored (or retained) as in the previous case and *esslāi̯ō* became by a later law **élaim.* Similarly *ecsm* in *émdim* 'am unable'=**ecsmedō*, enclitic to *asmidim* (W. *meddu* cf. Gr. *μεδέων*, *μέδοντες*). The meaning of W. *tren* points to derivation from √*thregh*, Gr. *τρέχω*, Gaul. *vertragus*, whence may also come Ir. *tress* 'battle'=**trecs-*, further *tricc* 'quick, nimble'=*tr̥ghni-*.

6. *encn* > *ēn.*

lenu (acc. pl.) 'meadows,' *léana* 'meadow, swampy place' O'Reilly, *leana* 'meadow,' MacAlpine, Manx *lheanee*=**lencn-*: Lett. *lẽkns*, *lẽkna* 'depression, wet meadow' (=**lenkn-*).

[1] As *lo* in this word goes throughout the Slavonic languages it seems impossible with Joh. Schmidt, *Vocalismus* 146, to explain it as coming from *ol.* At the same time one must reckon with the possibility that *lon* is a variation of the stem *elen-* 'deer.'

[2] Fick I⁴. 511.

There is also a form *lían* which can hardly be connected with these words; it may stand for *leino-* and be compared with W. *llwyn* 'lucus, nemus, saltus,' Gr. λειμών.[1]

7. *egn* > *ēn*.

fén, wagon=**vegno-*: ablaut to ON. *vagn*, √*u̯eĝh*, W. *cywain* 'vehere.'[2]

-gén 'I knew' (*etirgénsa adgénsa*). The Idg. form of this was **ĝeĝnō*(*u*), Skr. *jajñāu*. With *u* infection **ĝeĝnō* would give in Irish **géun*. The isolated form could hardly maintain itself against the mass of the perfects originally ending in *a*, so we find not *géun* but *gén*.

génar 'was born'=*gegn-*, √*ĝen*.[3]

rén 'span'=**regno-*.[4] The quantity of the *e* in the modern *réise* is remarkable, as **recsiā* should have given **reise*. The long *ē* may have been taken over from *rén*. This is more probable than to refer *rén*, *réise* (=**prendsno-*, **prendsiā*) to √(*s*)*prend*, Lith. *sprę́sti* 'to measure a span.'

sén 'net'=**segno-* √*seĝh*, Stokes,[5] who also compares W. *hwynyn*, or *hoenyn*, 'a hair of the tail of a horse, etc., gin, springe.' We have seen above that *egn* in W. becomes *ain*; hence if *sén* and *hwyn* are to be connected, we should have to assume an ablaut **segno-*, **sogno-*. It is very doubtful, however, if the words have anything to do with one another. *Sén* is found only in the sense of 'net for catching deer or birds'[6]; on the other hand, for *hoenyn* Davies gives only 'Pilus ex cauda equina vel bovina, etc., pilus majusculus, seta': it is only in a secondary sense that *hoenyn* comes to

[1] *Gramm. Celt.*[2] 96; Curtius, *Griech. Etym.*[5] 366.

[2] Ebel, *KSB.* II. 177; Stokes, *Metr. Ir. Gl.* 68.

[3] Why Zimmer, *Kelt. Stud.* II. 127, should say, "Windisch's ansicht 'dass dieses *e* erst auf speciall irischem boden eingetreten ist,' entbehrt jedes beweises," is not clear. The evidence is clearly against Zimmer's view that the *ē* is here pro-ethnic. Idg. *gēn* should in Irish have become **gín*: there is no evidence in support of two Idg. *ē* sounds one of which became in Irish *ī* while the ohter remained *ē*. Even if this difficulty could be got over, an Idg. **gēn-* would still have to be regarded as an analogical formation after other *ē* perfects, and the existence of such *ē* perfects in Idg. is very doubtful, cf. Wiedemann, *Das litauische Präteritum* 106 sq. and the works quoted there. On the other hand there is nothing against the origin of *gēn-* from *gegn-* in Irish; in the middle the weak form *-gn-* is regular.

[4] Stokes, *Metr. Ir. Gl.* 90.

[5] *Academy*, Dec. 12, 1891.

[6] Cf. Stokes, *Metr. Ir. Gl.* 90.

mean 'gin,' because made of hair. Is *hoen* to be compared with Lat. *saeta*? For the vocalism might be compared *coed* 'wood,' Lat. *bucetum*. Can Irish *sén* be a borrowing of some kind from Lat. *sagena*, for instance, through Ags. *sægne*?

8. *etn* > *ĕn*.

én 'bird,' O.W. *etn*[1]: G. Meyer[2] compares Alb. *ŝpen*, *ŝpese* 'bird.'

Before slender vowels *ecn*, *egn* appear as *iui*, *eui*, *eoi*; *etn* as *eui*, *eoi*. The following are the instances in the Old Ir. Glosses:—*triuin* Sg. 96[a] 4, Ml. 46[c] 23, *triutn* Ml. 30[a] 11, *triuin* Ml. 30[a] 10, 36[b] 1, *treúin* Wb. 27[a] 7: *etargéuin*[3] Ml. 42[c] 10, *ingéuin* 69[a] 15, *athgeuin*, *ingeuin* 52, *etargeiuin* Sg. 197[b] 10, *adgéuin* Wb. 12[c] 13, under the influence of *-gén*, *génammar*, etc. *etirgein* Ml. 24[a] 19: *euin* Ml. 127[c] 12, *eiuin* Sg. 93[a] 2.

9. *epn*.

I have no clear instance of this. Stokes[4] connects *ten* 'fire'=**tepnos* with Zd. *tafnaṅh*, in which case *p* would have disappeared without affecting the preceding vowel. This, however, is not certain, as there is also the possibility that *ten*=**tepsnos*, as *tess* 'heat'=**tepstu-*.[5] So *timme* 'heat,' may =**tepsmiā*; it might also=**tepmiā*.

10. *ebn*.

Stokes[6] derives Ir. *indeóin* 'anvil,' Corn. *ennian*, Bret. *anneffn*, from **ande-bni-s*, **benō* 'I strike,' √ʒ*hen*. But *úan* 'lamb,' W. *oen*=**oʒno-* (see below) proves that ʒ*n* in the interior of a word in Keltic did not become *bn*, as *b* was not lost before *n*; cf. Gaul. *Exobnus*, Ir. *essomun* 'fearless,' W. *ehofyn*. The Irish word might be derived without difficulty from *ande-gni-*, but this could not give Breton *anneffn*. Could this have come from a parallel **ande-ʒheni-*,

[1] Ebel, *KSB*. II. 130.
[2] *Albanesisches Wörterbuch*, 413, *Alb. Stud.* iii. 40 n.
[3] *Géuin* might=**ǰeĝ̂ai* and be compared directly with Skr. *jajñe*. The ending *-ai* in the 3 sg. perf. mid. is established by Goth *iddja* 'he went,' Ags. *dyde*, cf. *BB*. xvii. 238.
[4] *KZ*. xxix. 380.
[5] R. Schmidt, *Idg. Forsch*. I. 73.
[6] *Altkelt. Sprach*. 15.

ande-beni-*? It may be doubted whether, under any conditions, ʒn became in Keltic *bn*. Brugmann,[1] indeed, assumes this change in **mná*=ʒnās*, gen. of *ben* 'wife'=**ʒenā*. But *b* of **bnās*, whence *mná*, may very well have come from cases with **ben-*; a declension **benā*, **gnās* would have had no chance of surviving.

11. *emn.*

According to Windisch,[2] Osthoff,[3] Wiedemann[4] **ménar* 'I thought,' is developed regularly from **memnar*. This seems very doubtful. I am unable however as yet to prove that in any of the cases where *mn* come together in inlaut they were not originally separated by a vowel.[5] We have an instance in auslaut if Ir. *slemon* 'smooth,' W. *llyfn*=**slimno-* is to be connected with Ags. *slim*, Gr. λεῖμαξ.[6] It is safer to look upon *ménar* as due to the analogy of *génar*. Points of contact are found in the inflection of the present, cf. *gainedar* 'nascitur,' *dodmainetar* 'putant hoc.'

12. *ocn* > *ōn*, *ūan.*

crúan, *crón* 'red, orange'=**crocno-*, Gr. κρόκος (Stokes).

móin 'bog,'=**mocni-*: Ch. Slav. *mokrŭ* 'wet,' *moča* 'bog.' *n* and *r* stems are often found side by side.[7]

úain, *óin* 'loan' perhaps = **pocni-*, Lat. *paciscor*. Cf. *tinólaim* below.

13. *ogn* > *ōn*, *ūan.*[8]

brón 'sorrow': W. *brwyn.*

[1] *Grundriss* I. 380-1.
[2] *KZ.* xxiii. 246.
[3] *Zur Geschichte des Perfects* 10.
[4] *Das Litauische Präteritum* 107.
[5] A possible instance is *domna*, *rigdomna* 'the material for a king, a crown prince,' W. *defnyd* 'element, matter,' which may come from *domn-*, Gr. δέμω, Eng. *timber.*
[6] Persson, *Wurzelerweiterung*, 110.
[7] Cf. Pedersen, *KZ.* xxxii. 240 sqq.; Johansson, *Beiträge zur griechischen Sprachkunde* 1 sqq. W. *mawn* 'peat, turf' may be derived from *mōn-*, in ablaut to *mocn-*. If Thurneysen (*Paul u. Braune's Beiträge* xiii. 436) is right in ascribing *ó of mór* to the influence of the preceding *m*, *móin* might come from the same form.
[8] In every instance *ūa* may be assumed to have passed through the stage *ō*. The precise conditions under which *ō* became *ūa* are not very clear. If, as Brugmann, *Grundriss*, I. 67, suggests, *ō* passed into *ūa* before a following broad vowel, then the regular representation has been very much interfered with by analogy. Why, for instance, should **clopni-* have given *clúain*, when in nearly all the cases the following vowel was slender? There is an obvious

srón 'nose,' W. *ffroen*, Bret. *froan*=**sprognā*.[1] As we saw that *c* was lost in W. before *n*, there is the possibility of **brocno-* (or **brucno-*) **sprocnā*. No certain etymologies have been proposed.

úan 'lamb,' W. *oen* (pl. *wyn*=**ognī*)=**ogno-*, **ogᵘno-*: Lat. *agnus*, Gr. ἄμνος. The vocalism is strange here, as other Idg. languages shew *a*. Can *o* be due to the *u̯* sound following the *g*? *u* seems to change *a* to *o* in *mog* 'slave,' cf. *mám* 'servitus,' Goth. *magus*. The alternative is to assume an ablaut *ŏ ā* (*ā* in Ch. Slav. *agnĭcĭ*, *jagnĭcĭ* 'ἄμνος'), for which see Bartholomae *BB.* xvii. 121 sq.

búain 'reaping' (*cofinbuanaigit* 'vindemiant,' Ml. 102ᵃ 12)= **bogni-*: an unnasalized form of the root appears in *bocht* 'reaping,' O'Cl. also Broccan's Hymn l. 29, *lathe búana dí mad bocht* 'on the day of reaping to her a good harvest.'[2] Brugmann,[3] however, and R. Schmidt[4] derive *búain* from **bongni-* —which seems also possible.

úane 'green,' may stand for **vognio-*: Gr. ὑγρός, O.N. *vǫkva* 'wet.' *úane* and ὑγρός (Ir. *ūr*, see below) would be another instance of *n* and *r* stem side by side. **vognio-* should have become **fuaine*. The loss of *f* may either be explained as in *errach*, *espartain*,[5] or *úaine* may be regarded due to contamination of *u̯og-*, and *ug-*. That **ugnio-* should have become *úaine* is highly improbable, as the change of *ugn* to *ōn* can be explained only through an intermediate *ogn*, where *u* has become *o* because of a following broad vowel.

14. *opn* > *ōn*, *ūan*.

difference of treatment of *ē* and *ō* in cases where they arise by compensatory lengthening. Unlike *ē*=*ei̯*, this *ē* does not (except dialectically) become *īa*, while *ō* becomes *ūa* like *ō* from *ou̯*. This would seem to indicate that *ō* > *ūa* was later than *ē* > *īa*-, that when *ē* arose by compensatory lengthening, the change of *ē* to *īa* had already taken place, while *ō* fell together with *ō*=*ou̯* and shared its fortunes. The subject requires further investigation. It may be noted that *ūa* is very much more frequent than *ō*.

[1] Ebel, *KSB.* II. 82; Stokes, *KSB.* viii. 335; otherwise Windisch *KSB.* viii. 431.

[2] Cf. Stokes, *Metr. Ir. Gl.* 43.

[3] *Grundriss*, I. 382.

[4] *Idg. Forsch.* I. 77.

[5] Stokes, *KSB.* viii. 344; Zimmer, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum* xxxii. 279 sq.

cúan 'harbour' (Irish), 'sea' (Gaelic)=**copn-*: Ags. *hæfene* 'haven,' Ags. *heaf*, O.N. *haf* 'sea.' So already Kluge. *Wb.* s.v. *hafen.*

clúain 'meadow'=**clopni-*: Lith. *szlàpti* 'become wet,' *szlãpias* 'wet,' *szlapimà* 'a wet spot,' κλέπας· νοτερὸν πηλῶδες, κλέπος· νοτερόν, Hesych. *clúain* and κλέπος may be added to the examples of parallel *n* and *s* stems given by Pedersen, *KZ.* xxxii. 252, Johansson *Beitr. z. Gr. Sprach.* 21, 28, etc.

clúain 'deceit'=**clopni-*: κλέπτω (Stokes). For *clúain*, 'meadow,' we must postulate √*klep*, as Lith. *szlàpti* shows, for *clúain* 'deceit,' √*klep*, Gr. κλέπτω, Goth. *hlifa*, Pruss. *auklipts* 'hidden.'

15. *icn*+broad vowel > **ecn*, *ēn*.

Lén, a proper name[1]=Gaul. *Licnos.*

The Gaulish *-icnos* in *Druticnos* and the like has been compared with the Ir. diminutive ending *-in.*[2] It is impossible to connect *in* directly with *-icnos*, as the modern form *-in* indicates the loss of a slender vowel after *n*. Moreover *in*, though it is found in Middle Irish and is very common in Modern Irish, is not found in the Old Irish glosses. The most common diminutive suffix in Old Irish is *-án*, and next in frequency come *-tat*, *-nat*: *-éne* is found in some eight or nine words, there are a couple of instances of *én*, and *-ine* is found once in *glainine* 'maxilla.' This *-ine* might be directly compared with *-icnios* in Gaulish *Teδδignius.*[3] *-icnos* would in Irish give *-én* and may account for some of the diminutives in *-én*, but it will explain neither *-éne*, nor *-in*. It would be possible to explain these latter as arising from an admixture of *-én*=*-icnos*, and *-ine*=*-icnios*, but it is very likely that these diminutives have more than one source. Some diminutives in *-én*, *-éne* may very well come from stems in *-ec-*, e.g. *laréne* 'equula'=**larec-niā* from *láir* 'mare' stem *lárec-*. There is the strongest reason for

[1] Stokes, *Lives of the Saints* xxxi.
[2] Stokes, *KSB.* iii. 71.; *Rev. Celt.* vii. 107.
[3] *KSB.* iii. 208.

suspecting the working of analogy in the suffix *-in*[1] which, as we have seen, does not occur in the oldest language, and is found with increasing frequency in the later language.

16. *ign*+broad vowel > **egn, ēn.*

dogéna 'he will do'[2]=**to-gignāt.*

nitgénsa 'I will not slay thee,' LU. 68[b] 34: *gén*=**gignām.*

Brén, a man's name =**Brignos*, Gaul. *Arebrignos* (Stokes).

sén 'blessing,' from Lat. *signum*, if it did not rather come from *segnum*. Before a slender vowel *ign* > *iūin* in *Briúin* gen. of *Brén*.

17. *ucn* + broad vowel > **ocn, ōn, ūan.*

The instances here are somewhat uncertain, as *ōn* might be also derived from *eucn, oucn*, with a strong form of the root. This remark also applies to most of the other cases in which *ō* may be derived from *u* with compensatory lengthening.

brúan 'fragment,' may=**bhrucno-* or **bhroucno-* and be connected with Lett. *brukt* 'crumble.' But it may equally well stand for **bhroutsno- *bhroud-sno-*, Ags. *bréostan* 'break,' O.H.G. *brôsma.*

tón 'podex'=**teucnā*, or **tūcnā*: Teut. **þeuha-* 'thigh.'[3] From *tón* cannot be separated W. *tin* podex; *tin* may be derived from **tūcnā*. That Ir. *tón* should also go back to **tūcnā* is highly improbable, as *ū* is not liable to umlaut (cf. *úr* below): there is nothing very strange in the fact that the two branches of Keltic should shew two different grades of vocalism. **tūcnā* points to an *n* stem

[1] If these diminutives in *-īn* be ancient, they might come from *-ionis* (*-is* weak form of *-ios*) if we are right in supposing (p. 36), that short *i* did not change preceding *i* to *iui*. With regard to the relation of W. *-yn* to Ir. *-én* Thurneysen *Rev. Celt.* vii. 325 compares W. *dynyn* 'mannikin' with Ir. *duinén*, *g* being lost without a trace in unaccented syllables. W. *-yn* as well as Ir. *-én* might then = *-icnos*. Thus W. *-yn* proves nothing as to the antiquity of Ir. *-ín*.

[2] Thurneysen (*KZ.* xxxi. 77) has made it probable that the vowel of the reduplicated syllable was *i* not *e*. Comparing *cechna*=**cicanāt* with *-géna*=**gi-gn-āt*, we see that in the one case there is a strong, in the other a weak form of the root. The supposition lies nigh at hand that these strong and weak forms were originally combined in the same paradigm, the strong forms appearing in the sing. act., the weak in the dual and plural, and that the historic paradigms are due to levelling in one direction or the other.

[3] Cf. Fick III.[3] 135.

**teuken-*. For *n* stems from *o* stems cf. Bartholomae *Bezz. Beitr.* xv. 25 sqq. Cf. also Zd. *nâoŋhana* 'nose' by *nâoŋha*.

lúan, lón 'light,' may stand for **leucsno-* or **loucsno-*, Zd. *raoχšna* 'shining,' Lat. *luna*.[1] It might, however, equally well=**lucno-*; cf. Old Sax. *logna* 'flame.' The meaning 'moon' seems to have been taken over from Lat. *luna*, which resembled in form the native word, or we may say that the Irish borrowed *luna* and adapted it in form to the similar *lúan*.

18. *ugn*.

dúan 'poem'=**dugnā* or **dougnā*: Gr. τεύχειν, Goth. *dugan*.[2]

cúanéne 'pugil,' from Lat. *pugnus*, or perhaps rather *pognus*.

Of *ucn, ugn*+slender vowel, I have found no instances; we might expect *-ūin*. *úaine* was discussed above; *úain* 'leisure,' may be derived from **eucni-*: Gr. εὔκηλος 'free from care, at ease,' Skr. *ókas*, 'comfort, dwelling-place,' rather than from **ucni-* [*ucn-* may, however, appear in *úine* 'time, opportunity'].

19. *utn*+broad vowel=**otn, ōn, úan* (?).

búan 'lasting' may perhaps stand for **bhu-tno-*, and be compared with Lith. *bútinas*, 'essential, lasting' (=**bhutn̥no-*), with which has been compared Lat. *-bundus*=**bhutno-*.[3] I know of no other instance of suffix *-tno-* in Keltic.

20. *udn-* > **odn, ōn, úan*.

smuāinim 'think'=**smudn-* or **smoudn-*: Goth. *gamaudjan* 'remember,' Ch. Slav. *myslĭ-* 'thought.' If *úan* here=*udn*, it must have arisen before a broad vowel.

21. *upn* > **opn, ōn, uan*.

cúan 'host' (*Druim Criaich céte cét cúan* 'Drum Cree meeting-place of a hundred hosts,' LL. 151[a] 1)=**cupn-* or **coupn-*: Lith. *kupà* 'a heap, a multitude, an assembly, e.g. of men,' Germ. *haufe*.

súan 'sleep,' W. *hun*=**supnos*: Gr. ὕπνος, Ch. Slav. *sŭnŭ*, Alb. *gjume* 'sleep.' The gen. *súain* can hardly be the

[1] Brugmann, *Grundriss* II. 132.
[2] Thurneysen quoted by Osthoff, *Paul u. Braune's Beiträge*, xiii. 421.
[3] Cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss* II. 152.

regular development of **supnī*: *ūa* comes rather from cases containing a broad vowel. For suggestions as to the phonetic changes of *pn* see Brugmann, *Grundriss* I. 272. According to Stokes' law **súpnos* must have been accented like Gr. *ὕπνος*.

22. *sn.*

Thurneysen[1] suggests doubtfully that W. *gwn* 'toga,' Ir. *fúan* 'lacerna'=**vōno-* come from **vosno-*. But that is impossible; *s* disappears before *n* without lengthening the preceding vowel.[2] **vōno-* may be derived rather from **vo-ouno-*, Lat. *ind-uo, ex-uo, sub-ū-cula*, Lith. *aũti* 'to put on shoes, stockings, and the like.'

II. Sound Groups Ending in *m*.

1. *ăcm.*

One would expect by analogy of *acn, acr, ēm.* I have no instance.

2. *agm* > *ām.*

glám 'outcry'=**glagmā*: Germ. *klagen*, √*glagh.*

mám 'servitude'=**magmu-*: *mog* 'slave,' Goth. *magus.*

tlám 'handful of wool'=**tlagm-*: Germ. *flocke*, Gr. λάχνος,[3] with which Stokes[4] has already compared *tlacht* 'garment.'

Hence Mod. Ir. *bróim*, Gael. *braim* (g. *brama*, pl. *bramannan*), W. Corn. *bram*, Bret. *bramm* 'crepitus ventris,' to O. Ir. *braigim* 'pedo,' cannot=**bragmen.* Nor is it likely, as Thurneysen[5] doubtfully suggests, that it should have come from **brangmen*; *céim* 'step'=**cengmen*, and similar cases are against this. *bram* is probably to be explained as=**bragsmen*, cf. *bomm* 'morsel'=**bogsmen*,[6] *semmand* 'rivets' (√*segh*, Stokes) from a stem **segsmen*, W. *drem* 'look, aspect'=

[1] *Kelto-Romanisches* 64.
[2] Stokes, *KZ.* xxx. 559.
[3] Sütterlin, *Beiz. Beitr.* xvii. 164 sq.
[4] *Metr. Ir. Gl.* 99.
[5] *Kelto-Romanisches* 98.
[6] Not **bogmen* as R. Schmidt, *Idg. Forsch.* I. 30, suggests; that must have given **bóim* or **búaim.*

drecsmā* **dricsmā*, Ir. *drech* 'aspect, countenance' √*derḱ*, Gael. *dream* 'wisp of hay or straw,' *dreamag* 'handful of corn': Gr. δράγμα. *s* is often present before certain suffixes in other Idg. languages, e.g. *-smo-*, *-sno-* *-slo-*,[1] and its presence must be also recognized in Keltic, e.g. *amm* 'time'=atsmen* (above), *trom* 'heavy,' W. *trwm*=**trudsmo-*: Goth. *us-thriutan* 'oppress.'

For *ói* in Mod. Ir. *bróim*, cf. *óirdhearc* 'glorious'=O. Ir. *airderc*, and in the Wb. glosses *bóill* limbs, sg. *ball* is frequent.[2]

3. *ecm* > *ēm*.

réim 'shout' (*dobert rém curad asa bragit* 'he gave a hero's shout from his throat' LU. 76[a] 10, *reim curadh* i. *geim curadh* 'a hero's shout,' O'Clery)=*recm-*: Ch. Slav. *reką* 'speak,' Lith. *rėkiù* 'roar, cry'; for the long vowel in *rēkti*, see Bechtel *Hauptprobleme der Idg. Sprachwissenschaft* 162. Examples of words with the meaning of cry, roar, and the like applied to articulate speech will be found in Persson.[3] To this belongs W. *rhegen* 'quail'; for the origin of the name cf. Diez. *Etym. Wb.* s.v. *quaglia*. In Old Ir. a similar name is found for the peacock, *gésachtach* from *géssim* 'cry.'

4. *egm* > *ēm*.

séimeth 'offspring,'=**segmeto-*[4]

drémire 'ladder,' according to Stokes[5] stands for **dregm-*, but it seems rather to come from *drengm-*, cf. *dringim* 'step, advance,' and so to fall under the following head.

5. *engm* > *ēmm*, *ēm* (in auslaut).

céimm 'step,' W. *cam*=**kn̥gmen*.

léimm 'leap,' W. *llam*=**ln̥gmen*.

géim 'shout'=**gengmen*: cf. Lith. *žwéngiu* 'neigh.' If this

[1] Osthoff, *Forschungen* I. 190 sqq.; Brugmann, *Grundriss* II. 133, 140, 163, 165, 187, 195, 196, etc.

[2] According to Thurneysen, *Paul u. Braunes Beiträge*, xiii. 436, *o* is here due to the preceding labial.

[3] *Wurzelerweiterung* 244.

[4] Stokes, *Lives of the Saints* 399.

[5] Stokes, *Linguistic Value of the Irish Annals* 371. [He now (*BB.* xviii. 62) refers it to **drengmen*].

comparison is to be maintained, we must assume a double Idg. form *ĝu̯eng, ĝeng, u̯* having been lost in certain positions in the parent language.[1]

réimm, réim 'cursus,' serving as the infinitive of *rethim* 'I run.' The double *m* of *réimm* cannot be explained either from **retmen* or from **reidmen*,[2] as R. Schmidt[3] suggests. Either we may suppose that **réim*=**retmen* became *réimm* under the influence of *céimm, gréimm*, or we may place it with W. *rhamu* 'soar,' Idg. **renghō* 'run, spring.'[4]

6. *endm* > *ēmm, ēm.*

gréimm 'progressus'=**grendmen*: *ingrennim* 'persequor.'

Gael. *teum* 'bite,' W. *tam*, Bret. *tamm* 'piece, bite,' Corn. *tam*, pl. *tymmyn*=**tn̥dmen*: Gr. τένδω, Lat. *tondeo.*

Brugmann[5] doubts if *endm* became regularly *ēmm.* For *gréimm* he suggests the analogy of *céimm*, which, from the similarity of meaning, is quite possible. But if *teum* is rightly derived from **tendmen* no such analogical explanation is possible. We must then with Schmidt, *IF.* I. 77, look upon *endm* as becoming regularly *ēmm*, and there is nothing in the way of this.

7. *enm.*

beim 'a blow,' has been explained as standing for **ben-men*, √*ǯhen.* But this explanation is very doubtful for the Irish word (according to R. Schmidt[6] one might have expected **bemm*[7]), and it is impossible for Bret. *boem*,

[1] Cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss* II. 476, 802; Solmsen, *KZ.* xxxii. 277 sq. If it was in enclisis that *u̯* was lost, it must be remembered that in certain positions the Idg. verb was enclitic.

[2] It might however come from **reidsmen.*

[3] *Idg. Forsch.* I. 77.

[4] Fick 1⁴. 118.

[5] *Grundriss* I. 382.

[6] *Idg. Forsch.* I. 77. His own explanation leaves Bret *boem* out of account, and does not satisfactorily account for Ir. *béimm*, for how could *béimm* be influenced by words of so totally different meaning as *céimm* and *gréimm*? On the other hand, as Schmidt suggests, *beimm* 'journey,' √*ǯem*, may have been influenced by these words; it may however = **ĝu̯em-smen.*

[7] *Anmaimm* dat. of *ainm* 'name' might=**anmembi* as well as **anmenmi.* A difficulty arise in connexion with the form *ainm.* If *ainm*=**anmen* **aimm* might have been expected; if it comes from **an˘men*, we should rather have expected **ainmh.* Perhaps the difficulty may be overcome by the hypothesis that two forms of the stem **anmen* and *an˘men* were originally in use in different cases, and that they acted and reacted on one another. (In Mod. Ir., Gael. *meamna*=O. Ir. *menme*, such an *nm* has become in inlaut *mm.*) A

Corn. *bomm*, pl. *bommen* 'blow.' All these forms may be explained from **benəmen*, which in both branches of the Kelts would become first **bēsmen*. **Bēsmen* would give by assimilation in Irish **bēmmen*, *béim*. In the Brythonic dialects,[1] too, *bēsmen* would become **bēmmen*, whence regularly Mid. Bret. *boem*, Mod. Bret. *bomm* (cf. Mid. Bret. *toem* 'hot' (W. *twym*) probably=**tepesmo-*, Mod. *tomm*). In older Cornish *ē* appears as *ui*, *oi*, in the later texts as *o*, *toim* 'hot,' later *tommys* 'heated,' *Gramm. Celt.*[2] 97. Now *bomm* is found only in texts in which *o* appears for *ē*. It is also possible to derive *beimm*, **bēmmen* from **beismen*: Ch. Slav. *biti* 'strike,' with which Thurneysen[2] connects Ir. *benim* 'I strike.'

8. *ogm* > *ōm*, *ūam*.

fúaimm, *fúaim* 'sound, noise'=**vogmen*, cf. *fogur* 'sound, noise.' The double *m* here is not due to phonetic development, but comes by analogy from other cases where it arose regularly, e.g. *úaimm* 'sewing' (to *úagim* 'I sew')=**eugəmen*. In such cases *mm* became in auslaut *m*, so that here *fúaim* and *úaim* would coincide, and this coincidence would lead to the introduction of *mm* into *fúaim*.

idm before a broad vowel seems to become **edm ēm* in *fo-déma* 'he will suffer'=**didmāt*. But as *fodidmat*=**didamānto* is also found, it is probable that in *fodéma* we have an analogical formation, for, though in all likelihood in these reduplicated futures strong and weak forms of the

difficulty of a somewhat similar nature is met with in W. *cwrw* 'beer,' Gaul. *κοῦρμι* (Ir. *cuirm*) compared with *garm* 'outcry' (Ir. *gairm*) where the *m* is preserved. The difficulty might be solved by postulating in the latter case a stem **garəmen* cf. Lith. *gařsas* 'noise,' Lat *garrio*=**garsio*, Alb. *geršas* 'invite.' With a syllabic division **gar | smen* this would have given **garmmen*, and *mm* did not become *f* (*cwrw*=**cwrwf* cf. Corn. *corof*). How is the *ι* of *κοῦρμι* to be explained? Can it be that we have here a nom. *-mē* (*n*), as in Ch. Slav. *imę* 'name,' Schmidt. *Pluralbildungen* 90? *κόρμα* might be looked upon as a Graecised form (or *κόρμα*: *κοῦρμι*=Skr. *nā́ma*: *nā́mā*?).

[1] It is not certain to what extent these changes are to be referred to proto-Keltic. I know of nothing to shew that the change of **benəmen* to **bēsmen* and of *bēsmen* to *bēmmen* did not take place before the separation of the Keltic dialects.

[2] *Rheinisches Museum* xliii. 351; *KZ.* xxxi. 83.

stem were at one time found in the same paradigm, it is not very likely that both survived in this solitary instance, particularly when we bear in mind the tendency of the *é* future to encroach. Stokes suggests that *d* may have been lost before *m*, before the time when intervocalic *m* was aspirated. He refers to *frém* 'root' (Mod. Ir. *freumh*)= **vridmā*, W. *gureidd*: Lat. *radix*, *úamonn* 'skin'=**odm-*: Lith. *ûda* 'skin'=(ablaut *ō*: *ŏ*). But this is not very certain.

Sound Groups ending in *r*.

1. *acr* > *ĕr*.

dér 'tear,' O.W. *dacr*=**dacru*: Gr. δάκρυ.

ér .i. uasal, 'lofty,' O'Davoren=**acros*: Gaul. AXPOTALVS, Gr. *ἀκρός*.[1]

mér 'finger'=**macros*: Gr. *μακρός*,[2] *μακεδνός*, *μοκρῶνα·*, *τὸν ὀξύν*, *Ἐρυθραῖοι* Hesych.[3]

Mod. Ir. *céir* 'gum,' Manx *keeyr*, Gael. *càir* might be explained from an ablaut **cācri-*, **cācri-*. We may compare, perhaps, W. *cig* 'flesh' (Ir. *cích* 'teat'[4])=**cēc-*. The ablaut series would then be *kāk-*, *kēk-*, *kōk-* (=Ir. *cāc-*). The W. name for 'gum' is *cig y dannedd*, lit. '*zahnfleisch*.' One might conjecture that the Irish word was originally used with some such qualification, *céir inna n-dét* or the like; cf. *feóil na fiacal* (gl. gingiva), Stokes, *Ir. Gl.* 150.

Before a slender vowel *eói*: *meóir*, gen. sg. and nom. pl. of *mér* (Gael. gen. sg. *meòir*), Gael. Mod. Ir. *deóir* gen. sg. of *deur* 'tear' (with change of declension, Mid. Ir. gen. *dére*[5]). For the vocalism of *céir* see p. 36.

[1] Stokes, *Altkelt. Spr.* 5.

[2] *Bezz. Beitr.* xvii. 299.

[3] Brugmann quoted by R. Schmidt, *Idg. Forsch.* I. 63.

[4] Stokes, *Ir. Gl.* p. 150.

[5] The nom. pl. *na dær* is found Ml. 23a 13, indicating a neut. *u*-stem; *dĕr* might here=**daδrū* like Ved. *purū́* (Schmidt, *Plur.* 42). There are however other possibilities, cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss* II. 625.

2. *agr* > *ār*.

ár 'strages'=**agros*, W. *aer* 'prælium,' O. Bret. *air*, Gaul. *Veragri*, *Suagros*, Gr. ἄγρα.[1]

sár- 'exceedingly' (as a prefix), W. *haeru* 'affirmare.'[2]

sár 'insult,' can hardly be separated from W. *sarhâu* 'contumelia afficere.' Corresponding to Ir. *ā* one would expect W. *ae*; *e* must have been lost in the pretonic syllable, though I have no other instances of this. For examples of *ae* > *a* in other positions, cf. Nettlau, *Beitr. z. Cymr. Gramm.* 61 sq.

nár 'modest'=**nagro-* (or **nāgro-*): **nāǯho* 'to be sober,' Gr. νήφω.[3]

3. *tr*.

t is not lost before *r*; an anaptyctic vowel has sprung up between *t* and *r*, and intervocalic *t* then becomes *th*, e.g. *tarathar* 'borer': *terebra*, τέρετρον, *criathar* 'sieve'=**creitro-*, *briathar* 'word'=**breitrā*,[4] *mothar* 'dark'=**mūtro-*: Arm. *mut'* "tenebre, nebbia," *mtâr* "oscuro,"[5] *riathor* 'torrens' =**reitro-*: Skr. *ri* 'let flow, run,' Lat. *riuos*.

4. *adr* > *ār*.

Only in composition *árim* 'number'=**adrīmā* to *rim* 'number.'

5. *egr* > *ēr*.

fér 'grass,' W. *gwair*, Corn. *gwyr*=**vegro-*: √*veg* 'to be moist' Fick I⁴. 545 ?

Before a slender vowel *feiuir* Sg. 68ᵃ 10, *feuir* Ml. 90ᵇ 8. Mid. Ir. *féoir*, Windisch. *Wb.* (by analogy dat. *feór*, LU. 74ᵇ 38).

gérat, *gérait* 'champion' is probably cognate with the shorter *greit* 'champion.' *Greit* may stand for **gredni-*, **ghredh-ni-* (√*ghredh* Fick I⁴. 418); *gérait* would be a parallel form with reduplication. In *Félire*, Sept. 27, a passage to which Mr. Stokes has called my attention,

[1] Rhys, *Rev. Celt.* II.; Stokes, *Sprachschatz* 7.

[2] Rhys, Lectures², 395; Welsh has also *taeru*=**to-sagr-*, an additional example of the original coincidence between the Welsh and the Irish accent.

[3] Fick I⁴. 499.

[4] Brugmann, *Grundriss* I. 470.

[5] Bugge, *KZ.* xxxii. 19.

it is used with fem. *di*, which shows that, as might have been conjectured, it was originally an abstract fem. noun.

6. *icr*+broad vowel > **ecr*, *ēr*.

(*arro*)*chér* 'redemi'=**-cicra*.[1]

sméróit 'burning coals, sparks, embers' may=**smicronti-* and be compared with Lat. *micare*, V (*s*)*mik-*. Otherwise Stokes, *Metr. Ir. Gl.* 97, but the length of the *e* is established by the modern language, *smeuróid* 'charcoal,' Foley.

Before a slender vowel *iūi*, *dorachiúir*, 'redemit,' Wb. 2[b] 9, *duarchiuir*, Ml. 73[b] 5.

7. *igr*+broad vowel > **egr*, *ēr*.

(*fris*)*géra* 'he will answer'=**gigrāt*, (*ar*)*gerat*, Ml. 112[b] 8=**gigrānto*. It might be expected that *i* in such a case would remain. We have perhaps an example in *dír*, 'proprius, conveniens, iustus'=**dīkro-* or **dīgro-*: √*deiḱ*, *deiĝ*, δείκνυμι, δίκη, Lat. *dignus*, Goth. *teihan*, *taikns*.[2]

8. *ibr* seems to become **ebr*, *ér* in *béra* 'he will bring'=**bibrāt*. But *b* is not lost before *r*; as in the case of *tr* an anaptyctic vowel is developed between *b* and *r* and *b* becomes a spirant, e.g. *dobur* 'water,' W. *dwfr*=**dubro-*, Gaul. *Verno-dubrum*,[3] *gabor* 'goat,' W. *gafr*=*gabro-*, Gaul. *Gabro-sentum*, *Gabro-magus*. It might be said, perhaps, that this may hold good only in auslaut, while in the middle of a word no such vowel sprang up, and in this position *b* was lost before *r*. But in *abra* 'eyebrow,' Gael. *abhra*, Mod. Ir. *fabhra*: Gr. ὀφρῦς, *br* is treated in precisely the same way as in *dobur*, *gabor*. It follows, then, that *béra* is an analogical formation after *-géra* and the like. The *ē* future has a tendency to spread, cf. *scéra* to *scaraim*, *lémaither* to *lámaim* (LU. 63[a] 15), *gét* to *gataim*, *aderad* to *adraim* (*KSB.* vii. 23). The same view must be taken of *méraid* 'he will remain' to *maraim*; there is no evidence that *m* was lost before *r*.

[1] Cf. R. Schmidt, *Idg. Forsch.* I. 63 note.

[2] Cf. Kluge in Paul's *Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie* I. 326; Brugmann, *Grundriss* II. 136. [I had overlooked W. *dir* 'certus, necessarius,' *dir yw* 'oportet, necesse est,' which shows that *c* cannot have been last; the words may be referred to **dēros*, **dhēros*, √ *dhē*, cf. Skr. *dhāman* 'law, order,' Gr. θέμις.]

[3] Glück, *Keltische Namen* 35.

9. *ogr* > *ōr*, *ūar*.

úar, *fúar* 'cold,' W. *oer*, *goer*=**ogro-*[1] (to Ch. Slav. *ogni* 'fire,' cf. *urit frigus*, or Gr. *πάχνη παγετός*, ablaut *a o*?), Corn. *oir*. For W. *goer*, cf. *gordd* 'hammer,' Ir. *ord*; for the explanation of the prothetic *g* see Nettlau, *Rev. Celt.* xi. 77.

10. *ucr*+broad vowel > **ocr*, *ōr*, *ūar*.

cúar 'crooked,' cf. *corthón* (*corthónech* Ascoli), Sg. 56[b] 7= **cucro-* (or **ceucro-*): *√keuk*, Skr. *kucati* 'bend,' Ch. Slav. *kuko-nasŭ* 'crooknosed,' etc.[2]

ū in *ūcr*, *ūgr* might be expected to remain. Of *ūcr* I have no very certain instance; *ūr*, 'bad,' might=**pūkro-*: Gr. *ἐχεπευκής*, *πευκεδανός*, cf. *κακός*: Lith. *keñkti* 'hurt'; it may, however, be explained otherwise[3]; *búrach* 'din,' *búrethar* 'clamat,' might stand for **būcr-*: Gr. *βύκτης*, Lat. *bucina*; they might equally well stand for **būr-*: Gr. *βύας*, Arm. *bu*, *bu-ēč* 'owl.'[4] *úr* 'fresh' (> < *crin* 'withered'[5]), W. *ir* 'viridis, floridus, novus, recens, succulentus,' has been well compared by Siegfried[6] with Gr. *ὑγρός*. The Keltic forms go back to **ūgro-*; Welsh proves conclusively *ū*.

IV. Sound Groups ending in *l*.

1. *acl* > *ēl*.

céle 'servus' is separated by Stokes from *céle* 'comrade' (see below) and compared with Lat. *cacula* 'soldier's servant.'

mélacht 'disgrace'=**maclactu-*: Lat. *macula*, though this is not altogether certain.

[1] Stokes, *Lives of the Saints* 402.
[2] Fick I[4]. 380.
[3] Stokes, *Metr. Ir. Gl.* 103.
[4] Cf. Persson, *Wurzelerweiterung* 12 sq.
[5] A good instance is quoted by Windisch (*Wörterbuch* 866) from Stokes, *Three Middle Irish Homilies* 26: *tech do dénum isin uair sin a leth úr ocus aroli crin*, "to build a house in that hour, the half thereof fresh and the other withered." Cf. also Stewart's *Gaelic Poems* 546 *Cia lion crann bheil an coill ? ar Fionn. Adha, ar an inghean, iodhon úr agus crion.* How many trees are in a wood? said Fionn. Two, said the maiden, to wit green and dry.
[6] Quoted by Stokes, *KSB.* viii. 322.

cél i. *bél*, 'mouth,' O'Clery. If this be a genuine word rightly explained one might compare Lith. *kãklas* 'neck.' But no weight can be laid upon this instance until the word is better established.

2. *agl* > *āl*.

áil 'disgrace'=**agli*- Goth. *agls* '*αἰσχρός*.' Cf. also W. **aele*, grefyn, dolorus, trest, trwm, *Ll* Braw aele, '*Terror miserandus*' (Davies).

áil 'pleasant'=**pagli*-, Goth. *fagrs* 'fitting,' *faheþs* 'joy' √*pāk̂*, *pāĝ*, Fick I.[4] 77.[1]

ál 'brood, offspring,' W. *ael* 'litter, brood,' Bret. *eal* 'foal' perhaps=**paglo*-: Lat. *propago*.

gabál[2] inf. of *gabim* 'I take'=**gabagli*-, W. *caffael*.

mál 'chief,' W. *Mael*=**maglo*-, Gaul. *Maglus*.

tál 'adze,' may, perhaps, stand for **to-aglo*-: Goth. *aqizi*, Engl. *axe*. If this were so, *-*aglo*- Teut. *akes*- would be an instance of *l* and *s* stem side by side, cf. Lat. *oculus*, Ch. Slav. *oko* 'eye.' The difficulty is to see what the particle *to*- has to do here. Stokes[3] now derives *tál* from **taxlo*- (=Idg. **təḱslo*-?): Ch. Slav. *tesla* 'axe.' But *ksl* seems in Irish to become **ssl*, *ll*, cf. *uall* 'pride'=**auqslā*,[4] *toll*, W. *twll* 'hole'=**tucslo*-, Slav. *tŭk*- 'pierce.'

We have seen that *acn*, *acr*, *acl* became respectively *ēn*, *ēr*, *ēl*, but *agn*, *agr*, *agl* became respectively *ān*, *ār*, *āl*. What was the reason of this difference of treatment? The most probable answer to this is that the loss of *c* and of *g* do not belong to the same period, that *c* persisted longer than *g*, and, when it also went, the preceding vowel was treated differently. We have a parallel to this in Welsh, where **dacru* becomes *dagr* (O.W. *dacr*), but **agrā* becomes *aer*. In Irish itself there is something similar in the different

[1] d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Les Noms gaulois chez César* 25, sees this word in the Gaulish name *Catusualis*; if that were so, the etymology would have to be given up. But Stokes and Rhys (*Classical Review*, April, 1892, p. 166) compare *Catusualis* better with W. *chwalu* 'strew, spread,'='battle-scatterer.'

[2] Zimmer *KZ.* xxx. 156 derives *ticsal*, which occurs by *ticsath* as the infin. of *ticsaim* 'I raise,' from **diodgestālō*-. It is tolerably evident that it is only an analogical formation after *toc-bal*=**to-udgabagli*-, the inf. of *tócbaim* 'I raise.'

[3] *KZ.* xxxii. 219.

[4] Brugmann, *Grundriss* II. 194.

treatment of the particles *aith-* and *ad-*=*ate-*, *ad-* in composition under the accent. Where the *a* of *ate* becomes *ē*, the *a* of *ad* appears as *a*, compare *ní épil* 'he does not die' =**átebalet* with *ápelugud* 'flattery'=*adb-*, *écid* 'he relates'= *atc-* (with accent on the verb *aithchuaid*) with *acci* 'he sees' =*adc-*.[1] Where this rule seems to be violated, there is confusion of the two particles.[2] Now, as in *ate-* the *t* is followed by a vowel, while in *ad-* the *d* is final, it is easy to suppose that the *t* persisted longer. The different treatment of the vowel in this case would then be a parallel[3] to the different treatment of the vowel in the combinations *acn*, *agn*, etc.

3. *atl* > *āl*.

anál 'breath,' W. *anadl* = **anatlā*, **anətlā*: Skr. *ániti* 'blows.'

dál 'meeting,' W. *dadl*=**datlā*.

In *sál* 'heel,' W. *sawdl*, Bret. *seul*=**stātlā* (Stokes)[4] *ā* is naturally long.

4. *adl* > *āl*.

In the compound *álaind* 'beautiful'=*ad-laind*, *laind .i. solus no taitnemach* O' Dav. 102.[5]

5. *ecl* > *ēl*.

[1] From cases like *usce* 'water': Gr. ὕδωρ, ὕδος, etc., *mesc* 'drunk': Gr. μέθυ, etc., *sesc* 'dry': Lat. *siccus*(=**sitqos*) has been deduced the law that Idg. *tk* became in Keltic *sk* (cf. Brugmann *Grundriss* 378). If that be so, then in *acci ad* must have been restored from other words where it remained, and then *adc* became *acc* in accordance with a later law. There is something strange in the sound change here postulated, and the same law has been called in question for Teutonic by Kluge (*Paul's Grundriss* I. 327), who points out that in the instances quoted *sk* may equally well go back to Idg. *t-sk*. *sk* could be explained in the same way in Keltic; *usce*=**uts-ciā*, **ud-s-kiā* (from stem **udes-* Gr. ὕδος, Skr. *útsa-* 'spring' with which Stokes compares Ir. *os* 'water,' (=**utso-*) in *os- bretha* 'water judgments'), *mesc*=**mets-cos*, etc.; with *sesc* 'dry,' W. *hysp* cf. Zend *hiśku*, Gr. ἰσχνός (Zimmer, *KZ.* xxiv. 212, Bartholomae *KZ.* xxix. 525). A good instance in which *cc* in inlaut may be explained from *tk*- is *rucce* 'disgrace' (Gael. *ruicean* 'a red pimple')=**rut-kiā*, *rudh-kiā* √*reudh* 'to be red,' cf. Ir. *ruidwich* 'blush,' Gaul. *Seno-rucus* (d'Arbois de Jubainville, *noms. gaul.* 69): so *cuic* 'secret,'=**cutci-*: Gr. κεύθω (Stokes); *brocc* W. *broch* 'badger'=**brotco-*, **bhrodh-ko-*: Skr. *bradhná* 'lightred' Ch. Slav. *bronŭ* 'white' (**bhrotko-*: **bhrodhno-*=Lat. *cascus*: *canus*).

[2] Zimmer, *Kelt. Stud.* II. 70.

[3] Unless *e* for *a* is due to the lost slender vowel.

[4] Cf. *KSB.* viii. 428, *BB.* xi. 128; in *sál* the loss of *t* might be explained from dissimilation.

[5] Stokes, *Bezz. Beitr.* xvi. 50.

muinél[1] 'neck' (g. *muinéóil*)=**muneclo-*, W. *mynwgl*: cf. Lat. *monile*, Skr. *manyā* 'neck, muscle of the neck,' Eng. *mane*.

Stokes,[2] after Rhys connects *ceól* 'music' with W. *pīb* 'fistula tibia,' O.W. *piipaur* (MS. *pispaur*) 'tibicen,' and derives it from a form **cvecvlo-*. But *cvecvlo-* would not explain the vocalism of *pīb*, *piipaur*, which are rather loan-words from Lat. *pipa*. Apart from the Welsh words the hypothetical *cvecvlo-* has little probability. It is very likely that some consonant has been lost between *e* and *o*. I had thought of deriving *ceól* from **kepolom*, Skr. *çap* 'curse,' supposing that the meaning of 'curse' developed itself from metrical formulae of imprecation. But that is not very certain.

6. *egl.* > *ēl.*

Ir. *céle* 'comrade,' has been brought together with W. *cilyd* 'comrade,' in the phrase *y gilyd* 'the other' (lit. 'his comrade')=Ir. *achéile*. *céle* and *cilyd* might come from **cegliós*. For *i* in *cilyd* cf. *llith* from Lat. *lectio*, *nith* 'niece,' from **neptī*.

réil 'clear' (*rélaim* 'manifesto')=**regli-*, Lith. *regiù* 'I see,' *rẽgimas* 'visible.' For the vocalism of *réil* see p. 36.

seól 'sail,' W. *hwyl* is puzzling. The words are commonly derived from **seghlo-*: Teut. **seglo-* 'sail.' We should expect, however, in Irish **sél*, in W. **hail*. One might at a pinch explain *seól* as a new formation from the gen. *siúil* (**seglī*) after the analogy of *ciúil*: *ceól*, and the like; but, though such formations are found in the modern dialects, I know of none in Old Irish. W. *hwyl* is equally perplexing. Breton and Cornish have for 'sail' a word borrowed from Lat. *velum*, Bret. *goel*, 'voil de femme et de navire,' Corn. *guil* (Voc.). Did Welsh also once have a word **gwyl* similarly borrowed from *velum* which affected the native word? Perhaps further investigation may bring some

[1] On the long vowel in an unaccented syllable see Thurneysen *Rev. Celt.* vii. 325. Gaelic shows secondary shortening, *muineal*, *cineal*, *gabhail*.

[2] *KZ.* xxviii. 57 n.

light. Ir. *seól*, W. *hwyl*, 'course,' seem but a particular application of the above words.

7. etl > ēl.

bél 'mouth'=**gvetlo-*: Goth. *qithan* 'say, speak' (Stokes).

cenél 'race,' W. *cenedl*=**cenetlon*.

scél 'story,' W. *chwedl*=**scvetlon*: Gr. *ἐννέπω*.

Before slender vowels[1] *beiúil* Wb. 12[d] 12, *beóil* 7[d] 9: *scéuil* Wb. 17[b] 6. From *cenél* the forms are numerous and varied—*ceniuil* Sg. 28[a] 5, 28[b] 4, 32[b] 3, 61[a] 24; *ceniuil* Sg. 31[b] 15, 62[a] 3, 75[a] 6, 152[a] 3, 203[a] 19, Ml. 83[b] 5; *ceniúil* Wb. 5[c] 3; *cenéiuil* Sg. 30[b] 8, 31[b] 12, 61[a] 18; *ceneiuil* Sg. 40[a], 4, 6, 18; *cenéuil* Sg. 32[b] 9, 40[a] 11, 61[a] 2; *dochenéuil* Sg. 64[b] 6; *ceineuil* Sg. 41[b] 3; *ceneuil* 33[a] 5, 75[a] 7, 211[a] 16, Ml. 66[d] 1; *docheneuil* Ml. 103[c] 13; *socheneuil* 101[d] 19; *ceneóil* Wb. 1[b] 12, 6[d] 6, 17[c] 15. Thus Wb., as might be expected, comes nearest to the later language where *eói* gains the upper hand. Most of these variations must be regarded as purely orthographical; the presence or absence of the long mark is more or less a matter of chance. But *iūi*, *eōi* clearly represent two entirely distinct sets of sounds (the modern Gaelic pronunciation shows that *u* and *o* in these combinations are long). Either the difference was dialectical or *iūi*, *eōi* arose from the loss of different consonants and were afterwards used promiscuously, because in most cases the words would fall together; why in this case *eói*, which is rare in Old Irish, should have gained the upper hand, it is not easy to see. That the difference is not purely chronological is shown by the persistence of *iūi* in later times.

epl.

No clear instance of this. *feóil* 'flesh' is probably to be

[1] *forcainsceilsi* Wb. 23[d] 2, *hi nephcenéil* Wb. 5[a] 14, are accusatives after the fashion of *i* stems, and might be explained like similar cases on p. 36. *dochenéuil* gl. degener, Sg. 64[a] 6, if it stands for -**cenetlis*, would be an exception to the rule laid down there. But it might come from -**cenetlīs* (cf. Brugmann *Grundr.* II. 1. 116). The acc. to -**cenetlis* would be -**cenetlīm*, whence -**cenetlīm* (Brugmann *Grundr.* II. 689), whence -**cenéil* the influence of which may be seen in the forms quoted above. *Socheneuil* Ml. 101[d] 19, *docheneuil* Ml. 103[c] 13, are datives after the analogy of *i* stems and consequently regular.

connected with Skr. *vapā* 'fat,' but it may be referred to **vepoli-*. In favour of this is *feulae* Ml. 97[d] 10, *feuldae* 70[b] 8, 87[b] 7.

8. *ebl* > *ēl.*

aidhbheul (*le sgread aidhbheul*, Hyde, *Leabhar sgeulaighe achta* 66, *sgeulta aidhbheula ib.* 75), *aidhbhéil* 'huge, vast, enormous,' O.R. may come from **atebeblos*, a reduplicated form cognate with *adbul* 'great, vast,' which may itself be connected with √*bhel* 'swell,' (Persson, *Wurzelerweiterung* 26).

nél 'cloud,' W. *niwl*=*neblo-*.

Before slender vowel *niuil* Ml. 120[a] 11. The effect of the labial is seen in the acc. pl. *niulu* Wb. 25[b] 23; contrast *beólu* 5[c] 11, *beulu* Ml. 131[b] 6, Incant. Sang.

9. *icl*+broad vowel > **ecl*, *ēl.*

céla 'will conceal'=**ciclāt.*

10. *igl*+slender vowel > *īūil.*

giúil 'adhaesit' (*rogiuil* Ml. 98[b] 8)=**gigle*, pres. *glenim.*

11. *ibl*+broad vowel=*ebl*, *ēl.*

at-béla 'he will die'=**biblāt.*

12. *iml.*

There is no proof that *m* was lost before *l*, so it is safest to look upon *méla* fut. of *melim* 'I grind,' as an analogical formation.

13. *ocl* > *ōl*, *ūal.*

dúal 'lock of hair'=*doclo-*: Goth. *tagl* 'hair,' A.S. *tægl*, which has been compared with Skr. *daçā* 'fringe.'

tin-ólaim 'I collect,' *doinola* adplicat: *ōl*=**pocl-*, Skr. *pā́ça* 'fetter,' *paciscor*, Germ. *fügen.* Ablaut *paḱ-*, *poḱ-*, *pāḱ.*

14. *ogl* > *ōl*, *ūal.*

búal 'water'=*bhoglo-*, cf. Germ. *bach*, Eng. *beck.*

fúal 'urine'=**voglo-*: O.N. *vǫkva* 'wet.'[1]

cúailean, 'curl': *κόχλος* 'a shellfish with a spiral shell" (Stokes). With *κόχλος*, however, Franck *Ndl. Wb.* 262 compares Dutch *gagel*, Ags. *geagl* 'tandvleesch, gehemmelte'

[1] Stokes, *Metr. Ir. Gl.* 72.

=**ghoghlo-*. If that be so, Stokes' etymology would have to be given up.

15. *otl* > *ōl*.

If *ól* 'drink,' is to be connected with √*pō* 'drink,' it might come from a stem **potlo-*.[1] From *ól* 'drink' can hardly be separated *ól* 'undare,' *imról* 'abundantia,' *fóról*, id., *dróil* 'inops,' etc.[2] The root *pōi̯*, *pō* shews similar meanings in other Idg. languages, Skr. *pī*, *páyate*, 'swell, be exuberant, be full,' Gr. *πίων* 'fat.'

16. *odl* > *ōl*, *úal*?

úalach 'burden'=*podlāco-*? Cf. O.H.G. *fazza* 'bundle, load,' also Ir. *ossar* 'burden,' *oss-*=**pots- *pods-*.

17. *ucl*+broad vowel > **ocl*, *ōl*, *úal*.

cúala 'I heard'=**cuclova*, *cúalae* 'he heard'=**cuclove*.

18. *udl*+broad vowel=**odl*, *ōl*, *ūal*?

búailim 'strike' may=*budl-* or *boudl-*, √*bhud*: Ags. *beátan*, Eng. *beat*. If *úal* here=*udl*, it must have arisen in the first place before a broad vowel.

19. *ubl*+broad vowel > *obl*, *ōl*, *ūal*?

gúala 'shoulder'=**gubl-* (or *goubl-*?) Slav. *gŭb-* 'bend' in, *gŭnąti* 'to bend,' G. *κυφός*. Cf. O.N. *bak*, Ags. *bœc* 'back'=**bhogom*, 'supple, flexible,' Germ. *buckel* 'back, belly,' √*bhug* 'bend.'[3]

V. Sound Groups ending in *k*.

1. *anc*, *enc*, *n̥c* > *ēc*.[4]

These groups have in Irish fallen indistinguishably together.

bréc 'lie'=**bhrancā* or **bhrencā*: Skr. *bhraṁça* 'falling, loss.'

[1] Unless we assume a radical variation *pō*, *pōi̯*, *pōu̯*, like *ghā*, *ghāi̯*, *ghāu̯*, Persson, *Wurzelerw.* 117, 138, *stā*, *stāi̯*, *stāu̯*, *ib.* 141, etc.

[2] Ascoli, *Lexicon Palæo-Hibernicum* CXV.

[3] Persson, *Wurzelerweiterung* 190.

[4] Cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss* I. 180, 203; R. Schmidt, *Idg. Forsch.* I. 66 sq.

géc[1] 'branch' = **cancā*, W. *cang* (f.), pl. *cangau*: Ch. Slav. *sąkŭ* 'surculus,' Skr. *çaṅku-* 'stake, trunk.'

écath 'hook' = **ancato-*: Skr. *aṅkā* 'hook,' Gr. *ἄγκων*, *ὄγκος*.

ében 'necessity' = **ancenā*, W. *angen*: Gr. *ἀνάγκη*.

éc 'death' = **n̥ku-*, W. *angeu*, Bret. *ancou*: Skr. *naç* 'perish,' Gr. *νέκυς*.

tréicim 'forsake,' W. *tranc*, *trang* 'finis, obitus,' *trengí* 'obire, mori.'

2. *onc* > *ōc*.

cóic 'five' = **conce*, **kᵘenkᵘe*, Idg. **penqe*, W. *pump*. The *o* for *e* must be ascribed to the preceding *u̯* sound, as in *cuit*, 'part,' W. *peth* 'thing, part' = **kᵘesdi-*,[2] *coire* 'kettle' = **kᵘerio-*, W. *pair*: Skr. *cáru*, O.N. *hverr*.[3] On the other hand *e* is unaffected in *ciall* 'understanding,' W. *pwyll* = **kᵘeislā*,[4] *cía*, 'who,' W. *pwy* = **kᵘei*, *cían* 'long' = **kᵘei̯nos*, cf. Skr. *cirás* 'long,' Goth. *hveila*[5] 'while,' *cenn* 'head,' W. *pen* = **kᵘendo-*[6], *cech* 'everyone' = **kᵘekᵘo-*, *cethir* 'four,' O.W. *petguar* = **kᵘetu̯eres*: Gr. *τέσσερες*. In these cases (except in *cethir*) *e* appears as *o* when the vowel in the following syllable is clear, as *e* when the following vowel is dark. Is this mere chance, or did the *u̯* sound disappear in Irish before a dark vowel in the following syllable without affecting the *e*? *cetheora* fem. of *cethir* = **kᵘetesores* might be explained as due to the analogy of the masculine. In *cethir* the loss of *u̯* may be explained by dissimilation due to the following *u̯*: in that case **kᵘenkᵘe* for **penkᵘe* must be supposed to have arisen within Keltic itself[7] after this dissimilation had taken place. If this dissimilation is to be placed in proto-Keltic times one would have expected in W. **cetguar*; *petguar* may be ascribed to the influence of the feminine.

[1] For a suggestion as to the explanation of initial *g* for *c* see *Bezz. Beitr.* xiv. 313.

[2] Thurneysen, *Kelto-Romanisches* 71.

[3] Windisch, *KSB.* viii. 44.

[4] Brugmann, *Grundriss* II. 1. 194.

[5] Cf. Osthoff, *Morph. Untersuch.* iv. 152.

[6] R. Schmidt, *Idg. Forsch.* I. 73.

[7] Brugmann *Grundriss* I. 170 has suggested an historical connection between Keltic **kᵘenkᵘe* and Lat. *quinque*, Goth. *fimf*.

3. *inc*,[1] *unc*. Of compensatory lengthening of *i* or *u* with loss of *n* I have no instance. In the case of *u* there is an example of apparently different treatment in *sluccim* 'I swallow,' Mod. Ir. *sluigim*, O.Bret. *rolincas*, W. *llwnc*, where *nc* seems to be assimilated to *cc*. Cf. also *derucc* 'acorn'=**derun-co-* (?), *derun-* weak form of stem *derven-*, cf. W. *derwen* 'oak,' Lith. *dervìnis* 'made of pinewood,' *dervìngas* 'resinous.' Stokes derives *ticcim* 'come' from *to-enk*. If *icc* here comes from *enk* (or *n̥k*), did it come through *inc*? Whether this lack of examples of lengthening of *i* and *u* is due to chance, or to something in the nature of the sounds themselves I am not in a position to say; at all events a prolonged search has brought to light no instances. There is the same absence of examples of lengthening of *i*, *u* in *int* (before slender vowel), *unt*.

VI. Sound Groups ending in *t*.

1. *ant*, *ent*, *n̥t* > *ēt*.[2]

bét 'hurt'=**gʰenti-* or **gʰn̥ti-* √*gʰen*.

cét 'hundred,' W. *cant*=**kn̥tóm*: Lith. *szimtas*.

cét- 'first,' *cétne* 'first,' W. *cyntaf*, Gaul. *Cintus*, *Cintugnatus*, =**cinto-*: Ch. Slav. *čęnǫ*[3] 'begin.'

[1] Brugmann once *Morphol. Untersuch.* III. 154, derived *léicim* 'I leave' from **lincim* with a transition to the 3rd conj. That is highly improbable. Supposing the verb to have belonged to the 1st conj. *e* for *i* could have arisen only where a broad vowel followed, and if the inflexion according to the 3rd conjugation is older than the umlaut, it could never have arisen at all. He now (Grundriss I. 327) suggests *leiḱʷiō*, but there is no evidence that *leiḱʷiō* could give *léicim*. It seems to me that Old Ir. *leicim*, Mod. *léig* can be explained only from **leiṇkʷiō*, a mixture of *leiq-* and *linq-*. How *e* could have made its way into *leinq-* is easily intelligible if, as may be easily supposed, there was by the present **linqō* (or **linqiō*) a fut. **leiqsō*, Aor. **(e)leiqsm̥*, etc.

[2] Cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss* I. 203; R. Schmidt, *Idg. Forsch.* I. 64 sqq.

[3] Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*[2] 537. With *Cintus* compare the Ir. proper name *Cét*, Πρῶτος.

cétal 'song'=**cantlon*, *canim* 'I sing': Lat. *cano*.

dét 'tooth,' W. *dant*=**dn̥t-*: Goth. *tunþus*.

ét 'jealousy'=*i̯anto-*, W. *add-iant* 'longing,' Gaul. *Ad tunneni*, *Jantumarus*, Skr. *yatna-* 'effort.'[1]

étim 'I clothe,' *étach* 'dress' may be compared with *ent*, *int* 'weave,' Gr. *ἄττομαι*, Skr. *átka-* 'cloak.'[2]

étaim 'find': Goth. *finþan*, Eng. *find*.[3]

méit size, W. *maint*=**mn̥ti-*.

sét 'way,' W. *hynt*=**sento-*: Goth. *sinþs*.[4]

sét[5] 'likeness'=**semt-* or **sn̥t-*, cf. *amal* 'as': Lat. *si* Gr. *ἅμα*.

sét 'treasure'=*sent-* (stem uncertain cf. *BB.* xi. 99): *sánt-* 'being,' Gr. *ἐτς* (Stokes).[6]

tét 'fides,' W. *tant*=**tn̥tu-*.

tét[7] 'way'=**temt-* or **tn̥t-*: *τέμνω*.

trét 'flock, herd,' (g. *treóit*) = **trento-*: Lat. *tu* with which Bugge (*KZ.* xxxii. 67), has comp Arm. *tarm* 'flock of birds.'

R. Schmidt has acutely perceived that *ēt*=*n̥t* is cl distinguished from *ēt*=*ant*, *ent* in the *i* infection; here *n̥t* gives *ēt*, *ēt*=*ant*, *ent* gives *eúit*, *eóit*, e.g. *cét* 'hund g. *céit* (=**centī*) but, *ét* 'jealousy,' g. *euit* (=**yantī*) 32[b] 10), *eoit* (Ml. 32[b] 9) *sét* 'treasure,' *séuit*, *séoit*.

2. *ont* > *ōt*.

airchót 'injury'=**(p)arê-konti-*.[7]

moit 'oath'=**monti-*.[8]

The etymology of *fót* 'sod,' is obscure; *doit* 'hand, w gen. pl. *inna n-doat* 'lacertorum' (Aug. Cr. 92), ma

[1] Stokes, *Goidelica*[2] 85.

[2] Cf. G. Meyer, *Alb. Stud.* III. 24. It is equally possible (Stokes, *Spra* 32) to compare *étim* with Lat. *pannus*, etc.

[3] Stokes, *BB.* xi, 140; R. Schmidt, *IF.* I. 64.

[4] Can the gen. *séta* etc. be due to association with *imthechta* with it is often found joined, as in the phrase *i cend séta ocus imthechta*, e.g 253[b] 13 ?

[5] Stokes, *KSB.* viii. 328.

[6] If this comparison is right, it furnishes an additional proof that th form of this part. was **sents* (cf. *Idg. Forsch.* I. 23) for *séuit* comes from not from **sn̥ti*.

[7] Stokes, *Bezz. Beitr.* xvii. 137.

[8] Stokes, *Breton Glosses* 17.

derived from **doventi-*, *√dheva-*, 'move violently,'[1] cf. καρπός 'wrist' to καρπάλιμος, O.H.G. *hwërban*, 'turn':[2] *dovent-* to *dóat*, *dót*, as **iovenkos*, young man, to *oác*, *óc*.

3. *int*+broad vowel > **ent* > *ēt*.

fétaim, *sétaim* 'I can'=**svintāiō*: Goth. *svinþs* 'strong,' *svinþjan* 'κρατεῖν.'[3] *sétaim* appears in *setar* LU. 68[b] 2.

4. *anct*, *enct* > *ēct*, *ēcht*.

téchtaige (read *téchtaide*) 'frozen' (Atkinson, *Passions, etc.* 915), Gael. *teuchd* 'congeal'=**tanct- √tank* (or *tenk* ?), cf. *coiteicthea* 'concretionis,' Ml. 145[a] 3=**con-tancetous* (or *tenc-* ?) (also Ml. 44[a] 10, 62[c] 4, 84[b] 7): Zd. *tancista* 'very firm,' Lith. *tankùs* 'thick,' Arm. *tanǰr* 'thick.'[4]

deacht is given by O'Clery with the meaning of 'thunder.' There is also a word *dinge* with the same meaning. As it is difficult to separate these two words, it is very likely that *deacht* should be written *déacht*=*denct-*: *dinge*=**dingio-* or **dingiā*. The etymology is uncertain; one might perhaps compare *dingim* 'I thrust, urge,' Ch. Slav. *dągŭ* 'strength' in *nedągŭ* 'sickness.'

écht 'murder'=*enct-* to *éc* 'death.'

léchte 'fitting'=**tenctio-* to **tenqō* Fick I[4]. 440.

récht 'song,' cf. Zd. *dreñj* 'repeat, utter.'

cécht 'power,' has been compared by Stokes[5] with Skr. *śakti-* 'power,' *√śak-*. If Fick I.[4] 41 is right in referring to this root Lith. *szvánkus* 'becoming,' we have a nasalised form also in Lith.

5. *ampt*, *empt* > *anct*, *enct* > *ēcht* perhaps in—

cecht[6] gl. buris Sg. 127[b] 1 (l. *cécht*), Mod. Ir. *ceucht*, g. *ceuchta*, Manx *keeaght* 'plough'=**canctu-*, **kamptu-*: Gr. κάμπτω, καμπύλ' ἄροτρα.

[1] Fick, I[4]. 75, 465.
[2] Curtius, *Gr. Et.*[5] 525; Schrader, *KZ.* xxx. 473. If the connexion between καρπός and *hwērban* is to be maintained, καρπός must stand to *hwērban* in the same relation as κάπνος to Goth. *afhwapjan* 'σβεννύναι,' Lith. *kvāpas* 'smoke,' cf. Bechtel, *Hauptprobleme* 355, Wiedemann *IF.* I. 256.
[3] Stokes, *Bodleian Fragment of Cormac's Glossary* 54.
[4] Against this Bugge *KZ.* xxxii. 68 sq.
[5] *KSB.* vii. 67.
[6] Stokes compares more probably Goth. *hôha* 'plough'; **canctu-*: **cancā-* 'branch'=*hôha*: Lith. *szakà* 'branch.'

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drëcht 'part'=**drempt-* a nasalised form of √*drep* in Gr. δρέπω.[1]

crécht 'wound,' may perhaps be referred to **kremptā*, nasalised form of √*kerp*, in Skr. *kṛpāṇa* 'sword,' Lith. *kerpù* 'cut.'

6. Of *onct* I have no example; the etymology of *tócht* 'piece,' *tóchtad* 'hewing to pieces' (LL. 101[b] 8) is not clear.[2]

6. *ecst*

appears in auslaut as *ē, dlé, foré, gé* from **dlecst*, **foretst*, *gesst*.[3] So *ecs* in *sé* 'six'=**sueks*. But the lengthening here is not compensatory: rather it seems to have been a law that accented monosyllables ending in a vowel were lengthened.[4]

VII. Sound Groups ending in *s*.

1. *ans* > *ēs*.[5]

ési 'reins,' stem **ansi-*: Lat. *ansa*, Lith. *ąsà* 'handle, knot.'[6]

fés, fésóg 'beard'=*vans-*: O.Pruss. *wanso*, Ch. Slav. *vąsŭ* 'beard.'[7]

geis 'swan'=**gansi-*: Germ. *gans*, Lat. *hanser*.

2. *ens* > *ēs*.

drésacht 'a rattling or creaking sound'=**drens-actu-*: Skr. *dhraṇ* (*dhraṇati çabde*), not found in literature, Goth. *drugus* φθόγγος, O.N. *drynr* 'roaring.'[8]

[1] Stokes, *KSB.* vii. 67.

[2] Stokes suggests **stonk-*, **stunk-* cognate with N.H.G. *stücke, stock*, etc.

[3] *Bezz. Beitr.* xiv. 313, n.

[4] Thurneysen, *KZ.* xxxi. 91. Cf. also *mé* 'I, me'=Idg. **mĕ*, Brugmann, *Grundriss* II. 811. How is Gael. *mi* to be explained? Does it=Idg. *mē*?

[5] If *Ēsus*, the name of a Gaulish deity, =Teut. **ansu-* 'god,' as is highly probable (Fick. III.[3] 18), then *ans* became *ēs* in the Gaulish branch of Keltic too. The change *ans* > *ēs* may very well have taken place before the separation of the Kelts.

[6] Stokes, *Linguistic value of Irish Annals* 8.

[7] Stokes, *Bezz. Beitr.* ix. 89.

[8] Persson, *Wurzelerweiterung*, 73; Fick, I[4]. 76.

grésacht 'inciting, urging on'=**grens-*: *gris* 'fire,' *grisaim* 'incite.' Ablaut *grens-*, Ir. *grésacht*, Bret. *groez* 'heat of the sun,' Skr. *ghráñsa-* 'sun's heat': *gr̥ṇs-*, Ir. *gris*, *grisaim*.[1]

béim=**bensmen*. See above.

It has been held that *ens* in Irish became *is*,[2] but the above instances, if rightly explained, prove the contrary. Zimmer lays stress on *mí* 'month,' which he seems to derive through **mens* from *mēns*. But *mí*, g. *mís*, cannot be separated from Brythonic *mis*, in W., Bret. and Corn., and in Bret. after the analogy of *groez* we must have had for **mens-*, **moez*, or **moaz*. These facts indicate that **mēns-* became in ur-Kelt. **mins-* (perhaps *mis-*); if a long vowel+sonant+consonant was shortened in Keltic as in other European languages, this shortening must have come after the change of *ē* to *ī*. The borrowed words *cís*, *pissire* from *cēnsus*, *pēnsum* prove nothing; *ī* for *ē* is found in other cases where there can be no question of *n*: *síta* 'silk,' Low Lat. *sēta*, *síric*, Lat. *sēricus*. *ī* for Lat. *ē* appears also in Teutonic loan words, O.H.G. *sîda*=*seta*, O.H.G, *chrîda*=*crēta*, O.H.G. *pîna*=*pēna*, Goth. *akeit*=*acētum*, Ags. *pîslic*=*pensum*.[3] These instances are probably to be explained from the closer sound of Lat. *ē*, that it was something between Kelt. *ē* and Keltic *ī* and was expressed now by the one, now by the other. *é* also appears in Teut. as in Goth. *mêsa-* O.H.G. *mias*; this *ē* must have been a closer sound than *ē* which becomes *ā*.[4]

3. *ent* (*n̥tt*) > *enss* > *ēss*, *ēs*.

béss 'custom'=**benttu-*,[5] Gaul. *bēssus*,[6] √*bhendh* 'bind': Alb. *besë* 'belief, agreement.'[7]

[1] *Bezz. Beitr.* xiv. 314.
[2] Zimmer, *KZ.* xxx. 210.
[3] Cf. Kluge, *Paul's Grundriss* I.
[4] In speaking of the change of Idg. *ē* to West Germ. *â*, Kluge (*Paul's Grundriss* I. 363), remarks: 'dabei ist zu beachten, das kein *é* eines Lat. lehnworts (*acêtum rêmus mênsa catêna monêta* u. s. w.), den wandel von *é* in *â* durchmacht; offenbar deckten sich lat *é* und idg.-germ. *é* nicht.'
[5] *Bezz. Beitr.* xiv. 312 sqq.
[6] Bestia dicitur de bestu, hoc est more feritatis, Virg. gramm. quoted by Holder, *Alt. Kelt. Spr.* 409. From this can hardly be separated Bret. *boaz* 'custom.' But W. *moes* is difficult. Confusion of *b* and *m* is found elsewhere, because *b* and *m* fell together in certain positions, *e.g.* *ben*, *men* 'wagon'; but *ē* should in W. have given *wy*.
[7] Meyer, *Alban. Wb.* 33.

céssaim 'suffer'=*centt-* or *cents-*; Lith. *kenczìù*, *kę* 'suffer.'

glése 'brightness'=**glent-t-*, cf. Germ. *glanz* and oth words referred to by Kluge, s.v.

gréis 'attack'=*grentti-*, *grend-ti-*, *ingrennim* 'persequor Ch. Slav. *grędą* 'come.'

léss 'light,' *léssboire* 'light'=**plentto-*: Lat. *splendeo.*[1]

séis 'music,'=**sentti-*, *sennim* 'I play.'

In such instances Gaelic has also by infection *eòi*, e.g. *ce* g. *ceòis*, *leus* 'light,' g. *leòis*=**plensī*, *gleus* 'order, condition g. *gleòis*. I have no similar examples from the older Iri unless in Cormac's Glossary s.v. *grinniud leos* i. *dibad soil* 'extinction of light,' we should read *leóis*, as the gen. required; from *leóis* would come nom. *leós*. On the oth hand I have no evidence that *ē* in a similar positi was not treated in the same way in Irish. The instanc *géis*, *gréis*, *séis*, are not conclusive, since it is by n means certain that a short *i* could effect a preceding in this way. In all[2] the cases collected in this paper the *i* long. On the other hand *ē* remains in *céir* 'gum,' *r* 'clear,' where the following syllable once contained Whether the etymology proposed for *réil* is right or wron fortunately does not matter; the verb *rélaim* points clear to compensatory lengthening; if *ē* in *réil* had come fro *eį* we should have expected **rialaim.*

4. *ancs*, *encs* > *ēss*, *ēs*.

gésca 'branch'=**cancscaio-* to *géc* 'branch'=**cancā*, W *cang* (see above).

ésca 'moon'=*encscaio-*, cf. *éig* 'moon,' O'Clery=**enci* The words are probably to be connected with Skr. *pāj* 'light' Gr. φέγγος. As to *enci-* the *c* may be explain in one of two ways; either √*peng* had a by-form *pen* or **enci-* stands by Stokes' law for **engni-*; the latt explanation is the more probable. *encs-* in *ésca* would com from a stem **penges-* with the weak form of the suffix.

[1] *BB.* xiv. 313.
[2] For the doubtful *dochenéuil* see p. 27.

Gael. *ceus* 'ham' g. *ceòis* (also nom. *ceòs* after the gen.)= **cencso-*: Lith. *kenklà* 'hough.'

éis 'footstep' = **encsi-*, cf. *eng* 'footstep.' **encsi-* is probably developed from a neut. stem **enges-*.

géssim 'I cry'=**gencsiō*, cf. *géim*.

do grés 'continuo,' *gréssach* 'continuus'=**grencs-*, **grengs-*: Lith. *grįžti*, 'come back,' *atgrąžas*, 'repetition, strophe,' O.N. *kringr* 'round,' N.H.G. *kring*.[1]

lés 'bladder' perhaps=**lencso-*: Lith. *lengvùs* 'light.' For the meaning cf. *étromain*.

5. *ents* > *ēs*.

sés-, fut. stem of *senním* (=**svendō*) 'drive'=**suents-*.[2]

inglèis, gl. rimare Ml. 140c 7, fut. to *inglennim*, 3 pl. *inglennat*, gl. vestigant.

6. *ins* > *īs*.

gris 'fire'=**grinso-*, *grnso-* (see above). From this it appears that *i* before *ns* is not subject to umlaut.

is 'below' W. *is*=*ins-*: Lat. *infra* for **insrā*.[3]

7. *ons* > *ōs*.

fo-lós- (=*-loncs-*), fut. stem to *folangim* 'I endure.'

fristassam 1 pl. fut. to *fristoing*, Z. E. 1005.

8. *uns* < *ūs*?

I have no certain instance of this in Irish. W. *cus* 'kiss,' may be explained as=**cuns-*, cf. κυνέω = κυ-νε-σ-ω[4] to ἔ-κυσ-σα. It would be possible to explain in this way *adgúsim* 'I choose'; *gūs*=*guns-* a present stem with nasal infix from √*ĝeus*, Gr. γεύω, Eng. *choose*. The *ū*, however, might be explained otherwise.

9. *rs*

Zimmer[5] has asserted that in Irish *ars* became *ēr*, *ers*, *ir*; of the former change he produces no instances except futures like *adgēr* which may be better explained otherwise (see above, p. 4). For *ers* > *ir* he cites *tír* 'land' √*ters*: Lat.

[1] Leskien, *Ablaut im Litauischen* 66 (328); Fick, II³. 352.
[2] Brugmann, *Grundriss* II. 180.
[3] Thurneysen *KZ.* xxx. 491.
[4] Johansson, *De derivativis verbis contractis linguae graecae* 109.
[5] *KZ.* xxx. 211.

terra, *cir* 'comb' √*kers-*: Skr. *karsh* 'plough.' But there is no proof that *í* of *tir* came from *ĕrs*; *ē* is also found in Osc. *teerùm* 'land.' In *tir*=**tĕros*, Lat. *terra*=**tĕrsa* we may have an ablaut *ē*: *ĕ*. *cir* may be better derived from **cēsrā*, Ch. Slav. *česati* 'to comb,' *česlŭ* 'comb.' In *Bezz. Beitr.* xiv. 315 I have collected a number of cases (which might be easily increased) in which *rs* becomes *rr* without affecting a preceding vowel. Until Zimmer has brought forward more certain instances, and has shown reason for the double treatment of *rs*, it is impossible to accept his law.

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[The reason for the past discontinuance of our yearly Dictionary Reports was merely want of funds. As the Dictionary work suffered in some degree from this stopping of news, and of recognition of the labours of our helpers—whose collection of the uses of words constitutes the chief value of the Dictionary—the Council have resumed the publication of the Reports at the earliest possible time, almost before the Society's funds justify the step.

The issue of the present Part of *Transactions* with the Dictionary Reports has been delayed, first by Mr. Bradley's regrettable illness, and then by the pressure of Dr. Murray's other work.

My daily help to the Dictionary is (as it has been for many years) cutting out slips from the newspapers, periodicals, and proofs or revises of Early English Texts as they pass through the press, with an occasional hunt for an early instance for Mr. Bradley. Looking back to 1858, when Herbert Coleridge and I started the Dictionary work, I feel satisfied that, however faultful the result may be, the Society's *New English Dictionary* is the best existing Dictionary of any modern language, and is a credit to our Victorian time.—F. J. Furnivall, 18th Jan. 1893.]

APPENDIX.

I. REPORT ON THE PROGRESS OF VOL. III. OF THE SOCIETY'S DICTIONARY. BY HENRY BRADLEY, M.A., PRESIDENT (EDITOR OF VOL. III).

(*Read at the Meeting of the Society, February 19th*, 1892).

"The Society is already aware that in August, 1891, the Clarendon Press issued the First Part (*E—Every*, 344 pages) of the portion of the Dictionary entrusted to my editorship. Of the Second Part there are now in type 115 pages, extending from *Everybody* to *Extemporize*; 64 pages, ending with the word *Exhibition*, having been finally passed for press.

"The reviews that have hitherto appeared of Part I. have been, so far as I know, without exception, highly favourable in general tone. I have to thank my reviewers for many criticisms on points of detail that will be useful for the improvement of the forthcoming portions of the work. Even when I am unable to agree with my critics, their remarks have not unfrequently been of service in emphasizing the necessity for exhibiting, as fully as the limits of space permit, the evidence on which the conclusions adopted are based. In one or two instances, in which pertinent criticism was afforded by competent specialists, I am happy to say that I have been able to obtain from my reviewer a promise of his assistance in dealing with matters belonging to his particular branch of knowledge.

"The words beginning with E, which occupy the whole of the portion of the third volume now in type, and will for some time longer continue to engage the attention of my assistants and myself, are remarkable for the large preponderance of foreign derivatives, the native element being very scantily represented. Technical words belonging to science and philosophy are exceptionally abundant, and their treatment has often required a good deal of research, and recourse to the advice of specialists. Although the E words, as a rule, do not form a very interesting portion of the English vocabulary, either with regard to etymology or to sense-history, there are still many instances in which our material has disclosed facts not generally known. The articles in Part I. which contain matter specially worthy of attention are enumerated in the prefatory note. Of the points of interest

occurring in the subsequent portion already in type, a few may be here mentioned. Under the word *Excise*, I have adduced evidence to show that the word (which came into English from Dutch) is ultimately connected etymologically with the Latin *census*, not, as hitherto supposed, with *Assize*. The word *Evil*, in modern use expressing only positive badness, retained until the 16th century its original wider sense, and could still be used as expressive of mere depreciation, as in the invitation, 'come and take an evil dinner with me.' The etymological equivalents *Evict* and *Evince* were formerly used indiscriminately. Their primary meaning is 'to gain by a victory,' or 'to expel by a victory.' In early use it was possible to speak of 'evicting' or 'evincing' a country by force of arms; but the prevailing use referred to a victory in argument or in a legal contest, and eventually the two words became differentiated, *evince* meaning to establish a conclusion by argument, and *evict* to gain possession of a holding or to turn out its possessor as a result of a legal contest. The now familiar word *exist*, it is curious to find, cannot be traced earlier than the age of Shakspere, though *existence* meaning 'reality,' goes back to Chaucer. The words containing the Latin prefixes *e* or *ex* and *extra* afford many illustrations of the tendency of words that originally expressed mere facts, to acquire an emotional sense; thus *enormous*, *exorbitant*, *extraordinary*, *extravagant*, all originally meant simply 'out of the common rule or course'; but in modern use they express the speaker's feeling of astonishment, admiration, or disgust. Another instance of this emotional connotation of words is *exquisite*, which originally meant only 'carefully sought out,' 'well-chosen,' or in an unfavourable sense 'abstruse, out of the way.' One application of this word has often been misunderstood. The old medical term 'exquisite fever,' 'exquisite erysipelas,' did not mean an acute or specially severe form of the disease. The Latin *exquisitus* was a translation of the Greek ἀκριβής, accurately determined, so that an exquisite erysipelas meant an erysipelas accurately so-called, the typical form of the disease, or the genuine disease, as opposed to a spurious one.

"The treatment of pronunciation in this portion of the Dictionary has presented some special difficulties. This is due chiefly to the large number of classical derivatives which, although they may be more or less frequent in literature, are so seldom pronounced that there exists no orthoepical usage with regard to

them. In some cases it has been necessary to choose between four or five different pronunciations, each of which is supported by the authority of some dictionary of repute, and by an analogy which would be sufficient to decide the question if it stood alone. In dealing with such words I have been guided by the consideration that with reference to them the normal relation of written to spoken language is reversed: the combination of written letters being the real word, and the corresponding combination of sounds merely its symbol. In words of this class, therefore, the best pronunciation is that which most effectually and promptly suggests to the mind the written form of the word.

"The constant recurrence of difficulties of the kind just referred to has strongly impressed me with the conviction that the objections to the adoption of phonetic spelling are far more serious than the advocates of reform are accustomed to admit. I will even venture to say that the opponents of reform have seldom, if ever, done full justice to the strength of their own case. I quite admit that the want of correspondence between our spelling and our pronunciation is a great evil. Whether it can be remedied I am not sure; but it is quite certain that no reform can be satisfactory which is based upon an imperfect recognition of the force of the arguments on the conservative side. I therefore think it is worth while to attempt to call the attention of the Society to certain considerations which, as it seems to me, are of essential importance and have been very generally overlooked.

"In the first place, the objection felt to all orthographical change as such is very far from being a mere matter of sentiment. It might be so described if the function of writing were merely to represent speech; or, in other words, if whenever we looked at a printed page we were obliged to think of the sound of the words before we could apprehend the author's meaning. This, however, is very far from being the case. By long habit certain groups of printed letters have acquired for us an ideographic value, so that to every educated adult the act of reading is partially, what to a deaf mute it is altogether, a direct translation of printed symbols into thoughts without any intermediate translation into sound. This is, to some extent, the case with regard even to common colloquial words. If I receive a letter beginning 'My *deer* Friend,' my mental eye sees a picture of a horned animal quite as soon as my mental ear hears the ambiguous succession of sounds which the spelling represents. With regard

to purely literary words the case is, of course, much stronger; their written form often conveys to our minds their meaning without calling up any 'sound-picture' at all, even as an accompaniment. In consequence of this ideographic function of written words, most practised readers are able to take in at a glance the drift of a whole octavo page. The practical value of this accomplishment is obviously enormous. Introduce a new system of spelling, and you render it necessary for us at first to translate every word into sound before we can understand it; and the amount of time that must be spent on reading, when mere information is the object, will be multiplied tenfold. Of course habit would gradually give to the new spelling the quality of ideographical expressiveness; but I do not think that we who have reached middle age could hope ever to acquire that familiarity with it that would enable us to read as rapidly as we now read books in the traditional orthography. Supposing, therefore, that a really practicable scheme of phonetic spelling-reform were before us for adoption, the question to be answered would not be merely whether we were prepared to sacrifice for the good of posterity certain æsthetic prejudices and likings, but whether we were prepared to undergo a considerable loss of working power for the rest of our natural lives.

"In the second place, it seems to me that one of the current specific arguments against spelling reform has been treated with undue scorn by some of our most eminent philologists. I refer to the plea that 'phonetic spelling would obscure the etymology of words.' The common reply has been that our traditional spelling is often positively misleading as a guide to etymology; and that etymology is of no practical importance to the ordinary reader, while for those whom it *does* concern such evidence as the old spelling supplies would still be available, so long as the books written in it remained in existence. This answer would be quite conclusive if the language consisted only of colloquial words, and of words compounded of or derived from these. So far as colloquial words are concerned, the correct meaning is that which is prescribed by usage; there is no appeal to any higher court. If the customary meaning differs from the etymological meaning, it is bad English to follow the etymology. In this class of words, therefore, etymology is never a help to correctness of speech, and is sometimes an actual hindrance; so that even if phonetic spelling did conceal the derivation of the

words no one would be the worse for it. The words peculiar to literary use, however, are on a very different footing. The majority of our most famous English writers, from More and Spenser to the present day, have been 'classically' educated, and have been accustomed to presume on classical education in their hearers. Most of them have now and then invented words of Greek or Latin derivation—often without knowing that the words were not already English; and nearly all have habitually used words in senses or shades of meaning which are not based on any existing English usage, but which are understood as a matter of course by readers who know Latin and Greek. A large proportion of our classically derived words can be understood with precision and used with unfailing correctness only by those who are acquainted with their etymology. This curious dependence of English literature on a foreign culture is perhaps a lamentable weakness; but that it exists as a fact cannot reasonably be denied. As a consequence, the English vocabulary includes an enormous number of words of which the written form has an ideographic value, due *not* to its being familiar to the eye as occurring in English books, but to the fact that it reminds us of the spelling of certain words in a foreign language. These words were originally formed as sequences of alphabetic letters, not as sequences of sounds. The rarely heard and often uncertain pronunciation of a word of this kind is merely symbolical of its written form, and intelligible only as it suggests this to our recollection. If, as sometimes happens, we mentally give a wrong graphical interpretation to the sounds we hear, we are for a moment puzzled to think what the word can mean. If phonetic spelling were adopted, we should in reading often find it necessary first to render the written word into sound, and then to render the sound into the old spelling, in order to apprehend the meaning by the light of the etymology. It seems to me that to write words of this class in phonetic spelling would be just as useless and mischievous as it would be to alter the pronunciation of colloquial words to make it conform to the spelling. To do either of these things would really be disfiguring an original to make it accord with an imperfect copy of itself—much as if some one were to alter a text in the Hebrew Bible because the sense of the English version was different. On the whole, I regret to say that I see no practical way of very greatly lightening the difficulties occasioned to children and foreigners

by the anomalies of English spelling, though many small changes in the phonetic direction may with advantage be gradually introduced in the orthography of such words as are really addressed primarily to the ear. But it is highly important that the process should be gradual, and the reformers ought not to *begin* by abolishing the useful distinctions that have become established in the spelling of such pairs of homophones as *whole, hole.* The number of such cases is not large enough to add very much to the learner's difficulties. And there is no abstract reason why written English should be condemned to share all the imperfections of spoken English; we all recognize the advantage of writing proper names with initial capitals, though that contrivance is purely ideographic.

"It is now my pleasant duty to express my thanks to those persons who have in various ways assisted in the preparation of the work. Amongst these the first place by right belongs to the readers who have furnished the quotations; but to them I can only refer in general, their individual contributions to the Dictionary as a whole being from time to time acknowledged by Dr. Murray. With regard to the volunteer sub-editing, only one name has to be mentioned, the whole of this work for the letter E having been performed by the late Mr. P. W. Jacob, whose scholarly and painstaking labours are referred to in the prefatory note to the first part of Vol. III. Dr. Murray continues to give constant and most important help, every page from the beginning having had the benefit of his careful criticism. The proofs have been regularly read by Mr. Fitzedward Hall, D.C.L., who has furnished an abundance of supplementary quotations which have in an extraordinary degree enhanced the value of the Dictionary as a record of the history of words; also by Mr. H. Hucks Gibbs, M.P., the Rev. J. T. Fowler, M.A., Durham, and Mr. W. H. Stevenson, who have all from time to time contributed suggestions of great value. Most important aid has been rendered on questions of Teutonic philology by Prof. Sievers, of Halle, and Prof. Napier, of Oxford, and on questions of Romanic philology by Prof. Paul Meyer.

"My especial thanks are due to the constant and multifarious assistance rendered by our Hon. Secretary, Dr. Furnivall. The persons to whom I am indebted for information on particular points are very numerous. It is to be feared that the following list is far from complete; and I must ask the forgiveness of

any occasional helpers whose names through inadvertence been omitted:—

"Mr. F. Adams; the Rev. J. C. Atkinson, D.C.L.; Mr. A. Beazeley, C.E.; the Rev. T. E. Bridgett; the Rev. W. Bright, D.D., Canon of Christ Church; Dr. Robert Brown; Mr. A. H. Bullen, M.A.; Mr. Ingram Bywater, M.A., Oxford; Mr. J. S. Cotton, M.A., Editor of *The Academy*; Mr. P. A. Daniel; Mr. Benjamin Dawson; Mr. Léon Delbos; Mr. C. E. Doble, M.A., Oxford; Mr. Austin Dobson; Mr. W. T. Thiselton-Dyer, Royal Gardens, Kew; the late Dr. A. J. Ellis; the Rev. Canon D. Silvan Evans; Dr. Fennell, Cambridge; Dr. Robert von Fleischhacker; Dr. S. Rawson Gardiner; Dr. R. Garnett, British Museum; Mr. Israel Gollancz, M.A., Cambridge; Mr. G. Heppel; Dr. Carl Horstmann; Mr. Henry Jenner, British Museum; Mr. Henry Jones (Cavendish); Mr. W. F. Kirby, Nat. Hist. Dept., British Museum; Prof. E. Ray Lankester; the late Mr. James Lecky; the late Rev. Dr. Littledale: Mr. J. A. Fuller Maitland; Prof. Maitland, Cambridge; Mr. Julian Marshall; Mr. Russell Martineau, M.A., British Museum; Mr. F. D. Matthew; Prof. Alfred Newton, Cambridge; Mr. Edward Peacock; Prof. Karl Pearson, University College, London; Mr. T. G. Pinches, British Museum; Mr. A. W. Pollard, M.A., British Museum; Sir Frederick Pollock; Mr. F. York Powell, M.A., Oxford; Mr. R. B. Prosser; Mr. P. Le Page Renouf, British Museum; Prof. Rhŷs, Oxford; Dr. Ch. Rieu, British Museum; Mr. J. S. Shedlock; the Rev. Prof. Skeat, Cambridge; Mr. John Slater, F.R.I.B.A.; Dr. Oskar Sommer; Mr. W. Barclay Squire, British Museum; Mr. Whitley Stokes, D.C.L.; Mr. W. Sykes, M.R.C.S., Mexborough; Miss Edith Thompson; Dr. R. F. Weymouth.

"I have further to acknowledge the services of my assistants at Oxford, Mr. G. F. H. Sykes, B.A., and Messrs. Lewis and Bryan; also the very important aid rendered by Mr. A. Erlebach, B.A., in the reading of the first proofs. In conclusion, I desire to offer my thanks to the Trustees of the British Museum for having accorded me exceptional advantages for working in the library, and to the officers of that institution for the courteous readiness which they have shown in every possible way to facilitate my researches."

II. Report on the Progress of the Philological Society's New English Dictionary. By Dr. J. A. H. Murray.

(*Read at the Meeting of the Society on Friday, March, 4th*, 1892.)

It is with much regret that I send this statement to be read instead of being personally present at the meeting. It is a great disappointment and loss to me not to meet my fellow-members and to shake hands with the many Dictionary workers who usually come to meet me on these occasions. It will, I think, be expedient in future to hold the Dictionary Evening at another time of the year, when there will be less likelihood of interruption from indisposition or severe weather, or as in the present instance from both combined. I had a serious attack of pneumonia in January, from which I have been for several weeks so far recovered as to be able to do regular work, but not sufficiently recovered to endure exposure to cold or wet. Until Tuesday, I thought it possible that I might venture to come to London, but the untoward change in the weather has completely defeated my expectations.

In reporting on the progress of the Dictionary during the past year, it is unnecessary to dwell upon the fact that during the year two parts were completed and issued to the public, one of Vol. III. letter E, by Mr. Bradley, and a part of Vol. II. letter C, under my immediate editorship. As to the parts in progress, the "Monthly Statement" of the Press which I have just received, shows that of the C part, 153 pages are in type, and 112 printed off; of the E—F part 115½ pages are in type, and 64 printed off. Turning to the question of what proportion of C is now either in type or in the printers' hands, that is down to *Corse*, I find that when we started, the material for C filled 320 pigeon-holes, 6 inches wide; the portion still to do occupies 40 pigeon-holes, or makes ⅛ of the letter. I may pause to point out that 320 pigeon-holes contain a pile of slips 160 feet high, and that we still have 20 feet thick of this to work through. When I turn to *Webster's Dictionary*, and compare the pages done with those still to do, the proportion remaining seems larger: C has in Webster 149 pages, of which we have got through 119, leaving 30 still to do. My recent illness has, I fear, lost me some 10 days; but my assistants have worked splendidly in the meanwhile, and I do not think that the total back-set is very serious.

I do fear, however, that I have paid less attention to correspondents, since I have had to devote all my available strength to actual work at the Dictionary. I hope that if some communications have not been acknowledged at all, and others only after delay, that the writers will not feel hurt. The answering of letters is a very serious part of my duty; after delegating as much of it as is possible to assistants, that which I absolutely must do in my own handwriting, takes always one, more usually two, sometimes three hours of the freshest part of my working day. This being so, it will readily be believed that letters which take trouble and thought to answer have often to wait for many days till I have the time and thought to give, and not unfrequently are never answered at all, because the time never comes, or comes only too late.

I have had the benefit during the year of the valued assistance of Mr. John Mitchell, Mr. Walter Worrall, B.A., Mr. Arthur Maling, M.A., Mr. C. Balk, all of whom have now been in the Scriptorium for some years, and are capable co-workers, also of Mr. Sweatman, as a junior assistant; of these gentlemen I desire to speak with much appreciation. Much of the accuracy of the Dictionary in the thousand and many points, in which error is not only possible, but hardly to be avoided, comes from the special attention of these assistants. I cannot attempt myself to keep in mind the hundred thousand dates of authors and editions, with which the dictionary deals, and for these, and countless other matters, have to depend upon the special attention of one or other of the staff.

But if credit is due to these paid assistants, much more are credit due and grateful thanks to be offered to the many unpaid volunteer workers, who have so nobly helped us from the beginning, and are helping us still. It is a real source of trouble to me that I cannot bring more prominently before the public, and especially before that peculiarly opaque section of the public called reviewers, the important work done by these unpaid workers, and the honour and credit which are their due. I carefully give the names of all Sub-editors in every prefatory note; I mention particularly the sections which they have handled, and—the Reviewers never mention them, except in the rare case in which a local newspaper is "pleased to observe that the name of our respected townsman Mr. A. B. is mentioned among those who have helped in the arrangement of material." But then local papers very rarely "review" the Dictionary, and so "respected townsmen" may be

doing silently the most assiduous and self-sacrificing work, w[illegible] their fellow-townsmen know nothing of it. I hope that we may able to devise some means of remedying this evil, and of bringi[illegible] the public, especially the Reviewer, to render honour to who[illegible] honour is due. My own wonder is that in such circumstances, [illegible] many of our unpaid workers have stuck so devotedly to the work[illegible] I know that the want of recognition has chilled and disappointe[illegible] some, who have consequently turned their energies to fields i[illegible] which they could do something for their own fame, instead o[illegible] merely contributing to swell the fame of another, and all the mor[illegible] do I admire and honour those who work on notwithstanding. Bu[illegible] I trust the Society will assist me in an effort to let those who valu[illegible] the Dictionary know to whom they are indebted for very much o[illegible] its workmanship.

I have to give the following *Statement of help received from Sub-editors and others from Jan.* 1891 *to Jan.* 1892.

The following *portions of C* have been re-subedited, and th[illegible] new material incorporated in preparation for treatment in th[illegible] Scriptorium—

Mr. G. L. Apperson, 11, Park Road, Wimbledon.
Consub- to Contem-, Cop-, Counteract to Counterworking; now engaged on Crot- to Crows-.

Rev. C. B. Mount, M.A., 14, Norham Road, Oxford.
Contenance to Conti, Corr-, Covenant; Cro to Crony; engag[illegible] on Cru to Crup.

Mr. John Peto, Ravenswood, Alleyn Park, London, S.E.
Conto to Contra, Coro to Corpus, Cow to Coz-; engaged [illegible] Cur to Curi-.

Rev. W. B. R. Wilson, M.A., Devonside House, Dollar, N.B.
Const-, Contre to Conu, Coq to Corm, Coup to Couw-, Crad Crez-; engaged on Cu to Cui.

Mr. W. N. Woods, B.A., 58, Elgin Road, Addiscombe.
Corn-, Cost to Coty-; Cou to Coum, engaged on Cri-.

Miss Edith Thompson, Brooks Lodge, Reigate.
Conventicle.

I am especially indebted to Mr. Apperson, Mr. Peto, and Mr. Woods,[1] for the thoroughly workmanlike manner in which they return the material to be taken in hand by the Scriptorium staff, and to the Rev. C. B. Mount, the earliest and most devoted of our workers, for unnumbered preparatory investigations of difficult and doubtful points in the Bodleian Library and elsewhere, whereby he has often cleared up difficulties before I actually reached them.

The following Sub-editors, who are engaged on other parts of the alphabet, have sent in work since Jan. 1891.

Mr. W. J. Anderson, Bank House, Markinch, Fife, N.B.
Mor- to Mors-; engaged on Mort to Mostly.

Mr. Jamas Bartlett, M.A., Cloverlea, Bramley, Guildford.
Get to Goz-; engaged on Gr-.

Mr. Bartlett is one of the most valued of the recent additions to our staff of volunteers; he does work excellent both in quality and amount.

Rev. W. H. Becket, The Manse, Stebbing, Chelmsford.
Wea to Weaz-; engaged on Web to Wei-.

Rev. G. B. R. Bousfield, B.A., 248, Portsdown Road, W.
Fissel to Fizzle, Foin to Font, Wi to Withy; engaged on Witi to Wom-.

Mr. E. L. Brandreth, 32, Elvaston Place, Queen's Gate.
Hat to Haz; engaged on Kno to Knutty.

Of Mr. Brandreth's work I need hardly speak; no member of the Philological Society has done so much, and I often feel impatient to be at letter H in order to follow his steps.

Miss J. E. A. Brown, Further Barton, Cirencester.
Incem- to Inch-, Indispen- to Induc-; engaged on Indue to Inexo-.

One of the greatest friends of the Dictionary, to whom its Editor owes a debt of deepest gratitude for help in difficulties.

Mr. J. Brown, M.A., Kendal Grammar School.
Mah- to Mainy-; engaged on Mair to Mak.

[1] Alas! since this Report was written, death has carried off Mr. Peto and Mr. Woods, and pressure of other work has obliged Mr. Apperson to discontinue his valued assistance.—J.A.H.M., December, 1892.

Rev. A. P. Fayers, Rawdon Manse, Yeadon, Leeds.
Nid- to Niggot.

Mr. R. J. Lloyd, 46, Chatham Street, Liverpool.
Hip-; has to end of Hi-.

Rev. Dr. Rupert Morris, D.D., Eaton, Eccleston, Chester.
Engaged on Intra to Inutterable.

Rev. J. Smallpeice, M.A., St. Bees.
Myrobolan to Myry; has to end of M.

An old and faithful friend, who never fails to send his half yearly tale of sub-edited work.

Mr. John Dormer, Mortimer Crescent, Kilburn, N.W., has incorporated new material for Dia to Dirty, and made out *Lists of Special Wants*. He has done the same for Cu to Cz, and re-subedited Cut. Mr. Dormer has given invaluable help during the last few years, enriching the Dictionary with scientific and technical quotations from books not before read, and contributing in every way that seemed most likely to be useful.

Mrs. L. J. Walkey, 24, Milverton Crescent, Leamington, has some new material for Dis to Dy to arrange alphabetically and chronologically. This lady has for many years devoted much of her time to this needful work.

The present Report will, I hope, be printed; I think it therefore useful to present, in a tabulated form, a statement of the

Present Position of the whole Work with reference to Sub-editing, and the names of those who have done the work. The year given shows approximately up to what date new material was incorporated, and gives an idea as to what will have to be added before we take it up finally in the Scriptorium.

D.	D to Decayer	Mr. Elworthy	(1882)
	Dece to Defecation	Mr. Elworthy	(1884)
	Deliver to Dh.	Miss Brown	(1883)
	Dia to Dialysis	Rev. W. E. Smith	
	Diam to Dietist	Mr. Jacob	
	Diffail to Dirvy	Mr. W. W. Tyndale	
	(Dia to Dirty—the new material up to date has been incorporated by Mr. J. Dormer)		
	Dis to Dz	Mr. Jacob	(1883)

F.	F to Fiz	Rev. G. B. R. Bousfield	(1884–90)
	Fla to Floun	Mr. J. Peto	(1886–8)
G.	Gem to Groundsel	Rev. G. B. R. Bousfield	(1880–)
	Group to Gz	Rev. T. D. Morris	(1885)
	Ga- to Go-	Mr. J. Bartlett	(1888–91)
H.	Ha to Harmlessness	Mr. G. A. Schrumpf	(1882)
	Harm to Haz	Mr. Brandreth	(1890)
	He-	Mr. Brandreth	(1886–9)
	Hi to Hipwort	Mr. Lloyd	(1884)
	Ho to Homunculus	Mr. Brandreth	(1883–5)
	Hoo to Horus	Mr. Peto	(1885)
	Hosan to Hwata	Mr. Woods	(1885)
	Hy	Mr. Peto	(1885)
I.	Ia to Inch-	Miss Brown	(1887–90)
	Incoacted to Incomp-	Mr. T. Wilson	(1887)
	Inconceal to Indiscr-	Rev. E. H. Sugden	(1885)
	Indisp to Induc-	Miss Brown	(1891)
	Inva to Invent	Miss L. Gardner	(1889)
	Invest to Iz	Rev. R. Morris	(1889)
J.	J- to Juxtaposition	Rev. W. Gregor	(1885)
K.	Ka to Ky	Mr. H. H. Gibbs	
L.	La to Lusus	Mr. Hulme	(1883–5)
	Lu to Lyz	Mr. E. Warner	(1882)
M.	Ma to Maz-	Mr. J. Brown	(1884–91)
	Ma to Miz	Rev. T. Sheppard	(1883–4)
	Mo to Mond	Rev. S. W. Lawley	(1884)
	Mone to Mostly	Mr. W. J. Anderson	(1888–91)
	Mu to Myry	Rev. J. Smallpeice	(1884)
N.	Na to Naz-	Rev. A. P. Fayers	(1882)
	Ne to Nez-	Mr. Hailstone	(1883)
	Ni to Niche	Mr. Bumby	(1884)
	Nicher to Niggot	Rev. A. P. Fayers	(1888)
	No to Nony	Mrs. Pope	(1883)
	Nu to Nz	Mr. R. F. Green	(1883)
O.	O to Oky	Mrs. Stuart (Miss Haig)	(1886)
	Oo to Opentide	Rev. W. J. Löwenberg	(1883)
P.	Pa to Paz-	Miss Brown	(1882)
	Peas to Pelys	Mr. J. Britten	(1882)
	Pem to Perem-	Mr. R. McLintock	(1885–92)
	Personality to Poz	Mr. W. J. Anderson	(1882–4)
	Pra to Pz	Mr. Jacob	(1885)

Q.		Mr. Jacob	(1884)
R.	Rec to Rigour	Mr. Jacob	(1885)
S.	Sa to Sy	Mr. Jacob	(1881–2
T.	Tal to Tiling	Rev. W. B. R. Wilson	(1881–2
	Till to Tmesis	Mr. T. Wilson	(1882)
	To to Toz	Rev. W. B. R. Wilson	(1883)
	Tra to Tralucent	Mr. A. Sweeting	(1883)
	Tre to Trilogy	Rev. W. B. R. Wilson	(1888–9
	Tua to Tz	Mr. A. Lyall	(1881)
U.	Ua to Uz	Rev. T. Sheppard	(1881–2
V.	Va to to Vyse	Rev. T. Sheppard	(1881)
W.	Wa to Weaz	Rev. W. H. Becket	(1883–8
	Wi to Withy	Rev. G. B. R. Bousfield	(1890–1
Y. & Z.		Rev. J. Smallpeice	(1882)

There are still parts of the material which have not been dea with by a sub-editor—at least since I undertook the work; th are the following:—

Material not Sub-edited.

D. Defect to Delitescent (in the hands of Mr. Elworthy).
F. Fo to Fyz (not touched after work of old sub-editor).
H. Hir to Hiz (in the hands of Mr. Lloyd). Hon-.
I. Indue to Inutterable (Miss Brown working at the one en and Rev. R. Morris at the other).
K. (not since originally done by Mr. H. H. Gibbs. M Brandreth has begun re-editing—has in hand Kno t Knutty).
M. (end of Mo and My. Messrs. Anderson and Smallpei are working at respectively).
N. Nigh to Niobium-.
Nip to Nizam (in hands of Mr. R. F. Green).
Noodle to Nozzle.
O. Ole to Om (Mrs. Stuart has).
On to Onyx.
Opera to Ouster (in the hands of the Rev. W. J. Löwenberg
Out to Oz-.
P. Pea to Pear.
Per to Person.
R. Ra to Rebutter.
Rile to Ry.

T. Ta to Taky.
. Tram to Traz.
Trim to Tsetse.
W. Web to Wh- (beginning in Mr. Becket's hands).
Witless to Wy- (beginning in Mr. Bousfield's hands).

Reading.

A good deal of "Reading" has been done during the year, and much is still going on; it being still often found that some works have been unduly neglected or read only for particular letters, a most pernicious and deceptive practice, since in beginning a new letter, it takes a long time before we notice that a particular author or book has dropped out; and when such books are read again entirely, we get a multitude of duplicates for the letter or letters already read. The publications of the Early English Text, Scottish Text Society, and other prints of MSS. or early printed books, also require to be kept up with. I am sorry to say contemporary literature is not; we have next to nothing of Andrew Lang, Austin Dobson, George Meredith, R. L. Stevenson, and a host of contemporary writers; and I should be devoutfully thankful if Dr. Furnivall, or any other competent person, would draw up from Mudie's Catalogue or other source, a list of works published since 1875, which ought to be read in order to give us a representation of the literature of the last quarter of the 19th century. I cannot do it; I have not a moment to spare for it; but I will check it when done, and mark off books that have been read, and some means may be found of superintending the Reading.

We have kept up our plan of preparing *Lists of Special Wants*, for the words in front of us, though I am sorry to say that the number of readers who make good use of them is not so great as it ought to be. I enclose some copies here, and ask any present who will seriously use them to take a set, but not to take them needlessly.

During the past year not less than 30,000 quotations were received. Of these, Mr. John Dormer, of Mortimer Crescent, Kilburn, contributed more than 5,000, including many important desiderata and quotations from scientific works of last century, with early occurrences of technical terms. This is besides the assistance given by him in arranging material of C and D, and

in preparing therefrom Lists of Wants for printing. I regret that lately the state of his health has interfered with his splendid work for the Dictionary.

Dr. W. C. Minor, of Broadmoor, Crowthorne, has sent about 3,000 quotations, all for words in C and E, such as we are ready to deal with, and including many from the E.E.T.S. ed. of Lanfranc's *Cirurgie*, one of the most important works for Dictionary purposes ever yet published by the Society, also from Hall's and Grafton's Chronicles, and numerous rare books of travel of the 17th and 18th centuries, giving early instances of foreign words since naturalized.

Mr. E. Peacock, of Bottesford Manor, Brigg, has sent about 4,000 quotations, including 750 from Dryden's plays (formerly badly read) and 300 from Ford.

Dr. Brushfield, Budleigh Salterton, has sent about 3,000, including about 1800 from Mad. D'Arblay's Diary and Letters.

Rev. J. T. Fowler, Bp. Hatfield's Hall, Durham, about 1500, including a complete reading of the Castle Howard Life of St. Cutbert, edited by him for the Surtees. Society, and of the Bury Wills.

Mr. A. Beazeley, Thornton Heath, Croydon, has sent about 1500 quotations from Foote's plays, previously unread for the Dictionary, and many Miscellanea and Desiderata.

Rev. J. W. Hooper, Gateshead Fell Rectory, has sent about 1600, among them many for modern colloquialisms.

Mr. T. Henderson, Bedford County School, has sent about 1300, among them many desiderata.

Miss H. M. Poynter, Park Town, Oxford, who is a new reader, has sent about 1250 from books specially selected by me.

Prof. J. M. Dixon, Imperial University, Tokyo, Japan, has sent about 700 quotations as supplement to those in his *Dictionary of Idiomatic English Phrases*, for all of which he has besides sent the full references not given in the book.

Rev. Henry Ellershaw, Mexborough Vicarage (a new reader), sent about 450 from R. N. *Hypnerotomachia*.

Among our American readers Mr. W. Boyd, of Cambridge, Mass., has sent about 2000; the Rev. B. Talbot, of Columbus, Ohio, 700; Mr. G. M. Philips, of West Chester, Pa., 600; Mr. Albert Matthews, Boston, Mass., (a new reader) has sent about 900 quotations; and Mr. W. P. Garrison (editor of the New York *Nation*) has been a constant contributor.

Of our Dutch readers Mr. Caland has sent about 800 of modern colloquialisms, while smaller contributions were received from Dr. Logeman and Mr. Stoffel.

Valuable quotations, both general, and of desiderata, have been received from Mrs. Grey, Gledhow Gardens; Miss E. and Miss E. P. Thompson, Reigate; Miss Geraldine Gosselin, Miss C. Pemberton, the Rev. Cecil Deedes, Brighton; Rev. W. D. Sweeting, Maxey Vicarage; Rev. W. Lees, Reigate; Rev. W. C. Boulter, Malvern; Rev. W. B. R Wilson, Dollar; Dr. Prior, York Terrace; Mr. C. Gray, Mr. Hellier R. H. Gosselin, Mr. John Randall, Mr. M. L. Rouse, Mr. F. Hall, Llandudno; Mr. Ralph Harvey, Cork Grammar School; Mr. J. Hooper, Norwich; Mr. J. Whitwell, Kendal. [See also ADDENDUM, p. 287.]

Special assistance in quotations for desiderata and for a number of historical words including *convent*, *corporation*, *conventicle*, *covenant*, *cross*, etc., has been given by Miss Edith Thompson, Technical words have been taken under his special protection by Mr. R. B. Prosser, who has not only looked to the accuracy of the definitions, but got us the earliest quotation from the Library of the Patent Office for very many. Mr. R. Oliver Heslop, of Corbridge-on-Tyne, has given most important assistance on several coal-mining terms; valuable contributions for the Desiderata have been sent by Mr. A. Wallis, F.R.S.L., Exeter; Mr. J. R. Gillespie, Stratford Grove, Newcastle-on-Tyne; Mr. J. Dixon, Harrowlands, Dorking; Mr. W. Jones, Gloucester; Mr. W. Johnson, Lavender Road, Battersea.

Time would fail to tell of the splendid assistance rendered to the Dictionary by Dr. Fitzedward Hall, who devotes nearly his whole day to reading the proofs of both volumes, and to supplementing, correcting, and increasing the quotations from his own exhaustless stores. When the Dictionary is finished, no one man will have contributed to its illustrative wealth so much as Fitzedward Hall. Those who know his books know the enormous wealth of quotation which he brings to bear upon every point of English literary usage; but my admiration is if possible increased when I see how he can cap and put the cope-stone on the collections of our 1500 readers.

In this department I have also to mention the constant solid assistance of Mr. H. H. Gibbs, whose accession to the legislative benches at St. Stephens has not in the least diminished his interest in the Dictionary. If I were not afraid of its getting

abroad in the City, I should express my belief that he think the Dictionary a more important constituency than the City o London.

The Rev. J. T. Fowler, Vice-principal of Bp. Hatfield's Hall Durham, one of my earliest and most valued Dictionary friends to whom I am indebted for great personal favours, has recently undertaken to read a set of the first proofs, and his keen an experienced eye has already hit upon and remedied many deficiencies. If it is remembered that reading a proof mean giving at least eight hours a week to the service of th Dictionary, the credit due for such a service will be more fully appreciated.

Dr. W. Sykes, formerly of Mexboro', now of Gosport, has fo several years given us indispensible aid with the medical terms the history of which really requires the care of a specialist any one who looks at the completeness with which these term have in the last two or three parts been treated will see hov much Dr. Sykes has contributed to the work. It is therefor with nothing short of dismay that I have learned from hin that his other duties will no longer enable him to continue hi generous work. His case is one in which I specially wish tha some means may be found of fittingly drawing attention to hi share in the work.

The proofs have also been read and annotated by a forme member of the Scriptorium Staff, the Rev. J. B. Johnston, o Falkirk, whose "Place Names of Scotland," just published, i the best book on local names known to me in the language and well deserves the attention of all interested in the subject Monsieur F. J. Amours, of Glasgow, also supplies with the earlies known examples of words from French, and reads the Proof with a special view to the treatment of these words. Professor E Sievers, now of Leipzig, and M. Paul Meyer, Member of th Institute, Paris, have continued their valued assistance in word of difficult etymology, Teutonic and Romanic. Many other foreig scholars, particularly Señor Don Rufino J. Cuervo, of Paris; Prof F. Neumann, Heidelberg; Prof. F. Kluge, Jena; Dr. J. W Muller, Leyden; Prof. A. Noreen and Dr. Axel Erdmann, Upsal have helped me with special words. [See ADDENDUM, p. 287.]

III.—Contributions to the Historical Etymology of English Words. By Dr. J. A. H. Murray.

(*Read as a Supplement to the Report on the progress of the Dictionary, March 5th*, 1892.)

Cony, coney. There are numerous ME. forms: *α* 12–16th c. *cunin*, *konyne*, *conning*, *cunyng*, *cunig*. *β* 14 c. onward *cony*, *cunny*, *cunnie*, etc. The origin is L. *cunīculus*, which regularly gave It. *conéglio*, Pr. and OF. *conil*: of the later there was a variant, *conin*. (French has other examples of this oscillation of *l* and *n*.) OF. *conin*, gave the Eng. *cunin*, *conning* forms, now obsolete, except as surviving in some proper names as *Coningsby*, *Cunnington*, etc. OF. *conil* had in pl. *conils*, *conniz*, with *l* suppressed as in other *-l* words; the pl. *coniz* (found in Anglo-Fr. in Bretton 1292, as *conys*, *coniys*, with the variants *coninz*, *conyns*), gave the Eng. plural *conys*, *conies*, whence was deduced the singular *cony*. The rabbit is evidently of late introduction into Britain and Northern Europe. It never had a native name in any Celtic or Teutonic land, the Teutonic names cited by Prof. Skeat are all from Old French *conin*. There is no mention of it in English before the Norman Conquest; and it is notable that the *fur* seems to have been known before the live animal. The *Moral Ode*, A. 1200, has l. 361, 'Ne scal þer beo fore ne grei ne cunig [v.r. cunin, konyng] ne ermine.'

In the ME. period the rabbit was a domestic or protected animal kept in *cony-boroughs*, *cunny-berries* or *conybeares*, *conyng-earths* or *cony-garths*, *conyngers* or *cony-grese*, *cony-greens*, *cony-greaves*, *cony-graves*. It has since escaped to the woods and sand-hills, as it has more recently done in Australia.

The historical pronunciation is *cunny*, as in *honey* and *money*; but the word is now known chiefly as a Bible-word, where it is a mistranslation of the Heb. name of the Syrian *hyrax*; and as the domestic 'cunny' had come to have some familiar and even indecorous senses, readers of the Psalms have preferred to read *cōny*. Walker in 1790 knew only the *cunny* pronunciation. Smart (1836) says 'it is familiarly pronounced *cunny*,' but *cōny* is 'proper for solemn reading.'

ɔk, OE. *cóc*, adaptation of late L. *cocus*, L. *coquus*. The long
ol of OE. *cóc* regularly represented in the modern *oo*, shows the
d to be of late adoption, after L. *cŏquus* had become *cōcus*
It. *cuoco*). On the contrary, all the Celtic and Continental
utonic forms have or point to a short *o*, and an adoption of the
atin word before the 6th c. The Roman *coqui* were known to
ae British, but were not taken over by the Teutonic invaders;
and the English *cook* evidently represents the *cōcus* of the monas-
teries of the later OE. period.

An interesting parallel to this is furnished by the British and English pronunciations of L. *păter*, as noticed by Ælfric in the opening of his Grammar and Glossary, the Britons retaining the original short *ă*, while in living Romanic use the vowel became long, and was so pronounced in the service of the English as opposed to that of the British church.

Coolie, an Indian labourer. H. H. Wilson, *Glossary of Indian Terms*, as quoted by Prof. Skeat, says "Tamil *kúli*, daily hire or wages, a day labourer, a cooly; the word is originally Tamil, where it has spread into the other languages; in Upper India, it bears only its second and subsidiary meaning" [*i.e.* it means the man, not 'hire' or 'wages,' J. A. H. M.]. This represents the general opinion of Dravidian scholars, but it will not stand historical examination. The historical facts have been indicated by Yule and Burnell, and the word is none other than *Kuli* or *Koli*, the name of an aboriginal tribe of Guzurat, formerly noted as robbers, but now settling down as respectable labourers and cultivators. They were known as *Colé* to the Portuguese in the 16th c., are called *Quulles* by Finch in 1609, and *coolies* by Ferry in 1606; from which time quotations may be found for them almost every year, down to their appearance in the Imperial Gazetteer of India in 1885 as *Kulis*. It was evidently the Portuguese that carried the name both to Southern India and to China, where we have a quotation for it as early as 1745. I suppose that the likeness of the tribal name *Kuli* to the Tamil word *kūli* 'hire,' led to their ready identification in Southern India, and to the genesis of the connecting sense 'hire-man, hireling, day-labourer.' Our first quotations for the extended sense is from Bruton, 1638, who speaks of '*cowlers* (coolers) which are Porters' in the W. of India, and the name appears at Madras in 1680. Most *coolies* in the current sense belong to Southern India, and this has encouraged the erroneous notion

that the word is native there, just as many people think that 'parliament' is a native English word, because parliamentary institutions in the modern sense are of English origin.

Coom, CULM, soot, grim, coal-dust, small coal, brittle, inferior anthracite coal, is not treated by Prof. Skeat. *Culm* goes back to a M.E. *colm* whence *colmy*, sooty, grimy, *bicolmen* to begrime. I think *colm* must be radically related to *col* coal, with an *m* suffix, but want of OE. or cognate examples make the early history uncertain. *Coom* is a northern variant of *culm*, just as *Bulmer* in Northumberland is locally called *Boomer*, and *bulk*, *shoulder*, *coulter* appear in Sc. as *book*, *shooder*, *cooter*. But there is also a 16th c. spelling *coame*, which may be reduced from *colme*, as in *holm* pronounced *hoam*; or it may correspond to O.Norse *kám* grime, filth of dirt; and a sense of *coome* used by Butler 1609, suggests Ger. *kahm* mould, the white film on fermented liquors, and so related to *keem* of cider.

Coomb (badly spelt *comb*) a measure of four bushels, has no possible connexion with F. *comble* or L. *cumulus*. English shows what appears to be this word at three distinct periods and in three different uses. 1. OE. *cumb* 'a vessel, a cup,' occurring in Birch *Cartul. Saxon.* No. 273 of date 791–6 'cumb fulne liðes alo þ, and cumb fulne Welisces alo þ.'

2. ME. and early mod. *combe*, *comb*, a brewing tub or vat, of which we have examples from *a.* 1400 to 1688. 'A comb, or a brewer's comb, or yelling comb or tub' is that vessel into the which the wort is put to work with the yeast.

3. *Coomb*, *combe*, *comb*, *coom*, etc., the corn-measure, found in the Bury Wills 1418, and abolished by statute about 1883.

These all agree in the sense of 'hollow or deep vessel,' and correspond to older LG. *kumb*, mod. LS. *kumm* a vessel, in various dialects, a round deep vessel, basin, cistern, trough, etc. Cf. also LG. *kumm*, *kump* a measure of corn or fruit, of which the Bremen Wörterbuch says '*kumm* oder besser *kump*, tiefe schüssel.' We have evidently a Germanic type **kumbo-* **kummo-*, with a by-form **kumpo-*, the same as is established for *clam*, *clamp*.

Coomb (badly *combe*, *comb*), a hollow on a hill-side or slope. Occurs as *cumb* in OE. charters as early as 770, and plentifully in proper names as *Batancumb*, *Brancescumb*, *Eastcumb*, *Sealtcumb*, *Wincelcumb*, etc. A multitude of these names survive in modern form, and the element is usually written *comb*, *combe*, in accordance with the ordinary scribal rule of avoiding the combination of *u*

with *m*, *n*, *v*, which gives modern *some*, *son*, *honey*, etc. It is interesting to note that as a separate word *cumb*, *coom* unknown from the time of the Wessex Charters down to 1 when it appears in the botanist Lyte, a Devonshire 'Foxeglove groweth in darke shadowie valleys or coombes.' was still to Ray in 1674 a South Country Dialect word, b it is not uncommon in 18th c. writers, natives of the southe counties, and in the 19th c., with its love of nature and summe holiday haunts, it has like *chine*, *glen*, *cleve*, *clatter*, *turn*, *corry*, *beck*, *clachan*, *fjord*, *aiguille*, *col*, and the like, become familia to everybody. There is no reason to think that it ever die out in Wessex or the Chalk country; but it is very remarkable that it never emerges in literature between King Alfred and 1578.

It is generally recognized as one of the few British words taken up at the English Conquest of Britain; and is supposed to be identical with the *cum-* found in proper names in Cumberland and Strathclyde as in *Cumwhitton*, *Cumdivock*, *Cumlongan*, *Cumloden*. The modern Welsh *cwm*, occurs in compounds as *-cwm*, *-gwm*, and in syntactic combination as in *Cwm Idwal*, *Cwm Bochlwyd*; it represents a proto-Celtic *kumbos*. It was natural that in coming from a flat land which had no hills or valleys of its own, the Old English should adopt the native names *dún* and *cumb* from the Bretons; but in the case of the latter, the fact that they had a word *cumb* of their own meaning hollow vessel, basin, might well be a helping cause. I think it quite probable that if King Ælfred or any of his men had been asked what *-cumb* meant in *Widcumb*, *Sealtcumb*, etc., they, ignorant of Welsh, would probably have explained it quite satisfactorily to themselves as a natural hollow like a 'cumb' or basin. It is also to be noted that *combe* occurs in French in the sense of 'petite vallée, pli de terrain, lieu bas entouré de collines' Littré (who has examples from the 12th c.). This word would be known to the Normans, and may actually be the source of some of the names in *-combe*, or at least of the spelling *-combe*. It is interesting and somewhat remarkable that the word has thus had a meaning in the languages of Celts, Saxons, and Normans. The origin of F. *combe* is disputed: some think it Celtic, but others look for it elsewhere.

Coop, a basket, etc., cannot, of course, be identified with OE. *cýpe*, which actually persists in its proper form *kipe*, *kype*, a wide-spread word for a bushel-basket, a potato-basket, and a

wickerwork basket or cage used in catching fish or eels; but it may go back to a collateral form unrecorded in OE., whence MDu. *cûpe*, Du. *kuip* cask. But if so, this makes impossible the derivation of the latter from L. *cūpa* cask. On account of the ambiquity of *u* in southern ME. it is difficult to tell whether we ought to read *cupe* in Floriz, the Castel of Loue, and Trevisa, as *coop*, or *kype*. In any case *cooper* is not a derivative of the Eng. word *coop*; *coops* were never casks in England, and *coopers* never made wickerwork. *Cooper* was in the 15th c. *couper*, *cowper*; the spelling *cooper* is of the 16th c. and merely phonetic; in *coop*, *cooper*, as in *stoop*, *droop*, and elsewhere before *p*, long *ū* has persisted and not become *ow* in modern English, and this phonetic persistence of the sound has been marked by substituting the modern symbol *oo* for OE. *û*, ME. *ov*, *ow*. *Cooper* was probably introduced ready made with the wine trade or some other department of commerce from the Low Countries or the Rhine; cf. MD., and 15th c. Niederrheinish *cûper*, etc. The Med. Lat. was *cuparius*; but there is no evidence of the Eng. name being taken directly from this.

Cooper is also a name given to the floating grog-ships which used to do so much mischief among the Deep Sea Fishermen in the North Sea. But this is more correctly written and pronounced Coper, as it appears in E. Mather's *Nor'ard of the Dogger*, and in the publications of the Mission to the Deep Sea Fisheries, which by its beneficent work has extirpated the *coper*. The latter is simply the Dutch, Flemish, and Low German *kóper*, *kooper*, buyer, dealer, and according to information which has been collected for me at Grimsby, Yarmouth, and other places, from some of the old fishermen, it arose some forty years ago, at a time when the fishing-fleets fished in and near the Dutch coast off Camperdown. They were then visited by Dutch and Flemish boats, which brought them fresh provisions, tobacco, etc., and took from them their inferior fish. There then arose a trade in unlicensed tobacco and spirits, and at length when the fishing fleets went far out to the Dogger Bank, and the mid sea, larger vessels were fitted out to follow them as floating grog-shops, still preserving the Dutch name of *coper*, though their main object was no longer to buy fish, but to sell vile spirits, bad tobacco, obscene photographs, and other demoralizing trash.

Coot. The derivation of this was by Mr. Wedgwood sought in the Welsh word *cwta* short, docked; but this is inconsistent

with the history of the word in English, in which *coot* comes down directly from ME. *cóte*. The word is common Low German; Du. *koet* of the 16th c. points to a MDu. *cóte*, identical with the ME. *cóte*. The name appears to have been given vaguely to various swimming and diving birds; especially (1) the Guillemot, called also in Du. *zee-koet*, and (2) the Bald Coot, in Dutch *meer-koet*. Abundant quotations in both senses occur in Eng.: 'a balled cote' is in Walter de Biblesworth, and Lydgate has 'and yet he was as balde as is a cote,' while Tindale cites 'as bare as Job, and as bald as a coot.'

COPER and COUPER, in HORSE-COPER, etc., are often spoken of as dialectal variants. They are more than this. *Cope* came from Flemish in the 15th c. Lydgate in *London Lyckpenny* says: "Fleminges began on me for to cry, 'Master, what will you copen or by?'" and Heywood has among his *Proverbs and Epigrams* "the Ducheman saieth 'segging is good cope.'" But *coup* is the Norse *kaupa*, and is older in England than *cope*. The native English equivalent of both is *cheap, cheapen*; and it is interesting that in *coup, cope, cheap*, we have the original Germanic diphthong *au*, and its two derivatives LG. *ô* and Eng. *éa*. Another cognate is the Sc. *coft*, bought, where the consonant *f* seems to be that of HGer. *gekauft*.

COPPERAS, I have discussed fully in the *Academy*, showing that the alleged derivation *cupri rosa* rose of copper, conjectured by Diez to be a rendering of Gr. χάλκανθον copper-flower, is only a fanciful alteration of *cuperosa*, or *cuprosa*, coppery, occurring in *aqua cuprosa* the equivalent of Ger. *kupferwasser*, Du. *koperwater*, names of copperas, originally of its solution, flowing naturally from some mines, and used according to olden notions to transmute iron into copper by leaving iron in the stream until copper was deposited in its place.

COPPICE. The OF. form was *copeïz, colpeïz*, the regular representative of a L. *colpātīcium*, that which has the characteristic of being cut. Cf. the L. adjectives in *-īcius*, like *adventicius*. *Colpare* to cut with a blow, was from *colpus*, earlier *colapus*, originally *colophus* a blow, a cuff. The med. L. *copecia* sometimes given as the source of *coppice* is only the French or Eng. word with its ending latinized.

COPT, an Egyptian Christian, is a comparatively modern word, app. not known in Western Europe much, if at all, before 1600. It represents the Arabic collective قبط, *qubt, qybt*, قفط *quft*,

qyft 'the Copts,' with adjective derivative *qubte*, *qufti*, Coptic, most prob. representing the Coptic ⲔⲞⲠⲦⲒⲞⲤ, ⲔⲞⲠⲦⲀⲒⲞⲤ guptios, kuptaios, =Gr. Αἰγύπτιος Egyptian. Some have thought the name referred to the ancient city of Coptos in Upper Egypt, and it is probable that a belief in this among scholars made *Copt* and *Coptic* the settled form. The earlier Engl. forms were *Cophte*, *Cophtie*. The fact that Arabic has no *g* nor *p* explains how *guptios*, *gyptios*, necessarily became *kufti* or *kubti*, *kyfti* or *kybti*.

Corbel has been badly treated by etymologers. The dictum of Skinner that it is from F. *corbeille*, basket, has been repeated ever since, apparently without looking to see what French etymologists have themselves to say about it. A corbel has nothing whatever to do with a *basket* in etymology, sense, appearance, or fancy; it is the end of a beam or stone built into a wall, and projecting more than its own depth, forming a bracket for the support of some structure resting upon it. In many an old castle or ruined mansion the rows of stone corbels that supported the floors, can be seen still projecting from the walls. The word is in ME. in 15th c., and was in OF. *corbel*, mod. F. *corbeau*, the primary sense being 'raven' L. type *corvellus* dim. of *corvus*. F. *corbel*, *corbeau*, has been and is applied to many beaked projections, as may be seen in the new *Dictionnaire Général* of Hatzfeld, Darmstetter, and Thomas (a splendid and cheap work which everybody ought to have); and the architectural sense was probably given, because the corbel being usually slanted away underneath, was, viewed in profile, a beak-like projection. In modern times, the word was merely technical, until caught up by Sir Walter Scott, who had always a good eye for a word that looked mysterious and sounded well. His 'corbels carved grotesque and grim,' have taken hold of the popular fancy, and a hundred writers since have adorned their pages with 'grotesque corbels' and 'grim corbels' with the very slightest notion of what they were writing about; generally any grotesque figure on an abbey wall was to them a 'corbel'; but a corbel is not an ornament, and ornamentation forms no part of it, though it may be carved into something either florid or grotesque, just as a finial or a door-knocker, or a lectern may be. One thing that helped to confuse Englishmen was that the F. *corbeille* (L. *corbicula*) is

actually applied to a basket in architecture, *i.e.* the baskets on the heads of Caryatides, or the 'bell' of the Corinthian capital considered as a basket out of which Acanthus leaves and flowers are projecting; but this, of course, has no connexion with *corbel* in meaning, form, or derivation.

Corduroy is a trade word of English concoction, introduced between 1776 and 1787, as a name of corded fustain. It is impossible to say whether it was named after the inventor—*Corderoy* is an English surname, and *corderoy* is actually the earliest spelling of the fabric—or whether the inventor meant to simulate a French word, and thought of *corde du roi*, king's cord. But no such name has ever been known in French; indeed in a French work of 1807, *Voyage dans les Départements du Midi*, by Millin de Grandmaison (for a knowledge of which I am indebted to our esteemed Dictionary helper, Mr. Prosser), among the manufactures of *Sens* are mentioned 'étoffes de coton, filatures, futaines, *kings-cordes*, mollerons,' etc., which shows first that *corde du roi* was not the French name; secondly that the interpretation *king's cord* was so current, that the French manufacturers borrowed it in their imitations of the English fabric. The word *duroy* as the name of a coarse woollen fabric, manufactured with serges and druggets in the West of England in Defoe's time, has evidently no connexion. A sample of the historical falsehoods, uttered in the name of etymology is the following, from the *Evening Standard* of 28th August, 1884, 'Corduroy is the coming material . . the new *corde du roy* will be a dainty silken fabric, as indeed it was in the beginning.' This is a sheer invention, delivered as a bit of history.

Core is a difficult word; the one thing certain about it is, that it is not as Skinner taught, L. *cor*, or F. *coeur* heart. The primary meanings are the hard unburnt centre of charcoal or of a lime-shell, the hard centre of a boil or tumour, and the hard, scaly, or uneatable part of a fruit. For these the earlier name was *colk*, which now survives in the unburnt *coke* of lime or coal. In all, the sense is that of something hard, objectionable, or unusable. So with the early figurative senses of 'something that sticks in one's throat,' 'something we cannot swallow or that will not go down with one,' and of a grudge that remains in the heart even after a quarrel has been composed. It was only late in the 16th c. that etymologizing writers began to think of some connexion with heart, and to use 'core' in senses

in which 'heart' had previously been used. Shakspere's 'I will wear him in my heart's core, I, in my heart of heart,' from which 'heart's core' has (only since Keat's time) become a 19th c. stock phrase, was, I have no doubt whatever, a pun, 'heart's core' suggesting the L. *cor*, and so 'heart of heart.'

[ADDENDUM TO DR. MURRAY'S DICTIONARY REPORT, pp. 268–278. —As my Annual Reports for 1889–91 were not printed in the *Transactions*, I desire here to repeat the special acknowledgments there made of the work of Mr. Halkett Lord, of Hawthornden, Scotch Plains, New Jersey, U.S., who during those years was our most important contributor, sending us more than 4000 quotations from specially-chosen, and in many cases rare books, which it would have been difficult for us to get at, except in the public libraries.—J. A. H. MURRAY.]

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TREASURER'S CASH ACCOUNT, 1891.

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1891. CASH RECEIVED.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.						
To Balance				33	18	1
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31. To sums received in 1891—						
For Arrears	8	8	0			
,, Entrance Fees	2	2	0			
,, Subscriptions, 1891	75	12	0			
,, ,, in Advance	2	2	0			
				88	4	0
Extra Contributions towards Publications, and Fines				30	15	0
For Sale of Transactions by Treasurer	1	14	6			
,, ,, Publishers	31	16	6			
				33	11	0
				186	8	1
Received from Members for copies of the Society's Dictionary				23	2	0
				£209	10	1

1891. CASH PAID.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.						
By Printing – S. Austin & Sons (being Balance of Ellis, Part V., and Sundries)				88	4	9
,, Index – Mr. Wood				2	2	0
,, Meetings – Expenses of Rooms, and Refreshments				10	13	3
,, Hon. Secretary's Clerk				2	2	0
,, Bankers' Charges				0	1	0
,, Treasurer's Postage, Stamps, etc., (including the Dictionary)				2	0	0
,, Balance at Bankers (including Dictionary account)	53	14	6			
,, ,, in Treasurer's hands	10	7	7			
				64	2	1
				169	5	1
Paid to Clarendon Press for Members' copies of the Society's Dictionary				40	5	0
				£209	10	1

We have examined this Account with the Books and Vouchers, and certify that it is correct.

APRIL 9, 1892.

(Signed) DANBY P. FRY, HENRY B. WHEATLEY, } AUDITORS.

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(MEETING AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON, W.C.)

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VIII.—ETYMOLOGIES. By J. STRACHAN.

1. Ir. *tallaim* 'fit in, find room' agrees well in meaning with Lith. *tilpti* 'fit in, find room,' as a couple of examples will show. Compare, for instance, *méit gamlias hi tallait trichait*[1] *n- gamna*, "as large as a winter fold into which go thirty yearlings" (Feast of Bricciu, § 91), with *suvárė į tvártą, alè dá į tą tvártą netilpo*, "he drove them (the swine) together into the pen, but they could not get into the pen" (Leskien und Brugmann, Litauische Volkslieder und Märchen, p. 200). One might render *į tą tvártą netilpo* in Middle Irish by *ní rothallsat isin chró*. Kurschat, in his Lithuanian dictionary, furnishes a couple of additional examples—*tõj bažnýczioj telpa tukstantis żmoniũ* "in this church a thousand men find room," *tõj plėczkõj stópa nètelpa* "into this bottle a *stopa* (a certain measure) does not go." Compare with these Irish examples like *a toill ind ina seasam ní toillet ina suide* "the number which fit in it standing, would not (lit. do not) if sitting," *dotallfasu indi* "thou wouldst fit in it," and the like (Atkinson, Passions and Homilies, 910; Windisch, Wörterbuch, 807). Formally *tallaim* might be connected with *tiłpti* by assuming that the Irish verb started from a present in *-nā-*; *tallaim* might come from **talpnāmi*=Idg. **tolpnāmi* or the like. Instances like *dundalla*, Milan Glosses, 31c 17, where *tallaim* is treated as though it were a compound=*to-allaim* do not prove that *tallaim* is in its origin a compound verb. Other verbs beginning with *t*, which are certainly simple verbs, are found treated in the same way. Thus *tongim*, W. *tyngu* 'swear' is treated as though it were for *do-fongim*, *inti do-d-fongad*=is qui id iuravit, Ml. 36a. W. *tyngu* shows conclusively that

[1] The acc. *trichait-n* must be a blunder for nom. *tricha*, MS. *ait* xxx. So also *méit lias* for *méit léis*.

tongim cannot have come from *to-fongim*. In verbs compounded with *to-fo-*, *tó-* alternates with *do-fo-*, and it is to the analogy of such compounds that we owe *dodfongad*.[1]

2. Ir. *gemel* 'fetter' < **gemlo-*: Old Slav. *žĭmą* 'press,' Gr. γέντο =*γεμ-το, ὔγγεμος· συλλαβή. Σαλαμίνιοι.[2]

3. Ir. *rói* 'planities' < **rovesiā*: Lat. *rus*, Zend *ravañh*. Different from this is Ir. *roe* 'battle' = W. *rhae*, which is probably cognate with *immidróí* i. *robriss* 'broke,' Leabhar na h-Uidhri, 85[b] 20, and further with *roen* 'victory,' *roenaim* 'break, defeat.' Cf. ἐρείπω, Old Norse *rífa* 'break,' *rifna* 'rumpi'?

4. Lat. *harena*, Sabine *fasena*, 'sand' is commonly connected with Skr. *bhásman* 'ashes' and its cognates, cf. Ascoli, KZ. 17 347, Fick I.[3] 160, Bersu, Die Gutturalen 131, Johansson KZ. 30 432. The difficulty in this etymology is the representation of initial *bh* by *h* in Latin. There are certainly instances where *h* varies with *f*=*bh*, *dh*, *haba*, *faba*, *hordus*, *fordus*, *hebris*, *febris*, etc. But Von Planta, Grammatik der oskisch-umbrischen Dialekte 463 is doubtless right in regarding this change as dialectical; these cases could then be quoted in support of the above etymology of *harena* only if we suppose that *harena* came from this dialectical area, and of this there is no further evidence. Of the above change in common Latin words I know no certain instance. The connexion of *horreum* with *far* (Ascoli, KZ. 17 338) is exceedingly improbable; the vocalism is difficult as well as the initial consonant. *Herba* has been compared with Gr. φέρβομαι, φορβή, but the connexion is by no means certain (von Sabler, KZ. 31 278, compares *herba* for **gherdhā* with κρίθη which again is improbable). There remains *harena*, and for it another etymology is possible.[3] It may come from **ghasēnā* and be connected with Irish *ganem* 'sand' < **ghasnimā* or **ghasnemā*. The former is the more probable. The root is in all probability *ghas*, from this might come **ghasni-*, whence, with secondary suffix *mā* as in Lat. *lacruma*, would come **ghasnimā*. As to

[1] *doíagat* LU. 60[a] 30, 65[b] 11, might at first sight seem to be a similar analogical breaking up of the simple verb *tíagaim* 'I go,' but Zimmer KZ. 30 25 is right in regarding *doíagat* as standing for *dothíagat*. Another old instance of *th* unexpressed between vowels is *adroneestar* gl. sustinui Wb. 4[c] 35. This is evidently for *adronethestar*—a compound of the same verb as is seen in *arnethim* gl. sustineo, expecto, Ml. 46[b] 20, 46[d] 14, 50[b] 8, 9, etc.

[2] Stokes, Sprachschatz 111, adds O.H.G. *uoquemilo* 'racemus.'

[3] Dr. Whitley Stokes informs me that he had previously arrived at the same conclusion.

**ghasni-* it might come from an *n*-stem **ghasen-*, cf. Lat. *collis* < **colnis* by κολων- in κολωνός,[1] and to **ghasen-* there may have been a parallel *-es-* stem **ghases-* whence might be derived *harena* < **yhasesnā*. Further cognates are uncertain. Do these words go with Skr. *ghas* 'verzehren, essen,' as ψῆφος, ψαμμός with Skr. *bhas*?

4. Ir. *dalta* 'fosterling' < **daltaios*, or the like. *Dal-* may come from *dhal- dhəl-* and be connected with Lat. *fēlare*, Gr. θῆσατο, √*dhē*, whence, with strong grade of root, Irish *dinu* 'agna.'

5. Ir. *truit*, *druit* 'starling' < **trozdis*: Lith. *strãzdas* 'thrush,' Lat. *turdus* for **torzdos*. The words in the Brythonic group of Celtic dialects, Welsh *drudwy*, Corn. *troden*, Bret *tret*, *dret*, *dred* cannot have been regularly developed from **trozdis*—*zd* in this group of dialects gives *th*; if there is any connexion it must be one of borrowing, and that seems not unlikely for the Cornish and Breton words; the relation of the Welsh word to the others is not clear to me. As to *truit*, *druit*, the sinking of the tenuis to the media finds a parallel in Irish *géc* 'branch' compared with Welsh *cang*. Under what conditions the weakening took place it is not easy to determine. The tenuis would become a media after a preceding closely connected word originally ending in a nasal; thus **inna n- céc* in the gen. pl. would have given *inna géc*, and the media may have spread from such cases. Quite distinct from this is the sinking of a tenuis to a media in pretonic words as *gach* 'every' from *cach*, *do* 'thine' from *to*=**tovo* or **tove*, cf. Skr. *táva*, Lat. *tuus*.

6. W. *troeth* 'wash, lye, urine,' < **troctā*: Gr. τάργανον 'vinegar' (with different grade of vowel ταργ-=**trg̊-*), with which Prellwitz, Etym. Wb. d. Griech. Spr. compares O.N. *þrekkr*, O.H.G. *drech*, N.H.G. *dreck*. Another form *trwyth* is given, which would come from some form like **troctī*, *wy* for *oe* being due to the nature of the following vowel, cf. *wyn* 'lambs' < **ognī* with *oen* 'lamb' < **ognos*.

7. W. *gwyw* 'withered, faded' < **vi-vo-s*: Lat. *vietus* 'withered,' Lith. *výstu* 'wither.' The suffix *-u̯o-* may have a participial force as in Ir. *marb* 'dead' < **marvos*; other examples are given by Johansson, KZ. 30, 443 note.

8. Lat. *ligula*. G. Meyer, Indo-Germanische Forschungen II. 368, rejects the derivation of *ligula* from √*leiĝh* 'lick,' and

[1] Cf. Johansson BB. xviii. 13.

postulates as the original Latin form **lugula*. His reason for rejecting the derivation from *leiĝh* is the Old Slav. *lŭžica* 'spoon'; according to him *ligula* and *lŭžica* are diminutives of a **luga* 'spoon.' In this he has overlooked some Celtic words which, from the close connexion between Latin and Celtic, have more weight in determining the original form of the Latin word and which Stokes, Kuhn u. Schleichers Beiträge VIII. 323 has already brought into connexion with *ligula*. Ir. *liag* 'ladle,' W. *llwy*, Corn. *lo*, Bret. *loa* 'spoon,' point to a Celtic word **leigā* 'spoon,' of which, with a different grade of vowel Lat. *ligula* is evidently a diminutive. The connexion of *ligula* with √*leiĝh* may then be maintained. With regard to Slav. *lŭžica* I do not venture to express any opinion.

9. Ir. *fúar* 'I found,' *frith* 'was found.' These words have been discussed in Curtius' Grundzüge,[5] 742, with no satisfactory result. It is remarked there: "Zu *fúar* gehört als praet. pass. *frith fofrith* inventum est. Daraus lässt sich im günstigsten fall eine irische wurzel *far*, d. i. *var*, erschliessen, mit *fo* (sub) zusammengesetzte *fo-far*, im perfektum zu *fúar* verschmolzen; das praet. pass. *frith* ohne die präposition, *fofrith* mit derselben, enthalt die geschwächte wurzelform, deren *ri* einem skr. *r̥* entsprechen würde, obwohl man hierbei nach dem muster von *breth* (vgl. skr. *bhr̥ta*) praet. pass. von *berim* ich trage, eigentlich **freth* erwarten sollte." It seems to me that *fúar* and *frith* might formally be explained as follows. We may postulate a root *u̯ere-* with another form *u̯rē-* compare the variation in ἐρέω, ῥηθῆναι. The strong stem of the perfect from this root would be *u̯eu̯or-*, the weak *u̯eu̯r-*. Thus we may suppose that there was at one time an Irish paradigm 1 sg. **vevora*, 3 sg. **vevore*, 3 pl. **veurontor*. These forms would become in the first instance **vovora*, **vovore*, **vourontor*. The last would give regularly the historical *fúaratar* 'they found.' Can **vovor* have given regularly **fór*, *fúar*? This sound-change seems to me to be established by the contraction of the combination of particles *to-vor-* to *túar-* as in *túar-ascbat* 'proferunt' < **to-for ex-gabanto*, *to-vo-* to *túa-* in *tualang* 'aptus, peritus,' < **to-fo lang-*. We may then look upon *fúar* as coming from **vovore fuair* from **vovore*, without calling in the analogy of the plural or dwelling on the fact that the 3 sg. *fúair* might also represent the middle form **u̯eu̯rai*. A parallel to *fúair* 'he found' is met with in *forúair* 'he caused' > **fo-ro-fúair* pret. of *fo-feraim*. As for *frith*, unless we are to believe that it differs in formation from

other preterites passive, it must be supposed to have come from **vrito-*. In that case the *i* cannot be short, as **vrĭto-* would have given **freth*. It is true that for the most part the *i* of this word has no mark of lengthening over it, but the long mark is occasionally found, and the length of the vowel is sufficiently guaranteed by the absence of inflection. In some other words ending in *th* the long mark is found very sporadically. If then the *i* of *frith* is long, the form may be explained very simply: it comes from **vrētos*, which stands in the same relation to **vere-* as Gr. *ῥητός* to *ἐρέω* or *τρη-τός* to *τέρε-τρον*. That, as Mr. Stokes long ago suggested, *fúar* is etymologically connected with *εὑρίσκω* is very probable, but the formation of the Greek word is not clear. From a disyllabic root *eu̯er-* (for examples of such roots see Persson, Zur Lehre von der Wurzelerweiterung 227 sq.) might come on the one hand *u̯er-*, on the other *eur-*, but how then is the rough breathing to be explained? Can analogy of some kind have been at work? That must remain a mere guess until some word is pointed out near enough in meaning to *εὑρίσκω* to have influenced its form. There are other possibilities, but all too uncertain to be mentioned. Whether there is further connexion with Skr. *várate* 'shuts in,' Old Bulg. *vrěti* 'claudere,' Lith. *suvérti* 'close,' must be left an open question. For the development of meaning might be compared perhaps Gr. *περιβάλλεσθαι* 'to bring into one's power.'

10. Ir. *bras*, W., Corn., Bret. *bras* 'great, big' may come from **brattos*, and this from **mrattos*, **mr̥dh-tos*: Gr. *βλωθρός* for **βρωθρός*, Skr. *mūrdhan* 'head,' Old Bulg. *brŭdo* 'height,' etc., cf. Johansson, KZ. xxx. 449. There is also an Irish word *bres* 'great,' which might be derived from **brittos*, **mr̥dh-tos*.

11. Ir. *medar* 'mirth' < **medro-*, *medraim* 'disturb, confuse' (*cid notmedrasu* 'what disturbs thee,' LL. 57[b] 27, *rotmedair* 'has confused thee,' LL. 308[a] 36) < **medrāi̯ō*: Skr. *mad* 'glücklich sein, sich berauschen,' cf. Fick, Wb.[4] 105.

12. Ir. *tailm* 'sling,' Bret. *talm* 'sling' (in dial. of Vannes 'coup de tonerre'), may stand for **talksmi-*, cognate perhaps with Old Bulg. *tlъka* 'schlage' √*telk-*, though the meanings differ considerably. Closer in meaning to the Slavonic words are W. *talch* 'grist, or coarse meal,' Corn. *talch* 'bran,' W. *talch* 'broken, bruised,' cf. Russ. *tolokno* 'gedörrtes hafermehl.' *Talch* might come from *talko-*: it might also by Stokes' law come from *talkko*, *talknó-*, *-no-* part. from *telk-*, and so=Russ. *tolokno*.

13. Ir. *toisc* 'wish' < **to-vēsci-*, **to-venski-* : Germ. *wu* < **wunskó*, Skr. *vāñchā* 'wish.'[1] As Irish *en* may come fi *n*, *to-venski-* may contain the same grade of vowel as **wun*. *uensk-* is a *-sko-* formation from *uen-*, Skr. *vánati* 'desire,' G *unan* 'sich freuen,' etc., which appears perhaps in Celtic W. *gwenu* 'to smile, to look pleasantly.'

14. Ir. *dássaim* in pass. with prep. *imm* 'to rage,' Wind Wb. 407, LL. 69[a] 8, 256[b] 8, 258[a] 11, *dásacht* 'insa *dásachtach* 'insanus.' *Dássaim* may come from **dhu̯ōstāiō*, we may compare Lith. *dvėsti* 'breathe,' *dvasė* 'breath, gh *dusmas* 'anger,' Ags. *dwæs*[2] 'hebes, fatuus,' Dutch *dwaas* 'thöric Persson, Zur Lehre v. d. Wurzelerweiterung 81 sq. The Irish ambiguous, but if the word is rightly derived from *dhu̯ēs* is simplest to suppose that it is based on a stem **dhu̯ōs* Cf. similar Lat. formations, Brugmann, Grundriss II. 11. 26.

15. Ir. *fuinim* 'set' of the sun might be derived from **vo-n* Gr. *νέομαι*; *fuinid in grian* literally 'die sonne geht unt The explanation of the cognate *fuin* 'sunset' is not quite cl I have examples only of the acc. *fuin*.[3] A nom. *fuin* mi come from **vo-nes-s* a radical noun, which may have fa together with *i*- stems, and so have acc. *fuin*[4] (for **fuins*=**vones* It is, however, possible that it may be a late deverbative fi *fuinim*, of the same kind as Lat. *pugna* from *pugnare*.

16. Ir. *ness* 'blow, wound,' < **necso-* or **necsā* : Old Bi *nízą* 'infigo,' *pronoziti* 'perfodere,' Gr. *νύσσω*. The Irish w may be based on a neut. stem *neĝhes-*. From *ness* seems to co the verb *fo-nessaim*, LL. 74[b] 40 *fosnessa sleig culind ina bond trai* 'he drives a spear of holly into the sole of his foot' (the LU. vers 73[b] 15 has *fornessa*). Another form of the root appears in *ἔ-ηγχος*, cf. Prellwitz Et. Wb. s.v. The two forms *neĝh*, *enĝh* n

[1] Mr. Stokes informs me that he had previously compared with *vāñ wunsch*, Ir. *dufoscaiget*, Ml. 33[b] 3, *toisc*. *Toisc* may then, as he suggests, well come from **to-vonski-*.

[2] With Ags. *dwaes*, Dutch *dwaas* Ir. *dássaim* goes very well in meani Ml. 50[d] 2, in a gloss on *non nisi mentis incompotem dicit providentiæ negato* The gloss runs *nech lasnabi ciall 7 immandaister ishe asber nad fil dl re*(*medeicsen*) *dæ diadulaib*, "he who has no understanding and is out of senses (*mentis incompos*), he it is who says that there is no law of providence God to his creatures."

[3] Windisch, Wb. s.v. *fuin*, *siar co fuin* 'westward to sunset,' LL. 10 = Book of Ballymote 33[a] 44.

[4] If we could assume a radical neut. noun **vo-nes fuin* would be the regu acc., but I can find no instance of such a formation.

best be explained from a disyllabic *enĝh* which became differentiated into *neĝh*, *enĝh*, under different accentual conditions. This form of the root is also found in Irish in composition.[1] The oldest instance is Wb. 4[d] 13 *adcomcisset ilbéim friss* 'they struck many blows against him': *adcumcisset*=**aith-com-ang-isset*. For the phonetic change cf. *ní chumcaim*[2] 'I am not able'=*ní com-angaim*. The corresponding 1 sg. *atacomcus* (=*aith-da-comangus*) 'I struck them' is found LU. 114[b] 11 *atacomcussa com láu* 'I struck them (the doors) with my heel.' Cf. also LL. 107[a] 14 *atacomaiṅg na teora formaela Mide* 'who smote (*i.e.* cut off the tops of) the three Bald Hills of Meath.' The enclitic form of *aith-comaing* is *écmaing*, *écmoing* 'he struck, cut,' Windisch Wb. 517–518. The simple *comang* is found LL. 90[a] 21 *cumaṅgsa in ṁ-birsa trisindara n-ai dib sium* 'I drove this spear through one of the two,' the 3 sg. *cumaiṅg* in the same passage. As to the Irish vocalism I have with great hesitation written *ang*: *a*, however it is to be explained, is undoubtedly found in Celtic in the *e-o* series. But it is possible that the Irish forms are based on a perfect—**onga*, **onge* with regular ablaut. Such perfect forms are *cumang*, *cumaing*, which might come from **comonga*, **comonge*, but also from **comanga*, **comange*.

17. W. *breuan* 'carrion-crow.' As W. *breuan* 'handmill,' Ir. *bró* comes from **brāvon-*, **gr̥āu̯on-*, Skr. *grā́van*, 'stone for pressing the Soma,' so *breuan* 'carrion-crow' may be derived from **brāvon-*, **gr̥ō-von-*: Gr. *βιβρώσκω* 'eat.' We have a cognate formation in W. *breuad* 'a grave-worm, a worm that eats the bodies of the dead' < **gr̥ō-u̯ot*.

18. Ir. *dabach* 'cask' < **dabakā*, **dhabhakā*: Gr. *τάφος*, *τάφρος*, *θάπτω*, and cognates.

19. Ir. *derg* 'red.' So far as I know no cognates have yet been discovered for this word. May it not be possibly connected with Ags. *deorc*, Eng. '*dark*' < **dhergos*? For the two meanings cf. Skr. *raj* 'colour, be red,' *raktas* 'coloured, red,' *rájas* 'dunstkreis, nebel, dunkel, Gr. *ἔρεβος*, Goth. *riqis* 'darkness.'

20. Ir. **di-nessim*[3] 'despicio': Gr. *ὀνόσσομαι*, *ὀνοστός*, etc., Zd. *nad* 'schmähen, cf. Osthoff, Perfekt 394 n., Persson, Zur

[1] Cf. Zimmer, Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum xxxii. 253.

[2] Graphic for *cumgaim* which is also found, *c* representing the explosive *g*.

[3] Old-Irish examples are *codunessa* gl. ut dispiciat Ml. 36[a] 12, *andarunesus* gl. spernens (=when I despised them) 36[c] 1, *donesbe* gl. dispicies 112[c] 3, *odernessa* gl. donec dispiciat 129[a] 14. A compound with *com* is also found: *connessat* 'they condemn' Wb. 1[d] 7, *cia connesfea tuicsiu dé* gl. quis accusabit adversus electos Dei? 4[b] 15.

Lehre v. d. Wurzelerweiterung 198. The formation of *nes-* is uncertain; it might come from **nettei̯ō* or **nettii̯ō*, or **nets-* or **netsii̯ō*. If this connexion is to be maintained, the Ir. word points to an Idg. root **ned*, to which Gr. *ὀνοδ-* would stand in ablaut.

21. Ir. ipv. *tairg* 'offer' points to a compound *to-arg-*. The *arg-* is found with *com-* LL. 65[a] 48, *coropé in laech conai comrac dar cend in choicid ali* "so that he is the warrior who shall offer battle on behalf of the whole province," 65[b] 1, *coro conairr séta* "so that he shall offer treasures": *conairr* < **con arcset*, subj. of s- aorist. We may perhaps compare Gr. *ὀρέγω* and its cognates so that the primary meaning would be 'to stretch out' whence comes easily the meaning of 'offer,' cf. *ὀπποτέροισι πατὴρ Ζεὺς κῦδος ὀρέξῃ* and the like. Root *oreg-*, *reg-* *org-* (*ὀργυιά*) Persson, Zur Lehre v. d. Wurzelerweiterung 225. The form *re* is also found in Irish, Ascoli, Lexicon Palæo-Hibernicum, cxcvii.

IX.—ON THE ASSIMILATION OF PRETONIC *N* IN CELTIC SUFFIXES. By Whitley Stokes, D.C.L.

[*Read 6th February*, 1893.]

"Ferner scheint *n* als Anlaut hochbetonter *n*-Suffixe an die Nachkommen idg. wurzelschliessenden Verschlusslaute assimiliert worden zu sein. So lässt sich die urgerm. Konsonantendehnung erklären z.B. ahd. *lecchōn* 'lecken,' urgerm. *likkṓ*, aus vorgerm. **liǵh-nā́-*, vgl. griech. λιχνεύω, w. *leiǵh*."—Brugmann, Grundriss I. § 214.

"*bn*, *dn*, *gn*, vor dem Hauptton wurden im Urgerm. zu *bb*, *dd*, *gg*, daraus nach § 533, *pp*, *tt*, *kk*, die weiter ebenso behandelt wurden, wie die aus idg. *pn*, *tn*, *k'n*, *qn*, und aus idg. *bhn*, *dhn*, *ǵhn*, *ǰhn*, entstandenen *pp*, *tt*, *kk* (§ 530, 538).—Grundriss I. § 534.[1] See also *ibid.* II. p. 397, § 541.

Though well aware of the danger of assuming that a phonetic law, good for one family of languages, is good for another, it seemed to me, when I read these passages, that they gave the key to the etymology of six groups of Celtic words, which have not, so far as I know, hitherto been explained. I mentioned this key, briefly, in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, xxix. 375, and now after five years' consideration, I proceed to submit to Celtologues the words in question and their respective etymologies.

I. *gg* from *-gnā́*, *-gnī*, *-gnó*.

1. Ir. *acus*, *ocuis* (now *agus*) 'and'; Old-Celtic **akkustī* from **aggústī* (the provection being due to the accent); pre-Celtic

[1] Compare Paul-Braune's Beiträge, vii. 133[2]; Osthoff, *ibid.* vii. 297 *et seq.*; Kluge, *ibid.* ix. 149; Kauffmann, *ibid.* xii. 504.

**aghnústi*, cognate with Lat. *angustus*; Greek ἄγχω (Schmidt, Vocalismus, I. 31), ἄγχι; Skr. *aṁhús*. So Ir. *ac* 'and' (Bodleian Annals of Innisfallen, fo. 35^{b} 2, etc.); W. *ach* 'near,' point to an Old-Celtic **akko-*, **aggó-*, pre-Celtic **agh-nó-*.

In the Welsh *ac* 'and,' *agos* 'near'=Corn. *hag*, *ogos*; Bret. *hag* 'and,' *hogoz* 'presque, à peu près,' the urkelt. *kk* seems to have been simplified. The Ir. prep. *uc*, *oc* 'juxta, prope, apud'= W. *wng*, *wngc* 'prope,' seem to come from an Old-Celtic **onko-*, cognate with Skr. *ánáṃça*; Gr. ἤνεγκε.

2. Ir. *aicc*, *aic* 'band,' 'chain'; Old-Celtic **akki*, **aggi*; pre-Celtic **pagni* (the loss of *p* is regular), cognate with Lat. *pa-n-go* (Grundriss, § 632), *com-pāges*; Gr. πήγ-νυ-μι. From *aicc* comes Ir. *aicde* 'structure,' 'building.'

This etymology of *aicc* is doubtful, as it might equally well be derived from a pre-Celtic **pakni-*, cognate with the Skr. *pāçáyati* 'binds'; Lat. *pax*, *paciscor*; Gr. πάσσαλος (from **πακ̂ιαλος*); Goth. *fahan*.

3. Ir. *bacc* (now *bac*) 'crozier, hook'; Welsh *bách* 'hamus, uncus'; Old-Celtic **bakko-*, **baggó-*; pre-Celtic **bhag-nó*, cognate with A.S. *bæc*; Eng. *back*; Skr. √*bhaj* 'sich wenden.' For the connexion of ideas, compare N.H.G. *Rücken*, cognate with Skr. √*kruñc* 'to be crooked, to curve.'

4. Ir. *bocc* (now *bog*) 'soft' and *bocc* 'bow' (in O.Ir. *fid-bocc* 'arcus ligneus'); Old-Celtic **bukko-*, **buggó-*; pre-Celtic **bhug-nó*, cognate with A.S. *boga*; Eng. *bow*; N.H.G. *Bogen*, *biegen*, *biegsam*; Gr. φεύγω, φυγγάνω, Lat. *fugio*; Skr. *bhuj*, part. perf. pass. *bhugná*. The mod. Ir. *bogha* is borrowed from the A.S.

5. Ir. *bocc* (now *boc*) 'he-goat'; W. *bwch*; Old-Celtic **bukko-s*, **buggó-s*; pre-Celtic **bhug-nó-s*, cognate with Zend *būza* 'Bock'; A.S. *bucca*; O.N. *bukkr*; O.H.G. *boc*.

It is possible that this Ir. *bocc* may have been borrowed from one of the Teutonic words just cited.

6. Gaul. *brāca* 'breeches'; Old-Celtic **brākkā*, **braggā́*, pre-Celtic **bhrāg-nā́*, derived from **bhrāg* 'rump,' cognate with Lat. *frāg-ro*. For the connexion of ideas compare Lith. *bulis* 'buttock' and Skr. *buli* 'vulva,' cognate with Ir. *bolad* (Old-Celtic **bulato-s*) 'smell'; Skr. *puta* m. du. 'the buttocks' B.R., cognate with *pūy*, *pūyatē* 'to stink'; Lat. *podex*, cognate with *pedo*; and Gr. χόδανος, Zend *zadhañh*, cognate with χέζω and Skr. *had*.

From the Gaulish *brāca* (where the Old-Celtic *kk* is simplified) are borrowed, on the one hand, Romanic words like Ital. *braca*;

Fr. *braie*, and, on the other, Teutonic words, such as O.H.G. *pruoh*; O.N. *brókr*; A.S. *bróc*, pl. *bréc*; Eng. *breech*.

The Br. *bragou* seems to come from a Low-Lat. *brăca*.

7. Ir. *brecc* (now *breac*) 'speckled'; W. *bryoh*; Old-Celtic **mṛkko-s*, **mṛggó-s*; pre-Celtic **mṛg-nó-s*, cognate with Lith. *margas*. Another participle from the same root is O.Ir. *mrecht* 'varius=W. *brith* 'motley, pied'; Old-Celtic **mṛkto-s*; pre-Celtic **mṛg-to-s*.

8. Med. Lat. (Gaulish?) *clocca* 'bell,' W. *cloch*, F., Old-Celtic **klokkā*, from an oxyton **kloggá*, pre-Celtic **klognā́*, cognate with Gr. κλάζω (perf. κέκλαγγα), from **κλαγ̯ω*, and κλαγγή; Lat. *cla-n-go*; Lith. *klagėti* 'to laugh'; O.N. *hlakka* 'to scream.' The Irish cognate is *clocc* (now *clog*), a masc. *o*-stem, deducible from a pre-Celtic **klog-nó-s*.

This etymology is doubtful, as Med. Lat. *clocca*, W. *cloch* may come from **klukkā*, *kluk-nā́*; and Ir. *clocc* from **klukko-s*, **kluk-nó-s*, cognate with Bulg. *klŭcam* 'stosse'; Servian *kucati* 'klopfen.'

9. Ir. *cnocc* (now *cnoc*) M. 'hill'; O.Br. *cnoch* (gl. tumulus); Old-Celtic **knokko-s*, **knoggó-s*; pre-Celtic **knog-nó-s*. Cognate with O.N. *hnakke* 'Hinterhaupt'; A.S. *hnëcca*; Eng. *neck*; N.H.G. *Nacken*, see Kluge s.v. In W. *cnwc*, pl. *cnyciau* 'gibbus, tuber,' we have an unexplained preservation of the Old-Celtic *kk*.

10. W. *crych* 'curled'; Bret. *crech*; Old-Celtic **krekko-s*, **kreggó-s*; pre-Celtic **kregh-nó-s*. Cognate with A.S. *hring*; O.N. *hringa*; O.Slav. *krągŭ* 'circle,' *kraglŭ* 'round.'

11. Ir. *éic* (*éig*, O'Cl.) 'moon'; Old-Celtic **enkki-*, **enggí-*; pre-Celtic **peng-ni-*, cognate with Gr. φέγγος from **sphengos*, Mod.Gr. φεγγάρι 'moon.' The common word for 'moon,' *éscae*, is to *éic* as *géscae* 'branch' is to *gée*.

12. Ir. *fecc* (now *feac*) 'spade'; Old-Celtic **vekkā*, **veggā́*; pre-Celtic **vegh-nā́*; cognate with Lat. *vanga*, *vōmer*, Gr. ὀφνίς, O.N. *vangsni*, O.H.G. *waganso* 'ploughshare'; Pruss. *wagnis* 'coulter.'

13. Ir. *glice* (now *glic*) 'cunning'; Old-Celtic **glkki-s*, **glggi-s*; pre-Celtic **ghlgh-ni-s*, cognate with Gr. καλχαίνω, Κάλχας; Goth. *glaggvô*, *glaggvuba*.

The Scottish *gleg* seems borrowed from Ir. *glicc*.

14. W. *hwch* F. 'a sow'; Corn. *hoch*; Old-Celtic **sukkā*, **suggā́*; pre-Celtic **sugh-nā́*, cognate with A.S. *sugu* 'sow' and Dutch *zeug*.

There is a modern Irish *suige* 'a call to pigs,' and O'Reilly has also *suig* 'a pig'; but this may have been borrowed from A.S. *sugu*. Why W. *hwch* is not *hoch* I do not understand.

15. Ir. *lacc* (now *lag*) 'weak'; Old-Celtic **lakko-s*, *lagi* pre-Celtic **lag-nó-s*, formally=the oxyton Gr. λαγνός, and cog also with λαγών, Lat. *languor*, *lēna* (from **lengnā*), etc. In *llacc* 'laxus, remissus,' we have another instance of the pres tion of Old-Celtic *kk*.

16. Ir. *lecc*, *leac* 'an act or deed which binds the pe indissolubly,' O'Don. Supp.; Old-Celtic **likkā* (*-ko-*?), * (*-gó-*?); pre-Celtic **lig-nā́* (*-nó-*?), cognate with Lat. *li ligula*.

17. Ir. *-licc* in *dlic* (=*ad-licc*) and *ad-laic* (=*aith-licc*) 'plea W. *lip* in *cyffelyb* 'consimilis'; Old-Celtic **liqqi-*, **liɣɣi-*; pre-(**liɣ-ni*. Cognate with Goth. *ga-leiks*, *leikan*; Lith. *lygus*; *linga-m* (J. Schmidt, Vocalismus, i. 89).

18. Ir. *locc* (now *log*) 'a hollow'; Old-Celtic **lukko-*, **luggó-*; Celtic **lug-nó-*. Cognate with Gr. λυγίζω, Lith. *lugnas* 'bieg

19. Ir. *menicc* (now *minic*) 'frequent, often'; W. *mynych*; Celtic **menekki-*, **meneggi-*; pre-Celtic **menegh-ni-*. Cognate Goth. *manags*; O.Slav. *mŭnogŭ* (Kluge s.v. manch).

20. W. *rhoch* F. 'a grunt, a groan'; Br. *roc'ha* 'ronfler'; Celtic **rokkā*, **roggā́*; pre-Celtic **rogh-nā́*. Cognate with Gr. ῥέ ῥογχασμός.

21. Ir. *sluccim* (now *slugaim*) 'I swallow;' Old-Celtic **sl* **sluggṓ*; pre-Celtic **slug-nó́*. Cognate with Gr. λύζω (λυγίω), λυγγάνω and N.H.G. *schlucken*.

The nasal in the corresponding British verbs—W. *ll* 'deglutire,' 'gurgitare'; O.Bret. *ro-luncas* (gl. guturicauit)—s due to a contamination of the regular **luch* with the equivale the Ir. *longud* 'to eat' (W. *llewa* 'edere,' 'manducare'), or o Goth. *fra-slindan* 'verschlingen.'

22. Ir. *tricc* (now *tric*) 'swift'; Old-Celtic **trkki-s*, **trg* pre-Celtic **trgh-ni-s*. Cognate with Gr. τρέχω. The Ga οὐερ-τραγοι· ποδώκεις κύνες, Ir. *traig* 'foot,' and Goth. *þra* exhibit a different grade of vowel.

Other such words are perhaps Ir. *fracc* 'hand,' *fracc* ' *fraic* 'shield'; W. *gwych* 'brave'; Br. *sac'ha* 's'arrêter,' point couler,' which last may come from an Old-Celtic verb **st* **staggo*; pre-Celtic *stag-nó́*=Lat. *stagno*; and Br. *stuc'hen* 'sl which may be cognate with Skr. *tuñj* 'to push,' as Eng. is with Goth. *skiuban* 'to shove.'

II. *dd* from *-dnā́, -dní, -dnó, -dnṓ.*

23. Ir. *cit* 'sheep,' (whence *citen, cetnait* 'lamb'); Old-Celtic **ketti-*, **keddí*; pre-Celtic **ked-ní*, cognate with ur-Germanic *haðna* 'goat'; M.H.G. *hatele*, with which Ir. *cadla* 'goat' seems identical.

24. Ir. *cuit* (now *cuid*) 'portion,'=W. *peth*; Corn. *peth*; Br. *pez*; Old-Celtic **qetti*, **qeddí-*; pre-Celtic **qed-ní*, cognate with Lith. *kedėti* bersten; Slav. *čęsti* 'a part' (Bezzenberger).

The Fr. *pièce*, Ital. *pezza*, rest immediately on a low-Latin *petia*, doubtless a Gaulish derivative of *qetti-*.

The Gaelic *pet*, gen. *petto*, 'a piece of land,' common in the topography of Scotland, and *pit* (in *terc-fit, leth-fit*) 'a portion of food,' are borrowed from some British dialect, Pictish perhaps, from which the Icelanders seem to have got their *petti*.

25. Ir. *fuit* 'cold'; Old-Celtic **votti*, **voddí*; pre-Celtic **vod-ní*, cognate with Ch.Slav. *voda* 'water,' Goth. *vatō*, Eng. *water, wet*. In Lith. *vandů* and Lat. *unda* we also find a nasal, which, though inserted in the root, may have been originally suffixal.

26. Ir. *gataim* (now *gadaim*) 'I take away, steal'; Old-Celtic **gattó*, **gaddó*; pre-Celtic **ghadh-nṓ*, cognate with Skr √*gadh* (I.E. *ghadh*); Vedic *gadhia* 'was zu erbeuten ist' (Grassmann); Gr. κισσός (from *χεθ̯ος); and Lat. *hedera*.

The I.E. root *ghad*, whence Gr. χανδάνω, Lat. *pre-hendo*, Goth. *bi-gitan*, is represented in Celtic by the W. *genni* 'contineri, comprehendi, capi.'

27. Ir. **gett* (now *gead*) 'rump,' whence *geaddn* 'buttock,' O'Don. Supp.; Old-Celtic **getto-*, **geddó-*; pre-Celtic **ghed-nó*, cognate with Gr. χέζω, κέχοδα, χόδανος; Skr. *had* 'cacare'; Zend *zadhaṅh* 'podex.'

The honorific portion of food called in Old-Irish *mil-getan*, seems to belong here.

28. Ir. *lútu* (now *lúidín*) 'little-finger.' Founded on a base **lútt* ex **lúdd*, **lúd-n*. Cognate with A.S. *lytel*, O.H.G. *luzil*.

29. Ir. **rataim* (now *radaim*) 'I give,' *do-rata* 'det,' *do-ratus* 'dedi'; Old-Celtic **rattó, raddó*; pre-Celtic **radh-nṓ*, cognate with Skr. √*radh, randh* 'überliefern, in die gewalt geben' (see Schmidt, Vocalismus, I. 36). From the unnasalised form of the root comes added to the Middle-Welsh *dy-rodes*, where the ending of the s-pret. is the perf. *rod*. This *rod* (=O.Welsh **raud*) is to the pre-Celtic *radh-nṓ* as Gr. ἔρ-ρω-γα is to ῥήγ-νυ-μι.

Windisch, Wörterb. 499, brings doubtfully Ir. *rat* in *do-rat* etc., from **ro-dad*; Skr. *dadāmi*. But in Old-Celtic the ve corresponding with *dadāmi* would probably have been *dō*, *de* or *didō*, and *ro-dedō*, *ro-didō* would have become in Old-Irish, *ro-dad*, but *ro-deod*, *ro-diud*.

30. Ir. *sláet* (now *slaod*) 'a slide,' LL. 391ª 7; Old-Celtic **slaitt* **slaiddó-*; pre-Celtic **slaidh-nó-*. Cognate are Lith. *slidùs* 'glatt Lett. *slaids* 'sloping' (Grundriss, § 634); A.S. *slidan*; N.H. *schlitten*; Skr. *sridh* 'to stumble,' 'to make a false step.'

31. Ir. *tot* 'a wave,' O'Cl.; Old-Celt. **tuttā*, **tuddā*; pre-Celt **tud-na*. Cognate are Skr. *tudāmi* 'I strike'; Lat. *tudes*, *tuditare* Goth. *stauta*; M.H.G. *stutze* 'stosse,' groundform *stud-n* (Grundris § 605).

In Ir. and Welsh *tonn* 'wave'; Old-Celtic **tundā*, the root nasalised, as in Lat. *tu-n-do*, *Per-tu-n-da*; Skr. *tundate*.

Prof. Bezzenberger prefers to connect *tot* and *tonn* with A.S *þeótan* 'heulen,' O.N. *þjóta* 'ertönen'; O.H.G. *diozan* 'tosen rauschen, schwellen,' *wazzer diezo* 'wasserschnelle.'

32. Ir. *trott* (now *trod*) 'a quarrel,' pl. n. *troit*; Old-Celti **trutto-s*, **truddó-s*; pre-Celtic **trud-nó-s*. Cognate are Lat. *trudo* *trudis*; Goth. *us-þriutan* 'to molest,' *þrutsfill* 'leprous'; A.S *þreótan* (Eng. *threaten*); O.Slav. *trudŭ* 'trouble.'

Other Celtic derivatives from √*trud* are Ir. *troscaim* 'I fast (**trud-skó*), *trosc* 'a leper,' *tromm* 'heavy,' 'oppressive' (**trud-smo-s*) W. *trwm* 'gravis, tristis, maestus' = Corn. *trom*, Bret. *troum*.

To these words we may perhaps add Ir. *greit* 'champion, *grut* 'curds,' *lott* 'whore,' *lott* 'destruction,' and *slatt* (= W *llath*) now *slat*, 'rod.'

III. *bb* from *-bní*, *-bnó*, *-bnú*.

33. O.Ir. **bapp*, **bopp* 'bunch,' 'tassel'; Mid.Ir. *papp*, *popp* LU. 97ª 3, pl. acc. *pupu*, LB. 127ª; Highland Gaelic *bab*, M. gen *baba*; Old-Celtic **bappu*, **babbú*, **boppu-*, **bobbú-*; pre-Celti **bhabh-nú*, **bhobh-nú-*, cognate with Lat. *faba*, *haba*, Pruss. *babo*; O.Slav. *bobŭ*, and perhaps Gr. *πο-μ-φός*, *πε-μ-φίς* from **φο-μ-φος*, **φε-μ-φις*. The initial *p* in Mid.Ir. *popp* may be due to assimilation, as in Mid.Ir. *prapad* 'the twinkling of an eye' = O.Ir. *brafad*; *cóic* 'five,' Old-Celtic **qenqi*, pre-Celtic **penqi*; and Eng. *Bob* a pet-form of *Robert*.

The Eng. *bob* 'bunch, knob, plummet,' seems either borrowed from, or cognate with, O.Ir. *bopp*.

34. W. *cloff* 'lame, limping'; Old-Celtic **kloppo-s*, **klobbó-s*; pre-Celtic **klob-nó-s*, cognate with Gr. κλαμβός and Lith. *klumbas* 'lame, limping.'

The low-Latin *cloppus* 'χωλός,' Ducange (whence Fr. *cloup*, *clopiner*) seems to rest on a Gaulish **kloppo-s*.

35. *rap* 'every animal that drags to it, ut sunt sues,' Cormac's Glossary; Old-Celtic **rappo-*, **rabbó-*; pre-Celtic *rab-nó*, cognate with *rapen*; N.H.G. *raffen* 'to snatch.' Or with Old-Bulg. *rąbiti* 'secare, rapere'?

The above etymology is doubtful, as *rap* might equally well be referred to a pre-Celtic **rap-nó* (see infra, Nos. 56–63), and be then connected with Lat. *rapio*.

36. Ir. *scip* 'hand,' dat. sg. *ina dag-scip* 'in his good hand,' LB. 240[a]; Old-Celtic **skeppi-*, **skebbi-*; pre-Celtic **skeb-ni*. Cognate are Goth. *ga-skapjan*, Eng. *shape*, N.H.G. *schaffen*.

In Ir. *ceaptha* 'shapen,' 'brought into form,' O'Don. Supp., we have a part. pret. pass. from a sister-root *keb*. Hence also O'Brien's *cib* 'a hand.'

Other such words are possibly Ir. *cepoc* 'quire-song,' *lapp* 'slime' (now *labán*, *laibe*); W. *lleibio* (Br. *lippat*) 'to lick'; Ir. *opunn* (now *obann*) 'sudden' (cf. Gr. ἄφνως); *tapp*, *topp*, Mod. Ir. *tap*, *tapaidh* 'quick, active,' and *timpán* 'a standing-stone,' formed a stem **temppo-*, **tembbó-*, from **tembh-nó*: cf. Skr. *stambha* 'post,' 'pillar'; Zend *çtembana*; Lith. *stambas*.

I have thus, I hope, made it probable, if I have not proved, that in Old-Celtic, as in primeval Germanic, the initial *n* of the accented *n*- suffixes was sometimes assimilated to a preceding *g*, *d*, or *b*. I will now mention some instances where the same *n* appears to have been assimilated to a preceding *k*, *q*, *t*, or *p*.

IV. *kk* from *-knā́*, *-knó-*, *-knṓn-*, *-knú-*, *-qnó-*, *-qnú*.

37. W. *ach*, F. 'generation,' *achen* 'lineage'; O.W. *achmonou* (gl. inguinibus); Ir. *aicme* 'genus,' *aicned* 'natura.' All from an Old-Celtic **akkā*, pre-Celtic **ak-nā́*, cognate with Skr. *aṅka*, 'flank, lap,' and *ākna*, *vy-akna*, *sam-akna* 'gebogen' (Fick[3], I. 6).

38. Ir. *brocc* (now *brog*) 'grief'; Old-Celtic **brukko-* (**brukkā*?); pre-Celtic **bruk-nó*, **gruknó*, cognate with Gr. βρύκω 'I bite'; Lat. *brocchus*.

Ir. *brón* 'grief'=W. *brwyn* M. 'a pricking,' 'smarting,' may be cognate and come from a paroxyton Old-Celtic **brúkno-*.

39. Ir. *cacc* (now *cac*) 'dung'; W. *cach* M. 'fimus'; Corn. *caugh*; Br. *cauch* 'merda'; Old-Celtic **kakko-*; pre-Celtic **kak-nó-* or **kaq-nó-*. Cognate with Skr. *çaka* and *çakṛt*, gen. *çaknás* (oxyton!) Gr. *κάκκη*; Lat. *cacare*; Lith. *szìkti*.

Ir. *cechair* 'slough' may be cognate.

40. Ir. *crocan* (now *crogán*) 'pot'; W. *crochan*, founded on an Old-Celtic **krokko-*, pre-Celtic **krok-nó-*, cognate with Gr. *κρωσσόν* from **κρωκ-ιος*.

41. **grácc* (now *grág*) 'the croaking of a raven,' *grág* infra No. 55, where it rhymes with *nát*; Old-Celt. **grākko*; pre-Celtic **grāk-nó*. Cognate with Lat. *grāculus*.

42. *lecc* (now *leac*) 'flagstone;' W. *llêch* 'tabula saxea'; Old-Celtic **ḷkkā*; pre-Celtic **ṗḷkna*. Cognate with Lat. *planca*, *placenta*; Gr. *πλάξ*, *πλακοῦς*, *πλάκινος*; N.H.G. *flach*.

43. Ir. *lecco* (now *leaca*) 'cheek,' gen. *leccon*. Founded on an Old-Celtic **lekko-* from **lek-nó-*. Cognate with Pruss. *laygnan* for **layknan*; O.Slav. *lice* *πρόσωπον* (Windisch K.B. viii. 439).

44. Ir. *macc* (now *mac*) 'son'; Old-Celt. **maqqo-s* (ogmic gen. *maqqi*); pre-Celtic *maq-nó-s*. Cognate with Lith. *móku*, *mokė́ti*=Lett. *mázu*, *mázét* 'können'; as Goth. *magus* 'boy' (Ir. *mug*) is cognate with *magan*.

The Old-Welsh *map* points to an Old-Celtic *maqo-s*, or else the *qq* has been simplified.

45. Ir. *mucc* (now *muc*) 'pig'; W. *moch-yn*, pl. *moch*; Old-Celtic **mukku-*; pre-Celtic **muk-nú*, cognate with Lat. *mūcus*, *e-mungere*; Gr. *μυκτήρ*, *μύξα*, *ἀπο-μύσσω*, *μύξων*.

46. Ir. *sicc* (now *siocc*) 'frost'; Old-Celtic **sikku*, **siqqu*; pre-Celtic **siq-nú*, cognate with Lat. *siccare*, Skr. *sikatā*, Zend *hikush* (Bartholomae, K.Z. 29, 525).

47. O.Bret. **techam* 'fugio' (M.Bret. infin. *techet*); Old-Celtic **tekkó* (**teqqó*?); pre-Celtic **tek-nṓ* (**teq-nṓ*?), cognate with Lith. *tekinas* 'laufend, schnell.' So the Ir. *techim* 'I flee' is cognate with Lith. *teku*, *tekėti* 'to run, to flow,' and Zend *tac* 'to run, hasten, flow.'

48. Ir. **traccaim* 'I press,' in the compound *du-thraic* 'desires,' *i.e.* 'presses after something'; Old-Celtic **trakkó*; pre-Celtic **trak-nṓ*, cognate with A.S. *þringan*; O.H.G. *dringan*; Lith. *trènkti* 'stossen.'

To this belongs W. *trwch* 1. 'fractus,' 'mancus,' 2. 'scissura,' 'incisio,' if it be not borrowed from Lat. *truncus*.

The following words may possibly be explained in like manner: Ir. *béccim* 'I bellow' (W. *beichio* 'mugire'), now *béicim*, Ir. *cocca* 'boat' (W. *cwch*), Ir. *cicce* 'flesh,' Ir. *ícc* 'healing' (W. *iach*), now *íoc*, and W. *talch* 'grist,' from **talkko-*, **talk-nó-*, which Strachan has connected with Russ. *tolokno* 'dried oatmeal.'

V. *tt* from *tnā́*, *-tnó*, *-tnú*.

49. Ir. *bratt* (now *brat*) 'mantle'; O.Welsh map-*brethinnou* (gl. cunis); Old-Celtic **bratto-s*; pre-Celtic **brath-nó-s*, **grath-nó-s*, cognate with Ir. *bréit* 'a strip of cloth,' which Rhŷs brings from **branti*=Skr. *granthi* 'a tie, a knot.'

50. Ir. *glota* 'belly,' gen. *glotan*: *glotain* 'bosom,' O'Br. Formed on a base *glutt-*, *glut-n*, cognate with Gr. γλουτός, N.H.G. *Kloss*, *Klotz*.

51. Ir. *lat* 'foot'; Old-Celtic **lattā* (**latto-*?); pre-Celtic **plat-nā́* (**plat-nó-* ?), cognate with Lat. *planta* 'sole of the foot'; Gr. πλατύς; Lith. *platùs*.

52. Ir. *littiu* 'porridge,' gen. *litten*; Welsh *llith* M. Derived from an Old-Celtic **l̥tto-*; pre-Celtic **pl̥t-nó-*, cognate with Lat. *puls* (I.E. *pl̥ti-*) and Gr. πόλτος (I.E. *pl̥̄to-*).

53. Ir. *matan* 'battle' (Rev. Celt. xiii. 472), Mid. Ir. *madan*, BB. 49^{b} 18. Derived from an Old-Celtic **matto-*; pre-Celtic **math-nó-*, cognate with Gr. μόθος and Skr. √*math* (*mánthati*, *mathnā́ti*) 'to crush, hurt, kill.'

From the same root come the Ir. verb *memaid* 'fregit,' and the nouns *maided* and *maidm* 'breach.'

54. Ir. *mút* 'short'; Old-Celtic **mûttu-*; pre-Celtic **mût-nú*, cognate with Lat. *mŭtilus*.

55. Ir. *nát* 'buttock,' *nád* .i. tón, O'Cl., gen. pl. *asbeir* [*in*] *fiach goblom grág* | *a*[*c*] *créim nát námat anocht* 'the bare-beaked raven says *grác*, gnawing foemen's buttocks to-night,' H. 3. 18, p. 73, col. 1; Old-Celtic **nâtto-*; pre-Celtic **nōtnó*, cognate with Gr. νῶτος, νῶτον; Lat. *nătes*.

VI. *pp* from *-pnó*, *-pní*.

56. Ir. *capp* 'chariot,' 'hearse,' 'bier,' dat. sg. ructhar do ben i capp .i. i carr, 'may thy wife be carried in a hearse!' LU. 6^{b} 30; Old-Celtic **kappo-*; pre-Celtic **kap-nó*. Cognate with Thess. καπάνη, chariot,' perhaps also with Καπάνευς.

Gr. *κάπη* 'crib' and Lat. *capulus* 'coffin' may also be cognate.

57. Ir. *cepp* 'garden,' whence *ceppán* and the modern *ceapac* 'a piece of ground laid out for tillage,' O'Don. Supp. Old Celtic **keppo-*; pre-Celtic **kep-nó-*. Cognate with Gr. *κῆπο* Dor. *κᾶπος* and N.H.G. *Hube*, though the vocalism does n agree well.

58. W. *craff* 'firmus'; Old-Celt. **krappo-s*; pre-Celtic **krap-nó-* Cognate with O.Slav. *krěpŭ* 'fortis'; O.N. *hræfa* 'ertragen,' *kræf kraptr* 'robur' (Ebel, Kuhn's Beitr. ii. 174; Schmidt, Vocalismu ii. 72).

59. Ir. *crip* 'swift'; Old-Celtic **krppi-*; pre-Celtic **krp-ni* cognate with the words cited under 58; *crib* 'swiftness,' O'Br.

The Welsh *cryf* 'fortis,' 'gravis'; Corn. *crif* (gl. fortis); Bre *creff* 'fermus, tenax,' may belong to the same root and descer from a pre-Celtic **krpmo-*. For the connexion of the ideas 'swift and 'strong,' cf. N.H.G. *schnell*=O.N. *snjallr*. The Irish cogna may be *crimthann* 'fox,' also a proper name.

60. Ir. *gopp* 'mouth, beak, snout'; Old-Celtic **goppo-s*; pr Celtic **gop-nó-s*: cognate with Zend *safan* 'mouth' (Bezzenberger Now *gob*, whence, I suppose, the English slang-word *gob*. Th Fr. *gober*, *gobe-* mouche, point to a Gaulish **gopo-*.

61. Ir. **répaim* 'I tear,' 'rend'; Mid. and Mod. Ir. *rébair reubaim*; Old-Celtic **reippó*; pre-Celtic **reip-nó*. Related Iri words are *rép* in the compound *rép-gaeth* 'a rending wind LL. 83[a] 15, and the verbal noun *répud*, LB. 150[a]. Cognates a Gr. *ἐ-ρείπω*; Lat. *rīpa*; O.N. *rifa* 'to break,' *rifna* 'rumpi.'

The Ir. *rae* 'battle'=W. *rhae* may have lost a *p* in inlaut ar belong to the same root, with a different grade of vowel.

62. Ir. *ropp* 'every animal that gores, ut sunt uaccae,' Cormac Glossary; Old-Celtic **ruppo-s*; pre-Celtic **rup-nó-s*, cognate wit Lat. *ru-m-po*; Goth. *bi-raubōn*; A.S. *reáfian*, *reofan*; O.N. *rjúfa*.

63. *timpán* 'a stringed musical instrument.' Formed on a ste **temppo-* 'a chord'; pre-Celtic **temp-nó-*. Cognate with Lith *tempiù*, *tèmpti* 'ausdehnen,' *temptýva* 'Sehne.'

I am bound to admit that none of these etymologies are absolute convincing, with, perhaps, the exception of those numbered 4 ar 15, where the ideal pre-Celtic forms are actually established b the oxyton Skr. *bhugná-s* and Gr. *λαγνός*. But one of the tests the truth of a theory is the number of phenomena which it explain and tried by this test, I submit that the theory now brought forwa is at least deserving of careful consideration.

I confess, also, that I cannot explain why, in modern Irish, we have *agus*, *bog* 'soft,' *clog*, *éig*, *lag*, *log*, *slugaim*, beside *bac*, *boc* 'he-goat,' *breac*, *cnoc*, *feac*, *glic*, *minic*, *tric*, and *brog*, *crogán*, *grág*, beside *béicim*, *cac*, *ioc*, *leac*, *leaca*, *mac*, *muc*, *sioc*: why we have *cuid*, *gadaim*, *gead*, *lúidin*, *radaim*, *slaod*, *troid*, beside *brat*, *glotain*, *slat*: and, lastly, why we have *bab*, *cib*, *crib*, *gob*, *obann*, *reubaim*, beside *ceapach*, *tap*, *tapaidh*.

I have, in conclusion, to state that a first draught of this paper appeared in *Indogermanische Forschungen* II. 167–173, and that the etymologies numbered respectively 2, 5, 7, 22, 43, 46, and 49 are due to Professor Strachan. He also pointed out to me that the Irish *bocc* 'soft' (No. 4) might be deduced from **bhugnó-*: that *gataim* (No. 26) might be connected with the Skr. √*gadh*: that *bulis* and *buli* were cognate with Ir. *bolad* (No. 6); and that *lútu* (No. 28) might be cognate with A.S. *lytel*, O.H.G. *luzil*.

Nervi, near Genoa,
30*th January*, 1893.

X.—OLD-IRISH GLOSSES ON THE BUCOLICS.

From a MS. in the Laurentian Library. By WHITLEY STOKES, D.C.L.

GEO. THILO (Rheinisches Museum, Neue Folge, XIV. 132–133) was the first to call attention to the Old-Irish glosses, which are found in the abridgments of Philargyrus' scholia on the Bucolics contained in two tenth-century codices, one in the Laurentian library, marked plut. XLV. cod. 14, ff. 1–22, the other in the Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 7960, ff. 1–17. Thilo printed six of these glosses, which were reprinted by Zimmer (Gloss. hib. supplementum, p. 5), with the addition of one from the latter codex contributed by Herm. Hagen. To these seven, I added, in the *Academy* for Jan. 17, 1891, pp. 64–65, thirty from the Paris MS. I now present a complete list of those in the Laurentian codex. Among them I have inserted the end of a scholium on Ecl. III. 90, which tends to show the nationality of the maker of the abridgment in which it occurs. The Irish glosses in the Paris MS. will be published in the *Revue Celtique* for July, 1893.

Both MSS. are in continental handwritings, and the scribes were, naturally, ignorant of Irish. Hence sundry mistakes in copying the Irish glosses, such as bisecting and trisecting words, transposing letters, and sometimes putting *c* for *t*; *e*, *o* or *t* for *c*; *h* for *b*; *s* for *f* and *f* for *s* or *p*; *m* for *in*; *t* for *d*, *d* for *b*, and even *u* for *il* and *ic* for *a*. Five of these glosses—viz. (16), (25), (47), (65), (104)—are so corrupt that I am unable to explain them satisfactorily. But, on the whole, they have been handed down in a comprehensible form, and apart from the lexicographical value of them all, the gen. sg. *milge*, the nom. pl. *derce*, the accusatives pl. *bledmil*, *englemen*, *darcha*, *grode*, the verbs *cit*, *farmuinethar*, *tucrecha*, *dodihel*, *banrag*, *folloinc*, *fedid*, *immonaisc*, *adreth*, *sibrase* and *adcichlus*, and the participles *clithi*, *nephglidi* will be welcome to the student of Old-Irish grammar.

[1] Reprinted, with many corrections and additions, from Kuhn's Zeitschrift für vergl. Sprachforschung, xxxiii. 62–80.

(1) Fo. 2*v*. 10 Da .i. cit (Ecl. I. 19).
(2) ,, 3*r*. 14 Raucæ .i. brongidi (Ecl. I. 58).
(3) ,, 3*v*. 9 Dumosa .i. drisidi (Ecl. I. 77).
(4) ,, ,, 39 Cicadis.[1] cauig (Ecl. II. 13).
(5) ,, 4*v*. 8 Uiolas .i. scotha l. uaccinia (Ecl. II. 47).
(6) ,, ,, 11 Anethi. pro*pir* los*a* (Ecl. II. 48).
(7) ,, 6*v*. 10 De Meuio uero nihil repe*r*i ut Ada*m*nanus[2] ait (Ecl. III. 90).
(8) ,, ,, 13 Fraga .i. subi (Ecl. III. 92).
(9) ,, ,, 22 in eruo .i. ti*n*cur (Ecl. III. 100).
(10) ,, ,, 23 fascinat .i. farmuinethar (Ecl. III. 103).
(11) ,, 7*v*. 27 flauescet blicfithir (Ecl. IV. 28).
(12) ,, ,, 28 Arista broth (Ecl. IV. 28).
(13) ,, 8*r*. 8 mentiri .i. tucrecha fusca eni*m* luna mentitur alium colore*m* (Ecl. IV. 42).
(14) ,, 8*v*. 1 labruscas .i. feadinne (Ecl. V. 7).
(15) ,, ,, 34 thiasos .i. clasa (Ecl. V. 30).
(16) ,, ,, 39 auene .i. mailan uilchi uelcu infec uel zezaniæ (Ecl. V. 37).
(17) ,, ,, 40 uiolla .i. scoth uel fobuirge (Ecl. V. 38).
(18) ,, 9*r*. 1 phalliorus (sic!) .i. geelcæ l. aiten (Ecl. V. 39).
(19) ,, ,, 3 Tumulu*m* .i. fert (Ecl. V. 42).
(20) ,, ,, 4 superattite (sic!) carme*n* .i. sit scriptu*m* sup*er* tumulo .i. membræ sup*er*scripte (Ecl. V. 42).
(21) ,, ,, 6 In gramine .i. israth (Ecl. V. 46).
(22) ,, ,, 14 Intonsi .i. nephglidi l. intacti (Ecl. V. 63).
(23) ,, ,, 20 nectar cetgrinnæ[3] (Ecl. V. 71).
(24) ,, ,, 28 thimo .i. pro*pir* fedo (Ecl. V. 77).
(25) ,, ,, 30 damnab*is* .i. fisi lusu .i. res facies[4] ut uota*m* tua*m* multi adorarent (Ecl. V. 80).
(26) ,, ,, 34 cicuta .i. buinne (Ecl. V. 85).
(27) ,, ,, 35 Pedu*m* .i. bron brachin .i. baculu*m* incuruu*m* quo pedes ouiu*m* inpediuntur (Ecl. V. 88).
(28) ,, ,, 37 nodis[5] obid (Ecl. V. 90).
(29) ,, 9*v*. 18 serta .i. coerca (Ecl. VI. 16).
(30) ,, ,, 19 ansa .i. dorn (Ecl. VI. 17).

[1] MS. cicades.
[2] Adananus, Thilo, perperam. Adannanus, P.
[3] MS. nectacæ grinnæ.
[4] MS. facier.
[5] MS. nobis.

(31) Fo. 9*v*. 22 moris .i. merih (Ecl. VI. 22).
(32) ,, ,, 23 fronte*m* .i. grode (Ecl. VI. 22).
(33) ,, ,, ,, timpora. a aru (Ecl. VI. 22).
(34) ,, 10*r*. 4 nerea .i. bled · mil .i. animalia maris[1] (E 35).
(35) ,, ,, 32 cornua .i. b*enn* (Ecl. VI. 51).
(36) ,, ,, 36 stabula .i. lesib l. gelbin (Ecl. VI. 60).
(37) ,, 10*v*. 7 alnos .i. ferna (Ecl. VI. 63).
(38) ,, ,, 7 p*er*messi .i. propir fluminis boe[o]tiæ (E 64).
(39) ,, ,, 13 apio .i. luib sérb (Ecl. VI. 68).
(40) ,, ,, 16 ornos[2] .i. ligna .i. darchachis .i. calami VI. 71–72).
(41) ,, ,, 19 inguina[3] .i. nome*n* loci in q*uo* canes scill bant uel melen[4] (Ecl. VI. 76).
(42) ,, ,, 35 arguta dresach tach (Ecl. VII. 1).
(43) ,, ,, 37 arcades .i. sulbari l. fissidi (Ecl. VII. 4).
(44) ,, 11*r*. 3 deerrauerat .i. todidel (Ecl. VII. 7).
(45) ,, ,, 4 salu[u]s .i. slan (Ecl. VII. 9).
(46) ,, ,, 5 examina .i. saithi (Ecl. VII. 13).
(47) ,, ,, 8 seria .i. samre (Ecl. VII. 17).
(48) ,, ,, 23 setosi .i. simch (Ecl. VII. 29).
(49) ,, ,, 28 suras[5] .i. gairri (Ecl. VII. 32).
(50) ,, ,, 38 rusco .i. ait tun l. rusc (Ecl. VII. 42).
(51) ,, ,, 39 muscosi .i. coennich (Ecl. VII. 45).
(52) ,, 11*v*. 2 turgent .i. astaid (Ecl. VII. 48).
(53) ,, 11*v*. 2 tede .i. caindla (Ecl. VII. 49).
(54) ,, ,, ,, fuligine .i. osuidi (Ecl. VII. 50).
(55) ,, ,, 9 pa*m*piniis .i. channachdi (Ecl. VII. 58).
(56) ,, ,, 10 populus .i. p*ro*[pir] fedo (Ecl. VII. 61).
(57) ,, ,, 13 fraxinus .i. umnus (Ecl. VII. 65).
(58) ,, ,, 14 pinus .i. oct gag (Ecl. VII. 65).
(59) ,, ,, ,, habies .i. octh gacha sardua. Lailu (Ecl. V]
(60) ,, ,, ,, populus .i. fit (Ecl. VII. 66).
(61) ,, 12*r*. 6 sine .i. leic (Ecl. VIII. 12).
(62) ,, ,, 8 age .i. fer airli .i. cito ueni (Ecl. VIII. 1

[1] MS. animali amaris.
[2] MS. ornus.
[3] MS. inguma.
[4] MS. uelme lendulicias, where dulicias is the beginning of a Dulichias (Ecl. VI. 76).
[5] MS. surras.

(63) Fo. 12*r*. 34 cotib*us* .i. lecib*us* (Ecl. VIII. 43).
(64) „ 12*v*. 4 electra .i. orget (Ecl. VIII. 54).
(65) „ „ „ ululæ .i. coinnil (Ecl. VIII. 55).
(66) „ „ „ cignis .i. elu (Ecl. VIII. 55).
(67) „ „ 23 ui[t]ta · snathæ (Ecl. VIII. 64).
(68) „ „ 37 licia .i. englem̃ q*ua*si ligia p*er* que ligantur stamina (Ecl. VIII. 74).
(69) „ „ 39 necte .i. immonaisc .i. cu*n*liga (Ecl. VIII. 77).
(70) „ 13*r*. 5 bocola .i. bonat (Ecl. VIII. 86).
(71) „ „ „ seræ etmaill (Ecl. VIII. 88).
(72) „ „ 6 exuias .i. inda fodh (Ecl. VIII. 91).
(73) „ „ 19 corripuit .i. adreth (Ecl. VIII. 105).
(74) „ „ 23 Hylax[1] .i. conbochuil (Ecl. VIII. 108).
(75) „ „ 31 fors .i. toc eth (Ecl. IX. 5).
(76) „ 13*v*. 12 examinas athi (Ecl. IX. 30).
(77) „ „ „ taxos .i. fer .i. arbor (Ecl. IX. 30).
(78) „ „ 14 anser .i. gigren (Ecl. IX. 36).
(79) „ „ 15 inter argutos olores .i. iter nelu. luin cen chu (Ecl. IX. 36).
(80) „ „ 18 populus .i. pro[pir] fedo (Ecl. IX. 41).
(81) „ „ 24 apricis .i. clithi (Ecl. IX. 49).
(82) „ „ 25 om*n*ia fert .i. follo. incl.[2] fedid (Ecl. IX. 51).
(83) „ „ 28 equor .i. muir (Ecl. IX. 57).
(84) „ 14*r*. 3 simæ[3] .i. milberach .i. uirgulta .i. inp*re*si narib*us* (Ecl. X. 7).
(85) „ „ 8 pinifer. fin tad birtihd (Ecl. X. 14).
(86) „ „ 13 subulci .i. mucibi (Ecl. X. 19).
(87) „ „ 18 ferulas .i. flesca (Ecl. X. 25).
(88) „ „ 20 ebuli .i. p*ro*[pir] fedo (Ecl. X. 27).
(89) „ „ 20 bacis .i. cariaib (Ecl. X. 27).
(90) „ „ 28 uinitor[4] .i. finbondid (Ecl. X. 36).
(91) „ „ 29 serta .i. coherta (Ecl. X. 41).
(92) „ „ 34 a auch (Ecl. X. 48).
(93) „ „ 37 mo*du*labor .i. sibrase .i. scribam (Ecl. X. 51).
(94) „ „ 38 malle[5] .i. ma acubrimse (Ecl. X. 53).
(95) „ „ 40 uenabor .i. adcichlus (Ecl. X. 56).

[1] MS. hiias.
[2] In the MS. the *c* joins the barred *l*, so that at first sight we seem to have ind with barred *d*.
[3] MS. semæ.
[4] MS. uiniator.
[5] MS. malles.

(96) Fo. 14*r*. 5 cornu .i. ondidbuoc (Ecl. X. 59).
(97) ,, ,, 6 spicula .i. fogau l. gaau (Ecl. X. 60).
(98) ,, ,, 10 liber .i. insnob (Ecl. X. 67).
(99) ,, 16*r*. 6 palus .i. cethor (Ecl. I. 49).
(100) ,, ,, 11 susurro .i. susurratio l. amal quod de nascitur (Ecl. I. 56).
(101) ,, 16*v*. 8 uac[c]in[i]a .i. uiole purpureæ l. subi l derce ruich (Ecl. II. 18).
(102) ,, ,, 26 Calathis .i. octh alca ib (Ecl. II. 46).
(103) ,, ,, 29 pruna .i. airni draigin (Ecl. II. 53).
(104) ,, 17*r*. 25 transuersa tuentibus hircis .i. maiccini uerecunde, hircus enim lasciuum ani petulcum,[1] animal et feruens semper tum. Cuius oculi ob libidinem in trans aspiciunt (Ecl. III. 8).
(105) ,, ,, 40 Stipula .i. cuislen (Ecl. III. 27).
(106) ,, 17*v*. 3 corỳmbos .i. brutus (Ecl. III. 39).
(107) ,, ,, 26 malo me petit .i. cabarrag (Ecl. III. 64)
(108) ,, 18*r*. 11 fraga .i. subi . quidam tamen dicunt pom terram nata (Ecl. III. 92).
(109) ,, ,, 21 in eruo .i. fond orbeman (Ecl. III. 100).
(110) ,, 18*v*. 23 cum bacchare .i. bin uel genus herbe et iocondi (Ecl. IV. 19).
(111) ,, 19*r*. 17 quid?[2] .i. cirice (Ecl. V. 9).
(112) ,, ,, 18 si .i. adas (Ecl. V. 9).
(113) ,, 19*v*. 1 auenae[3] .i. mail mol chi uel cuintbe genus zizaniae[4] (Ecl. V. 37).
(114) ,, ,, ,, uiola .i. fobuirge (Ecl. V. 38).
(115) ,, ,, 2 palliorus .i. gle elge (Ecl. V. 39).
(116) ,, ,, 9 calathis .i. cathal caib (Ecl. V. 71).
(117) ,, 20*v*. 23 bachare .i. boethin (Ecl. VII. 27).
(118) ,, ,, 26 sinum lactis .i. genus uasis .i. bomilge VII. 33).
(119) ,, ,, 35 rusco[5] .i. aittiun (Ecl. VII. 42).
(120) ,, 21*r*. 17 Licia .i. englemen (Ecl. VIII. 74).
(121) ,, ,, 27 Hylax[6] .i. horcæ milchu uel conbocail VIII. 107).

[1] MS. pecul cum.
[2] MS. quod.
[3] MS. anime.
[4] MS. zezame.
[5] MS. ruscor.
[6] MS. hilas.

(122) Fo. 22*r*. 28 minio .i. uafordiñ (Ecl. X. 27).
(123) ,, 22*v*. 1 spicula .i. fogu (Ecl. X. 60).
(124) ,, ,, 4 liber .i. sinob (Ecl. X. 67).

COMMENTARY.

L. = the Laurentian codex.
P. = the Paris codex.

(1) *cit* (gl. da), imper. sg. 2 of a verb cognate with *cet* 'permission,' which Thurneysen (KZ. XXXII. 571) connects with Lat. *cēdo* from **kezdō*. Not in P.

(2) *brongidi* (gl. raucae), pl. n. f. of *brongide* cogn. with Gr. βράγχος 'hoarseness,' βραγχός 'hoarse.'

(3) *drisidi* (gl. dumosâ), dat. sg. f. of *drisidi*, derived from *driss* (gl. vepres) Sg. 47ª 8, cognate with Welsh *drysu* 'briars, brambles,' M. Bret. *dresen* "épine." This or a like gloss is the source of the "†drisidis," which Thilo and Hagen have inserted in their text of Servius, III. 17, l. 1, believing, apparently, that it is corrupt Greek.

(4) *cauig* (gl. cicadis), a scribal error for *cailig*, pl. n. of *cailech*= Welsh *ceiliog rhedyn* "cicada," ad v. "gallus filicis." Corn. *chelioc* 'cock' (Gaul. *Caliâcos*?). Cognate with Gr. καλέω, Lat. *calare*, OHG. *halôn* "berufen."

(5) *scotha* (gl. uiolas), pl. acc. of *scoth* (gl. uiolla) No. (17). Hence *scotae* (gl. uiolarium) Sg. 35ᵇ 1. But *scoth* ordinarily means a flower of any colour (*derc a scotha* "red its flowers," H. 3. 3. p. 59ᵇ). Connexion with Lat. *scato*, *scateo* seems possible. Or should we compare NHG. *schosz*, *schösszling* and Fr. *écot* 'tree-stump,' √*skut*?

(6) *propir losa* (gl. anethi), "the proper name of a plant." So we have *propir fedo* (24), (56), (80), (88), *propir* fluminis (38). *Propir*, pl. *propiri*, Sg. 32ᵇ 14, is borrowed from the Lat. *proprium* (nomen), and *losa* is the gen. sg. of *lus*= Welsh *llŷs* "herba," pl. *llysiau*. Corn. *losow*, *losowys*, sg. *losowen*, Mer. 1483, Br. *louzou*.

(7) *Adamnanus* a Latinisation of the Ir. *Adamnán*, a dimin. of *Adam*, here apparently denoting some Irish grammarian. Other such diminutives (which have been connected with Lat. *nānus*) are *Flaithnán*, *Gartnán*, *Lachtnán*, *Liathnán*, *Lubnán*, *Lomnán*, *Lescnán*.

(8) *subi* (gl. fraga), pl. acc. *subi* (gl. uaccinia) (101), pl. nom. of **sube* = *subha* "berry," O'R. or *suib* O'Br. Welsh *syfi* "fraga," sg. *syfien*: Bret. *sivi* "fraise."

(9) *tincur* (gl. pingui . . . in ervo). I cannot explain this gloss confidently. It seems the dat. sg. of *tincor*, LU. 99^{b} 30 (a tincor do lind 7 do bíud), which appears to mean "a supply," "an abundant provision." gen. sg. tincair O'Curry M. and C. III. 499, l. 17. A homonym is in LL. 109^{a} 5: ni roacht o Gull tascud no tincur dind fót forsa mbái. Compare gloss (112).

(10) *farmuinethar* (gl. fascinat), better *formuinethar*, pl. 3 *fordob-moinetar* (gl. aemulantur vos) Wb. 19^{d} 27. Welsh *gorfynu* 'to rival, to envy.' The gloss *adligon* which comes next in L. 7^{r} 6, is *adligor* in P. and stands for *adligorice* =allegorice.

(11) *blicfithir* (gl. flauescet), a scribal error for *bláfithir* sg. 3 *b*-fut. of a deponent verb cognate with Ir. *blá*=Lat. *flavus*.

(12) *broth* (gl. arista). O'R. has a gloss *broth* .i. arbhar "corn": also *broth* "straw." *broth* "a straw," O'Br. Cognate with Lat. *frutex*? The gloss on Argo, Ecl. iv. 34, viz. *monau*, which comes next in L. 8^{r} 2, is *inonaui* in P. and stands for *nomen nauis*.

(13) *tucrecha* (gl. mentiri), should be *ducrecha*, pres. ind. sg. 3 of the verb whence the pl. 3 *ducrechat* (gl. moliuntur) Ml. 30^{b} 6 (gl. demolentibus), Ml. 85^{b} 3, *ducrechubsa* (gl. demolliar) Ml. 126^{c} 23, am*al* bid an-*durochrech* (gl. quasi . . . commentatus) Ml. 68^{c} 11.

(14) *feadinne* (gl. labruscas) should apparently be *fiad-fíni* "wild vines," a compound of *fiad* "wild"=Welsh *gwydd*, and *fine*, borrowed, according to Cormac, from Lat. *vinea*.

(15) *clasa* (gl. thiasos "Bacchic dances"), *clausa* P. This seems for *classa* pl. acc. of *class* (pl. n. classa buana binde, Fél. prol. 181; clasa aingel oc claiscetul, LB. 111^{b} 2) borrowed from, or cognate with, Lat. *classis*.

(16) *mailan uilchi* uel *cuinfec* (gl. auene). This gloss is, I fear, hopelessly corrupt. In (113) it appears as *mail molchi* uel *cuintbecha*. In the Paris MS. 7^{v} 8 it is *mailam uilhi l.cui infec*, ibid. 15^{b} 26, it is *mailchi molchi* l. *cuintbe cha*. Perhaps the *mailan* may be=*máelán* "beare, a kind of coarse barley," (Vision of MacConglinne, ed. K. Meyer, p. 186,) which may be cognate with Welsh *meillion* "trefoil, clover."

(17) *scoth* uel *fobuirge* (gl. uiolla). As to *scoth* v. supra (5). *Fobuirge*, which reoccurs infra No. (114), is either a sister-form of, or a scribal error for, *sobairge=sobairche* "hypericum quadrangulum," Windisch, Wörterb. s.v. sobrach. Have we the same word in the imperfect gloss . . . tannica *fobirge*, Zimmer, Gloss. Hib. supplementum, p. 4?

(18) *geelcæ* uel *aiten* (gl. phalliorus, *i.e.* paliurus) = gehelcæ l. arten, P. Here *geelcæ* is=*gle elge* infra (115). It probably stands (as Prof. Strachan suggests) for **gel-scé*, a compound of *gel* "white" and *scé* "thorn." *aiten*, better *aitten*, dat. *aittun*, gl. rusco (50), *aittiun*, gl. rusco (119), is=Welsh *eithin*, Corn. *eythinen* (gl. ramnus), O. Bret. *ethin* (gl. rusco). It occurs in the compound *aiten-sliab* "a furzy mountain," H. 3. 3, p. 63^{b} 8. *aitenn-sliab*, LL. 210^{a} last line.

(19) *fert* (gl. tumulum) is=*fert* .i. adnacul, Corm. Tr. p. 79: see also *fert* "grab," Windisch, Wörterb. p. 544. pl. n. *ferta*, LL. 44^{b} 29.

(20) *membræ* (gl. tumulo) = *meambra*, O'Cl., who explains the word as meaning "a shrine or case in which are relics." See also Windisch, Wörterb. s.v. *memra*, and add *Less an memra* "the Fort of the Shrine," Four Masters, A.D. 1143. Borrowed from Lat. *memoria*, the grave or shrine of a martyr or saint.

(21) *israth* (gl. in gramine). Here *i* is=Lat. *in*, Gr. *ἐν*, and *srath*, gen. *sratha*, is the dat. sg. of *srath* "the bottom of a valley," "fields on the banks of a river," see Windisch s.v. The Welsh cognate is *ystrad*, Old Welsh *istrat* "the flat land bordering on a slow stream," Rev. Celt. II. 190. In the gloss "equiparas .i. coequaris .i. accom 7 ablo," L. 9^{r} 8, the last three words stand for *accusativo et ablativo*, and mean that aequiparas, in Ecl. V. 48 governs the accusative and ablative.

(22) *nephglidi* (gl. intonsi). This is the nom. pl. msc. of a compound of the negative prefix *neph-* or *neb-* (G. C.^{2} 861) and *glide* or *glithe* the pret. part. pass. of *gelim* 'I eat, graze,' cogn. with Skr. *gilati*, Lat. *gula*.

(23) *cetgrinnæ* (gl. nectar). So in Sg. 122^{b} 2 *céit grinne fino* (gl. nectar), and in Ir. Gl. 1045 *céitgrindi foilci* (gl. nectar). The *cét* is the common prefix meaning "first," and cognate with Welsh *cyntaf*, Ch.-Slav. *čĭna*; but the *grinne* is obscure.

(24) *propir fedo* (gl. thimo), "proper name of a tree." As to *propir* see (6) supra; *fedo* (also in Nos. 56, 80, 88) is the

gen. sg. of *fid* a stem in *u*=Welsh *gwydd-en* "arbor," O.N. *viðr*, As. *wudu*, Eng. *wood*, OHG. *witu*. It occurs compounded in *fid-bocc* infra No. (96).

(25) *fisi lusu* (gl. damnabis)=*fusi lisu*, P. This gloss is certainly corrupt. The *-su*, no doubt, is the pronominal suffix of sg. 2, the *-lu* may be miscopied for *-bi*; but the rest of the gloss is obscure.

(26) *buinne* (gl. cicuta) is=*buinne* (gl. tibia), Wb. 13.[b]

(27) *bron brachin* (gl. pedum)=*brom brachin*, P. We should probably read *bronbachal*: cf. Hic est Oingussius cuius cognomentum Bronbachal, Vita Columbae, p. 21[a] of the Schaffhausen codex. gen. sg. mors Oengusa *Bronbachlae*, Annals of Ulster 648. Here *bachal* is a loan from Lat. *baculus* or *bacillus* (see Thurneysen Kelto-rom. 38, 39), but *bron* (*brón*?) is obscure. Can it be for *brog-no-* cognate with βρόχος?

(28) *obid* (gl. nodis), leg. *oidb*, pl. n. of *odb* M. (gl. obex) MS. lat. 11, 411, fo. 125[b], pl. acc. *udbu*, Windisch, Wörterb. s.v. odb.=Welsh *oddf* "tuberculum."

(29) *coerca* (gl. serta)=*coherta*, gl. serta, infra (91), pl. of **cohert*, a compound of *co-* and *sert* (=Lat. *sertum*), which occurs in the Laws, 1, 12, line 13, deilb rig roda sluagaib sert saigid.[1]

(30) *dorn* (gl. ansa)=*dorn* M. "fist, hand," Windisch's Wörterb. Welsh *dwrn* pugnus, pugillum, Bret. *dorn* "main." Lett. *dùre* "fist."

(31) *merih* (gl. mōrīs), a scribal error for *merib*, as it is in P., pl. dat. of **mer*=Welsh *mer* in *mer-wydd* "mulberry-trees." pl. n. mera derga, caera glassa, LL. 117.[b] Compare Gr. μόρον "the black mulberry."

(32) *grode* (gl. frontem) is either the acc. pl. of *gruad* "cheek," =W. *grudd*, a neut. stem in *s* (KZ. XXIX. 379), or else a derivative therefrom.

(33) *a aru* (gl. timpora, *i.e.* tempora) seems a scribal error for *aracha*, the acc. pl. of *aire* 'temple,' gen. *arach*.

(34) *bled-mil* .i. animalia maris (gl. Nerea). The glossographer took *Nereus* to be equivalent to *Nerei filius* "a seamonster." See Windisch, Wörterb. s.v. bledmall, and add examples of the Mid. Ir. acc. sg. and pl. ar in ṁblédmil muride, LL.

[1] Sic in MS. The edition has saighit.

217[b] 1. norannad bledmila in mara, LL. 108[a] 25. A compound of *bléd*=Welsh *blaidd* "lupus," and *míl* pl. acc. of *míl* N.=Welsh *mil* "bestia," cognate with Gr. *μῆλον*.

(35) *benn* (gl. cornua), acc. pl. of *benn* horn, peak, which is now fem., but in Old and Early Middle Irish seems to have been a neut. stem in *u*. dat. *benn*, Goid.[3] 93, gen. *benna*, Fiacc h. 29, pl. dat. *bennaib*, LL. 251[b] 45. The acc. pl. for cethora benna, LU. 58[a] proves that before the twelfth century *benn* had passed over to the fem. *ā*-declension. Welsh, Corn. *ban* 'horn, peak' shews a different grade of vowel.

(36) *lesib* uel *gelbin* (gl. stabula). The context is Perducant aliquae stabula ad Gortynia uaccae, and the pl. dat. *lesib* may be intended to translate, not "stabula," but "stabula ad." The nom. sg. is *less* M. "enclosure," "garth," gen. *liss*, dat. *liuss*, acc. *less*, pl. acc. *lissu*, Windisch, Wörterb. s.v. Welsh *llŷs* "aula, curia, palatium," Bret. *lez*. As to the possible connexion with Fr. *lice*, *lisière*, see Diez s.v. *liccia*. The etymology of the *ἅπ. λεγ. gelbin* is obscure to me.

(37) *ferna* (gl. alnos), acc. pl. of *fern*, gen. *ferna* "alder"= Welsh *gwern*, sg. *gwernen* "alnus," Gaul. *Verno-dubrum*, Fr. *verne*.

(38) *propir* fluminis "the proper name of a river": see above (6).

(39) *luib serb* (gl. apio). Here *luib* is the dat. sg. of *luib*, gen. *lubae*, Sg. 65[a], 61[a], Old-Welsh *lu* in *luird* (gl. horti) =Ir. *lub-goirt*, Corn. *lu* in *lu-orth*, Bret. *li* in *liorz*, and *serb* "bitter"=Welsh *chwerw*, M. Bret. *hueru*, urkelt. **sverво-s*, which has been connected by Brugmann with NHG. *sauer* from *suer*, *sûr*. This gloss is followed by the word *heréna*, a corruption of the Lat. *harēna*, here used to denote the Nemean *ἄγων*, where poets were crowned with parsley.

(40) ornos .i. ligna .i. darchachis .i. calamis. Here two glosses (one Irish, the other Latin) have been run together. Read: ornos .i. ligna .i. *darcha* . chis .i. calamis. Here *darcha* is the acc. pl. of the Irish *o*- stem *dair* "oak," and "chis" is for the Lat. *his* (Ecl. VI. 72), as *michi*, *vecho* in Irish latinity are for *mihi*, *veho*.

(41) *melen* (gl. inguina) is a copyist's error for **mleen* or *mlén* =Mid-Ir. *blén* "groin," die weichen, acc. *bleoin*, *bléin*, Windisch, Wörterb. s.v. This supports Strachan's etymology, *mlén* from **mlaknā*, cognate with Gr. *μαλακός*.

(42) *dresachtach* (gl. arguta), better *drésachtach*, as in LU. 106a 32, derived from *drésacht* "ein knarrendes oder quietschendes geräusch" (Windisch), LU. 112a 29, and this (according to Strachan) from *drens-*: cf. Goth. *drungus* φθόγγος, ON. *drynr* "roaring," Skr. *dhraṇ* (*dhraṇati çabde*).

(43) *sulbari* uel *fissidi* (gl. arcades). Here *sulbari* is the nom. pl. of *sulbair* "gut sprechend, beredt" (Windisch s.v.)= Welsh *hylafar*, abret. *helabar* (gl. grecus), urkelt. **su-labari-s*, (where *su-* is=the Skr. laudatory prefix *su-*), and *fissidi* is the nom. pl. of *fissid=fisid*, *fissith* (gl. sophista, gl. catus) Sg. 15b 52a, root *vid*. The pl. n. of *fissid* occurs, with the *f* infected, in *cenuded issidi* 'though ye are knowing,' Turin palimpsest. A cognate adverb, *ind-fissid* (gl. scite) occurs in Ml. 68c 9.

(44) *todidel* (gl. deerraverat), better *dodihel* as in P. Cognate with *do-m-ar-aill* mihi uĕnit, *ad-n-ellat* quo transeunt, *do-sn-aid-libea* uisitabit eos, *fo-n-ind-lea* (gl. euagari), *do-n-ella* ut deuiet, and other verbs collected by Ascoli, Gloss. pal. hib. pp. lvi. lvii. A Welsh cognate is *elaf* "ibo," a Latin *amb-ulare*.

(45) *slan* (gl. saluus), better *slán* (gl. salvus) Wb. 8d 4, from an oxyton or paroxyton **salāno-s*, cognate with Lat. *sal-vu-s*.

(46) *saithi* (gl. examina), *sathi* (76), pl. nom. of *saithe* M. "a crowd," "a swarm" (of bees, etc.). So in Ml. 90b 7 *in tsathi* (gl. examina), and see Windisch, Wörterb, s.v. *saithe*. Welsh *haid* "examen," Bret. *het*, urkelt. **satjo-s*.

(47) *samre* (gl. seria, acc. pl.). This gloss is obscure and probably corrupt.

(48) *simch* (gl. setosi) is badly corrupted by the copyist. I conjecture that it is a misreading of *finnich* gen. sg. msc. of *finnech* "hairy," and =*finnigh* in Corrcenn mac Faitheman finnigh, H. 3. 3, p. 59b. So the nom. pl. msc. *finnich* or *finnig* (tri bruitt finnig, LL. 266b 13), findech, LL. 266b; findach, Vision of MacConglinne. The cognate noun is *finn*, a stem in *u*, whence the gen. pl. *inna finnæ* (gl. pilorum) Ml. 72b 16. Cf. Lat. *villus* from **vinlus*.

(49) *gairri* (gl. suras), acc. pl. of *gairr* "the calf of the leg," dat. sg. *ina gairr*, LL. 289a 8, where it is used as synonymous with *colptha*. This is the Irish reflex of Welsh *garr* "popies," M. Bret. *garr* "jambe, tibia," with which Diez connects the Span. *garra* and Fr. *jarret*.

(50) *aittun* vel *rusc* (gl. rusco). As to *aittun* see above (18). This *rusc* (leg. *rúsc*) seems borrowed from, or cognate with, Lat. *rūscum* "butcher's broom." Another *rúsc* (=Welsh *rhisg*, Corn. *risc*) means "bark," "a vessel made of bark," and is connected by Diez with Fr. *ruche*. See also Thurneysen, Keltoromanisches 111.

(51) *coennich* (gl. muscosi), pl. nom. msc. of *coennach* "mossy." In modern Irish *caonnach* is "moss" and *caonnachamhuil* "mossy": *coenna* (gl. putamen), Pr. Cr. 33^{b}, seems cognate.

(52) *astaid* (gl. turgent), a mistake for, or a sister-form of, *attaid*, *attait*, pres. ind. pl. 3 of *attaim* "turgeo," a denominative from *att* 'a swelling,' gen. fri mét in atta, LB. 142,^{b} a masc. or neut. stem in *u* from a pre-Celtic **azdu*, cogn. with AS. *ást* (gl. nodus).

(53) *caindla* (gl. tede, *i.e.* taedae), pl. nom. of *caindel* F. borrowed from Lat. *candela*. gen. sg. co cnocc na caindle, LL. 304^{b}, dat. sg. gabait in coire din chaindil 'they take the caldron away from the torch,' *ibid.* A compound, ríg-chaindell, occurs, LL. 301^{a}, where the double *l* may be due to the length of the preceding vowel.

(54) *o suidi* (gl. fuligine), *ó*, *ua* "from, by," (96), (122) *suidi* dat. sg. of *suide*, a fem. stem in iâ cognate with Fr. *suie*, AS. *sót*, Eng. *soot*, or with Gr. σποδιή 'ashes, scoria.' Now, corruptly, *súgha*, *suithche*, *súithe*.

(55) *channachdi* (gl. pampineis)=*chanachdi* P., pl. acc. fem. of *cannachde*, a derivative of *cannach*, which O'R. explains by "sweet-willow, myrtle": *cannac*[*h*] a canna .i. fid bis il-laim, H. 2. 16, col. 95.

(56) *propir fedo* (gl. pōpulus) "the proper name of a tree." See above (6).

(57) *umnus* (gl. fraxinus), miscopied by the scribe for *unnius* or *uinnius* F. *ind huinnius ardd* (gl. alta fraxinus) Sg. 67^{a}. Hence the modern *uinseann*. Zeuss compares the Welsh *onn*, *onnen*. If the *nn* is from *sn* cf. also Lat. *ornus* from **osinus*.

(58) *octgag* (gl. pinus). This is certainly=*ochtach* F. gl. crann giuis, Bk. of Lecan 149^{b} 1: the kingpost of a house, Corm. It may stand for *[*p*]*uktākā* and be cognate with OHG. *fiuhta*, fichte, Gr. πεύκη, Lith. *puszìs*.

(59) *octhgacha sardua. Lailu* (gl. habies)=*octhgacha sardua lailu*, P. This is obviously miscopied for *ochtach as ardu alailiu* "a fir

that is higher than (the) other," the *abies* being taller than the *pinus*. Here *alailiu* is the instl. sg. of *alaile*.

(60) *fit* (gl. pōpulus), leg. *fid* "a tree," gen. *fedo* supra (24), (56), and infra (83), (91).

(61) *leic* (gl. sine), better *léic*, imperat. sg. 2 of *léicim* from **leinkuió*, a mixture of *leig* and *linq* (Strachan), cognate with Lat. *linquo*.

(62) *fer airli* (gl. age). Here *fer* seems the imperat. sg. 2 of *feraim* 'I give,' and *airli* is the acc. sg. *airle* F. "counsel."

(63) *lecibus* (gl. cotibus), leg. *lecib*, the dat. pl. of *lecc* F. = Welsh *llêch* "lapis, scandula, tabula saxea." From *[*p*]*lekkā*, vorkelt. *[*p*]*l̥knâ*, cognate with Lat. *planca*, Gr. πλάξ, πλάκινος, Lett. *plakt* flach werden.

(64) *orget* (gl. electra), a mistake for *órarget* "gold-silver," (the Paris MS. has *orar get*). The Irish glossographer took *electra* to mean the mixed metal resembling amber (ἤλεκτρον) in colour, which Vergil mentions in Aen. 8, 402.

(65) *coinnil* (gl. ululæ) I have not met elsewhere and cannot explain.

(66) *elu* (gl. cignis) seems a mistake for *elaib*, pl. dat. of *ela* (gl. cygnus) Ir. Gl. 509, now *eala*, sg. acc. mar hela ir-richt aingil gil 'like a swan in the shape of a white angel,' Salt. na Rann, 1671, pl. acc. *nelu*—leg. *helu*—(gl. olores) infra (82). The Welsh *alarch*, and Corn. *elerhc* (gl. olor l. cignus) seem cognate. Various non-Celtic words have been compared, Lat. *olor*, Gr. ἐλέα, or (assuming the regular loss of *p*), Gr. πέλεια, Lat. *palumba*, and Pruss. *poalis* "taube."

(67) *snathæ* (gl. uitta), better *snáthe* (gl. filum) Sg. 54ª, dat. *snáthiu* Sg. 54ª, Welsh *y-snoden*, Corn. *snod* (gl. uitta). Windisch connects νῆμα and other words in Curtius G.E.⁴, No. 436.

(68) *englem̃* (gl. licia) = *englemen* (gl. licia) infra (120), is the acc. pl. of **englaim* = O'Clery's *eanglaim* .i. inneach "woof." The compound *mór-eṅglaim* occurs in Dallán's address to Cerball's sword, LL. 47ª 51, where *eṅglaim* seems used metaphorically to signify the woof of war. Its etymology is obscure to me.

(69) *immonaisc* (gl. necte), imperat. sg. 2 of the verb *nascim* compounded with the preps. *imm-fo* (GC.² 883). *Nascim* from **nadh-skó*, cognate with the Skr. √*nah* (Idg. *nedh*), umbr. *nesimei* "proxime," Ir. *nessam*, W. *nesaf*, Corn. *nessa*, etc. Brugmann, Umbr. u. Osk. 236, Idg. Forschungen I. 176. See also Thurneysen, Kelto-romanisches 38.

(70) *bonat* (gl. bocola), leg. *bónat* (gl. bucula), a diminutive of *bó* "cow," like *siurnat* (gl. sororcula), *clethnat* (gl. tigillum), *columnat* (gl. columella). The same ending occurs in the double diminutives *fracnatan* .i. caillín, and the proper names *Banbnatan*, *Becnatan*, *Corcnatan*. *Bó* (=Welsh *buw*, O. Bret. *bou*) occurs in composition infra in *con-bo-chuil*, *boo-bethin* and *bo-milge*. Cognate with Gr. *βοῦς*, Umbr. *bu-m* "bovem," Skr. *gāus*, etc.

(71) *etmaill* (gl. serae) seems miscopied for *etermaill* dat. sg. fem. of **etermall* "valde lentus, tardus." From the intensive prefix *eter-* (also in *etercian*, *etarmolad*, *ettorsonde*, *etarúarad*) and *mall* from **marlo-s* cognate with Ir. *maraim*, Lat. *mora*, *moror*.

(72) *inda fodh* (gl. exuuias), leg. *inda fodb* "ends of vestures." Here *inda* is the pl. acc. of *ind* N. 'end,' 'head,' gen. dat. *ind*, and *fodb* is the gen. pl. of *fodb* N. "vesture," "something stript off," "the spoils of a vanquished foe," pl. acc. *fodba* (gl. manubeus) Ml. 92[d] 2. This gloss is (as Prof. Strachan has pointed out) a close parallel to the Greek original of Ecl. VIII. 91, viz. *Τοῦτ' ἀπὸ τᾶς χλαίνας τὸ κράσπεδον ὤλεσε Δέλφις*, Theocr. II. 53. As it is improbable that the Irish glossator had read Theocritus, we may perhaps conjecture that the ancient Irish, as well as the Sicilian Greeks, believed that a lost love might be recovered by burning only the ends or hem of the beloved's dress. Italian magic, if we may trust Vergil (Ecl. viii. 91, Aen. IV. 492–497, 507), required the whole of his or her raiment.

(73) *adreth* (gl. corripuit)=*adrech*, P., for *ad-raith* perf. sg. 3 of a verb compounded of *ad-* and *-rath*[v] "cum variis praefixis, prehendere, comprehendere, continere, includere," Ascoli, Lex. pal. hib. p. clxxxix.

(74) *conbochuil* (gl. Hylax, "Barker") "a watch-dog," *conbocail* infra (124)=*conbuachaill*, Laws 1, p. 126, l. 8, a compound of the stem of *cú* "hound"=*κύων*, and *bó-chail* (=Welsh *bugail*, Corn., Bret. *bugel*) a compound of *bó* "cow" (73) and *cail* cognate with the *-κολος* of *βουκόλος*, the *πόλος* of *αἰπόλος*. The triple compound *con-bó-chail* reminds one of *ἱππο-βου-κόλος*.

(75) *toceth* (gl. fors) =*tochet* P. *tocad*, Ml. 35[d] 22, Welsh *tynghed*.

(76) *athi* (gl. examinas), leg. *sathi* (gl. examina). See above (49).

(77) .i. *fer* (gl. taxos). Here the gloss is meant for "citiso (*i.e.* cythiso) in the next following line of the eclogue. *Fe* leg. *fér*, gen. *feuir*, Sg. 68[b] is=Welsh *gwair*.

(78) *gigren* (gl. anser)=*gigrem* P., *giugrann* (gl. anser) Sg. 64 a masc. *o*- stem, pl. nom. giugraind, LL. 297[b] 45, gen. el giugrand, LL. 265[a] cognate with Welsh *gŵyrain* "chynelop chenalopex, vulpanser, anas scotica." Seems to be a redupl cated subst., **gi-gur-anno-s*.

(79) *iter nelu. luin cen chu* (gl. inter argutos olores)=*iter ne luinceeu*, P. Here *iter* is=Lat. *inter*: *nelu* is a scribal err for *helu* acc. pl. of *hela* 'swan' (66); and *luincechu* is acc. p m. of an adj. derived from *luinniuc* "song," still living the Highlands as *luinneag*.

(80) *propir fedo* (gl. populus) "the proper name of a tree." S above (6).

(81) *clithi* (gl. apricis), *clit thi*, P. the pl. nom. of a participle pre pass. from √*kl*, cognate with Lat. *calco*, Lith. *szylu*, *szilti* Strachan suggests that *clithugud* 'cherishing,' LL. 160[b] 4 may be compared. The 'ab' which follows this gloss stan for ablativus: "apricis in collibus," Ecl. ix. 49.

(82) *follo. incl. fedid* (gl. omnia fert). Read *folloinc* l. *fedi* Here *folloinc* is for *folloing* 3 sg. pres. ind. act. of *folangi* with an assimilated infixed pron. *fedid* is the same ten and person of *fedaim* "fero," *no-feidtis* (gl. efferebantu Ml. 54[d] 12; and l. is the common sign for Lat. *vel* and Ir. *n*

(83) *muir* (gl. equor), Welsh *mor*, Gaul. *mori*, Lat. *mare*, wit which Hirt has recently connected Gr. *βρύξ* acc. *βρυχά* fro **mrogh*.

(84) *milberach* (gl. simae "flat-nosed"): should probably be **mdi beracha* "blunt-pointed": *mail*=Welsh *moel* calvus, glabe and *beracha* pl. nom fem. of **berach* a derivative of *bir*- Welsh, Corn., Bret. *ber*, Lat. (*g*)*veru*, Umbr. *beru* "spit, and see Bezz. Beitr. XVI. 239.

(85) *fin tad birtihd* (gl. pinifer) = *finit adbir thio*, P., shoul obviously be *pintadbirthid*, where *pin* (*pin crann*, O'R.) borrowed from Lat. *pīnus* (so Welsh *pinwydd*, Corn *pinbren*), and *tadbirthid* is cognate with the verb *taidbri* exhibeo, the enclitic form of **do-aith-berim*.

(86) *mucibi* (gl. subulci), leg. *mucidi* (or *muccaidi*, LU. 93[a]), p nom. of *mucid*, *muccaid* "swine-herd," derived from *muc* "pig"=Welsh, Bret. *moch*. A compound, *rig-muccaid*, occur

in LL. 169[b] 8. *Mucc*, Welsh *moch*, from **mukku*, **muknú*, cognate with *μυκτήρ*, etc.

(87) *flesca* (gl. ferulas), pl. acc. of *flesc* "rod." *Flesc* (Gaul. **vliskâ*, Fr. *flèche*) has been deduced from **vḷkśâ* cognate with Skr. *vṛkshá* "tree," but seems more probably from **vḷt-skā*, cognate with Ir. *folt* "hair," Welsh *gwallt*, Gr. *ἄλσος*, Ags. *weald*, NHG. *wald*.

(88) *propir fedo* (gl. ebuli) "the proper name of a tree." See above (6) and (24).

(89) *cariaib* (gl. bacis), *ciraib*, Paris MS. leg. *cáiraib* (gl. baccis). Here *cáiraib* is the pl. dat. of *cáir* or *cáer* (gl. bacca) Sg. 22[b], Welsh *cair*: compounded in *caer-thann* mountain-ash, rowan.

(90) *finbondid* (gl. uiniator) = *finbondio*, P. leg. *finbondid* (gl. uinitor), a compound of *fin* "vine" and *bondid* for **bongid*, nomen agentis to the verb *bung* or *bongim* "I break, reap," cognate with Skr. *bhañj*, *bhanajmi*. The verbal noun of *bung*, *bongim* is *buain*, whence the denominative *buanaigim* in *fin-buanaigit* (gl. uindimiant) Ml. 102[a] 12. For the change in *bongid* of *ng* to *nd*, compare *cindis*, LL. 86[b] 8, 13, for *cingis*, *cindsiu*, LL. 82[b] 44=*cingsiu* LU. 63[a] 12, *gland* and *glang*, Corm., and see Zimmer, KZ. 30, 63.

(91) *coherta* (gl. serta)=coerta, P. See above No. (29).

(92) *auch* (gl. a), leg. *uch*, wehe! vae, Z.[2] 750.

(93) *sibrase* (gl. modulabor) is a redupl. fut. sg. 1 from √*sver*. The *-se* is the pronominal suffix of sg. 1. The *sibra* (formed like *gegna*) is from **svi-sverâm*, just as *ar-beittet*, carm. S. Paul, is from **are-sveisdionti* (Thurneysen, KZ. 32, 570). Cognate are Skr. *svar*, *svárati* "rauschen, besingen," Ch. Slav. *svirati* pfeifen, AS. *svarian* "to speak."

(94) *ma acubrimse* (gl. malle). The gloss, if it be wholly Irish, means "if I desire." But I suspect that the *ma* is a relic of the Latin *malo*, written by the original scribe over *malle* to show the source of this infinitive. If so, *a[d]cubrim-se* is a gloss on *malo*, and=*adcobraim* (gl. uolo) Sg. 146[b], pl. 3 *adcobrat* Ml. 89[d], 16, pret. sg. 1 *nicon ru accobrus*, Ml. 136[b] 7, sg. 3 *ad-ro-chabair*, Trip. Life 202.

(95) *adcichlus* (gl. uenabor), the redupl. *s*-future, sg. 1 of **adcladim* whence *an adcladat* (gl. aucupantes) Ml. 112[b], 2, *s*-fut. sg. 2 *adclaiss*, Trip. Life, p. 88, l. 28. The verbal noun is *aclaid*, ibid. l. 25. A cognate verb, *ar-claid*, occurs in LU. 122[b], 36 (i tig fir arclaid iasc im-muir ethiar *in the house*

of a man who catches fish in a sea of ether). The Greek κλαδάσσομαι "I rush violently" may perhaps be cognate.

(96) *ondidbuoc* (gl. cornu), *ondiobuoc*, P., leg. *ónd fidbucc*. Here *ónd* is a compound of the prep. *ó*, *ua* (=Skr. *áva*), see infra (122) and the article, and *fidbucc* (the *f* being regularly inflected after *ónd*) is the dat. sg. of *fidbocc* (gl. arcus) Sg. 107b 2. The word literally means "arcus ligneus," being compounded of *fid* supra No. (24), and *bocc* from an Old-Celtic **bukkó-*, pre-Celtic **bhug-nó-*, Skr. *bhugná-*, cognate with AS. *boga*, OHG. *bogo*, NHG. *Bogen*.

(97) *fogau* l. *gaau* (gl. spicula). Here *gaau* is the acc. pl. of *gae* Sg. 37b (*gae gona éisc* gl. fuscina), which seems cognate with Gaul. *gaeson*, Gr. χαῖος or χαῖον "a shepherd's staff," and Skr. *heshas* "geschoss." *Fogau* is the acc. pl. of *fogae* compounded of *gae* and the diminutival prefix *fo-*=ὑπο-. So in Old-Breton *guu-goiou* (gl. spiculis .i. telis), Bezz. Beitr. XVII. 139.

(98) *insnob* (gl. liber). Here *in* is the masc. article and *snob* (corruptly *sinob* infra, No. 124) means the inner bark or rind of a tree. It glosses suber "cork" in Sg. 64a 10. The etymology is obscure. Perhaps it is cognate with Skr. *snâ*, *snâyati* umwinden, bekleiden. The OHG. *snuaba* "vitta," has also been compared.

(99) *cethor* (gl. palus) = *cetor*, P., leg. *cechor*, a sister-form of O'Clery's *ceachair* .i. lathach "a slough." See *Metrical Glossaries*, Bezz. Beitr. XIX. p. 54. Cognate perhaps with Gr. κόπρος and Skr. *çákan*.

(100) *amal* (gl. susurro) is = *amar* in *én-amar*, LU. 128a 19, *amhar* .i. ceol "music" O'Cl. *amor* LL. 19a 1 (ba binnithir téta mendcrott guth 7 amor cach duine inna flaith *sweet as lute-strings were the voice and song of every one in his reign*). Another instance of final *l* for *r* is *Maculugil*, Bk. of Armagh 4b 2=*macculugir*, ibid. 4b 1.

(101) *subi* vel certe *derce ruich* (gl. uaccinia). As to *subi* v. supra at (8). *Derce* [*f*]*ruich* is=inna *dærcae fróich* (gl. uaccinia) Sg. 49a 10; where *fróich* is the gen. sg. of *fróech*, urkelt. *vroiko-*[1]), cognate with Welsh *grug*, M. Corn. *grig*, Gr. ἐρείκη from ἐ-Fρείκη, and *derce* is the nom. pl. of *dero* "berry," a neuter stem in *s*, now fem., possibly cognate

[1] As to Ir. *bru* and Bret. *bruk*, *brug*, see Thurneysen, Kelto-romanisches 94.

with Skr. *drâkshâ* "vine," "grape," an *erweiterung* of **derkes*, as *drakshyāmi* from √*derk* to see. The inflection of the *f* of *fruich* is due to the fact that in Irish, as in Greek (*μένεα* from *μενεσα*), and Latin (*genera* from *genesa*), the nom. pl. of neuter stems in *s* originally ended in a vowel.

(102) *octh alca ib* (gl. calathis) = *octhalcaib*, P., is certainly = *cathalcaib* (gl. calathis) (116). Perhaps the word meant is *cothalcaib* nom. sg. **cothalc* from **kutalkā*. Etym. obscure. It might be cognate with Gr. *κοτύλη*, or with Lat. *scutula*, *scutella*. For the suffix cf. Gaulish *Bodalca*, etc., G.C.[2] 808, and Welsh *madalch* fungus.

(103) *airni draigin* (gl. pruna). Here *airni* is the acc. pl. of *airne* (*airnne* gl. glandula, Sg. 49[b]) = Welsh *eirin-en* "prunum," M. Bret. *irin-enn* "prunellum, prunellus," Cath., and *draigin* is the gen. sg. of *draigen* "sloetree," blackthorn = Welsh *draen* spinus, spina, sentis, Bret. *dren* "épine," which Ebel connected with *τέρχνος*, *τρέχνος* "a twig." Cf. sméra is áirne dubdroigin, Silva G. 102.

(104) maiccini disse uerecunde (gl. transuersa tuentibus hircis) = maiccinudis se verecunde et, P. An Irish *maicc* (or *maiccini*, a diminutive of *macc* "filius," "puer" ?) and a Latin *cinaedis* may perhaps be elicited from this corrupt gloss.

(105) *cuislen* (gl. stipula), should be *cuislén*, a diminutive of *cuisle* "vein, pipe," anglicised *cushla* in the phrase *acushla* or *cuislenn* (Mid. Ind. Mod. Ir. *cuisle*), whence *cuislennach* 'piper.' Etym. obscure.

(106) *brutus* (gl. corymbos) is probably a scribal error for Gr. *βότρυς*, just as the gloss *glaus* (gl. sandix) L. 18[v] 39, which Hagen and Zimmer[1] supposed to be Irish, is a scribal error for Gr. *γλαύξ*.

(107) *cabanrag* (gl. mālo me petit). This should perhaps be *co ban-rag* "that I may come with a woman." Here *co* is a conjunction meaning "ut," "donec," and **ban-rag* a compound of *ban* = Aeol. *βανά*, and *-rag*, a conjunctive sg. 1 of the verb whence *raga-t*, *do-rega* "veniam."

(108) *subi* (gl. fraga). See above, No. (8).

(109) *fond orbeman* (gl. in ervo). Ad v. "fundus haeredis": *fond* borrowed from Lat. *fundus*, and *orbeman* gen. sg. of *orbem*, pl. n. *horpamin*, Wb. 2[c] 14.

[1] Glossarum Hibernicarum Supplementum, p. 5.

(110) *bin* (gl. bacchare). (117) *boethin* (gl. bachare). These glosses are respectively *bo ob ethin* and *boethin* in the Paris MS. They seem compounded of *bó* "cow," and *bethin* (*bethiu*?) which may be cognate with Lat. *bēta*, whence NHG. *Beete*, Eng. *beet*.

(111) *cirice* (gl. quid?)=*ciirice*, P., read *cirice*, and compare *ar ciric* (gl. quid enim?), *ciaricc*, *cericc* (gl. quid ergo?), G. C.[2] 355.

(112) *adas* (gl. si) is =*adas*, *adaas* "although," G. C.[2] 489, *adas cia da-gnéo* (gl. si autem quod nolo illud facio) Wb. 3[d].

(113) See (16).

(114) *fobuirge* (gl. uiola). See (17).

(115) See (18).

(116) See (102).

(117) See (110).

(118) *bomilge* .i. genus uasis (gl. sinum lactis). The Irish gloss seems only on "lactis" and to mean "of cow's milk," *bó-melg*, gen. *bómilge*, a compound of *bó* supra, No. (70) and *melg* .i. as "milk," Corm. Tr. p. 107, and s.v. *ói*, p. 127, just as *bómlacht*, Corm. Tr. 20, is=*bó*+*mlicht*. As *melg* is neuter (*cuirm* .i. *melg n-etha*, Egerton 1782, cited in Corm. Tr. 107), and its gen. sg. is *milge*, it must be a stem in *s*, to be added to those in KZ. 27, 292 and 29, 379. Add also *derc* (101).

(119) See (18).

(120) See (68).

(121) *horcæ*, *milchu* uel *conbocail* (gl. Hylax). Here we have three words for "dog": *horcæ*=*orce* "lap-dog," Corm. s.v. Mugéime. *Orce co nemib 7 epthib fonóiset for beraib cairthind* "a dog with poisons and charms which they cooked (?) on spits of rowan," LL. 120[a] 12. In *milchu* (not *mílchu*!) "greyhound," "hunting-dog," the *míl* is = the *mil* of *milrad* "hunting," dat. *milruth*, LL. 272[a] 23. As to *conbocail* (leg. *conbóchuil*) v. supra (77).

(122) *ua fordinn* (gl. minio). Here *ua* is=*ó* supra (54), (96), and *fordinn* is a compound of the intensive prefix *for-*, and *dinn* dat. sg. of *denn* "colour," O'Clery's *deann* .i. lí no dath. See the compounds *glé-denn*, Félire, Feb. 1 and 13 and *dend-gorm*, LL. 277[a] 32.

(123) See (97).

(124) See (98).

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alaile, 59.
amal (=amar), 100.
ara, 33.
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arget, 64.
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astaid, 52.
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benn, 35.
berach, 84.
blá, bláfithir, 1.
bled-mil, 34.
bó-bethin, 110, 117.
bocc 'bow,' 96.
bóchail, buachail, 74, 121.
bó-melg, 118.
bónat, 70.
bondid, 90.
bron-bachal (?), 27.
brongide, 2.
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brutus for *βότρυς*, 106.
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caindel, 53.
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cú, 74, 121.
cuinfec? cuintbech? 16, 113.
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derc 'berry,' 101.
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gae, 97, 123.
gairr, 49.
gelbin (?), 36.
gel-scé (?), 115.
gigrenn, 78.
glaus for γλαύξ, 106.
glithe, 22.
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immo-naisc, 69.
i-n prep., 21.
in 'the,' 98.
ind 'end,' 72.
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máil-berach, 84.
mall, 71.
melg, 118.
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mer 'mulberry,' 31.
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mlén, 41.
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ochtach, 58, 59.
odb, 28.
ónd 'from the,' 96.
ór-arget, 64.
orbem, 109.
orcae, 121.

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-rag, 107.
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-su, 25.
suib (sube?), 8, 101, 108.
suide 'soot,' 54.
sulbair, 43.

tadbirthid, 85.
tincor, 9.
toceth, 75.
tu-crecha, 13.

ua, prep. 122.
uch, 92.
uilche (?), 16, 113.
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XI.—SOME GREEK ETYMOLOGIES. By E. R. WHARTON, M.A.

(1) The modern theory that the 'prothetic,' or, as the Greek grammarians called it (Curtius, Grundzüge,[5] 720), 'prosthetic,' vowel is in most cases really the first vowel of an originally bi-vocalic root can scarcely be rejected (*a*) where other languages besides Greek have a similar vowel, as in *ἔρεβος ἐρεύγομαι ὄλοφυς* besides Armenian *erek orcam olb* (Persson, Wurzelerweiterung, p. 246, n.), or (*b*) where two forms can be best explained by starting from a bi-vocalic root, *e.g.* *αὔξω* Sk. *vaksh-* from **aveks-** in *ἀ(F)έξω*, *αὔρᾱ*[1] Sk. *vā-* from **avē-** in *ἄ(F)ημι*, Lat. *unguis* Sk. *nakhás* from **onokhv-** in *ὄνυξ*: though why one language dropt the second vowel and another the first we do not in the least know. But in some cases such an explanation is impossible, and the word must be regarded as a compound.

A. Latin *in-cānus in-clutus in-columis* and I think *in-vītus* are but emphatic forms of *cānus clutus columis* and * *vītus* 'forced': '*in* enim saepe augendi causa adicimus,' says Festus. This *in-* may be identified with the Preposition *in* meaning 'upon' (quite a different word from *in* meaning 'in,' which goes with *ἐν*), Greek *ἀνά* in *ἀνὰ σκήπτρῳ* (=in sceptro). The original meaning was 'up' and so 'upon' (cf. German *auf* in both these senses), while in the Latin Adjectives given above and the Greek Adjectives to be given below we have a transition of signification from 'up' to 'in a high degree, quite.' The form in the Ursprache would be n̥, represented in Latin by *in-*, in Greek by *ἀν-* before a vowel,[2] *ἀ-* before a consonant, as in the following words:

ἀ-βληχρός 'weak, gentle,' beside *βληχρός*. The termination, which appears also in *βδελυ-χρός μελι-χρός πενι-χρός*, must go

[1] In the only place in which it occurs in Homer, Od. 5. 469, *αὔρη* means the *morning* breeze, *ἠῶθι πρό*; and with it in this sense Buttmann rightly connects *αὔριον* 'in the morning, to-morrow.' So in my 'Etyma Græca' I have explained Homer's *ἠώς*, Lesbian *αὔως*, as from **āvō-**, an Ablaut of **avē-** in *ἄημι*: to a people dwelling near the Mediterranean the morning breeze would be the natural herald of dawn. The Attic form *ἕως* takes its aspiration and accent from *ἥλιος*.

[2] In some dialects before a consonant also, Hom. *ἀν* 'up,' Theocr. *ἀμ-μμνα-σκομένῳ* (in which the vocalism shows the presence of a sonant).

with χροιά χρώς 'surface, skin, colour,' so that βλη-χρός means 'weak-looking, weakly': the root is **mlē-** (not **mlā-**, since βλη-χρός occurs in Doric), Sk. *mlā-* 'to wither,' with Ablaut **mlō-** in Irish *blāith* 'smooth, soft,' and **mele-** in μέλεος 'useless.'—Quite a different word is βλᾱ́ξ 'slack,' in which the ᾱ must be due to contraction (Kretschmer K.Z. 31, 295), or we should have *βλήξ: as νέᾱξ or νέηξ comes from νέος, so I would explain βλᾱ́ξ as for *βλαϜᾱ́ξ or *βλαϜήξ, from a simpler form *βλαϜός, **mlu̯ós**, Lat. *mollis* for *molvis. The root appears in Gothic *ga-malvjan* 'to crush,' and Eng. *mellow*.

ἀ-θέσφατος 'marvellous,' beside θέσφατος 'divine': literally 'struck (*i.e.* made) by a god,' cf. πρόσ-φατος 'made in addition, new,' and δί-φατος (Hesychius) δι-φασιος 'made double.' The root of this -φατος is **ghu̯n̥-**, **ghuen-**, in θείνω[1] 'strike,' μυλή-φατος 'struck by the millstone,' and, with a transfer of meaning, φόνος 'slaughter,' Αρηί-φατος 'slain in battle.'—The first element of θέσ-φατος appears with a 'determinative' o (Brugmann, Grundriss, 2. 60) in θεός, *i.e.* *θεσός: which, however, can hardly go (as Fick thinks it may, Wörterbuch[4] 1. 469) with Lithuanian *dwasės* 'spirit,' Middle High German *ge-twās* 'ghost,' for the Greek gods were by no means spiritual beings.

So we have ἀ-μαυρός 'dim,' beside μαυρός (Photius); and in Il. 24. 753 the two readings ἀμιχθαλόεσσαν and μιχθαλόεσσαν, a word of unknown derivation (the connexion with ὀμῑχέω, Hoffmann, Bezz. Beitr. 15. 84, is absurd). So I would explain the ἀ- as intensive in

ἀ-γέρωχος, *γερά-οχος 'holding privileges.'

ἀ-(Ϝ)ήσυλος 'wicked,' beside Sk. *vātulas* 'mad.' On this dialectic change of τυ to συ see Classical Review 6. 259: I connect ἀλο-σύδνη 'goddess of the sea wave' with Irish *tonn* 'wave,' ἀσύφηλον (below) with τυφλός, συχνός 'long, numerous' with τυχών 'ordinary,' as a Litotes for 'considerable.' Thus alone can we fairly explain δασύς and Lat. *densus* (*i.e.* *dent-tos) beside Albanian *dent* 'to make thick.'

ἄ-κρος 'at the top' (it never means 'sharp,' and therefore cannot go with ἀκίς, Lat. *acuō*), beside φαλα-κρός 'white-headed':

[1] As Lat. *feriō* means both 'strike' and 'cheat,' and κροῦσις both 'striking' and 'cheating' (Ar. Nub. 317), so with θείνω I would connect φένᾱξ 'cheat': a Doric word, like κόβαλος 'rogue,' as the ᾱ, for η, shows, with a dialectic φ for θ as in φεός for θεός (G. Meyer, Griech. Gramm.[2] 211).

[2] The first element is **bhl̥-g-**, cf. **bhl̥-n-** in φαλλός 'white' (Hesychius) and Lat. *fullō* 'clothes-cleaner.'

(Schulze, Quaestiones Epicae 464), from a by-form of *κάρᾱ*. On these by-forms see Danielsson's Grammatische und Etymologische Studien pp. 1–56, Johansson K.Z. 30. 347–350, Johannes Schmidt's Pluralbildungen der Indogermanischen Neutra pp. 363–379. From the same root as *κάρᾱ* we may deduce (*a*) *καῖρος* (*i.e.* **κάρjος*) 'thrum,' end or top of the thread; (*b*) *κάρτος κράτος* 'headship, power,' quite a different word from *κραταί-λεως* 'rocky,' Gothic *harduz* 'hard' (with which we may put *κέρτομα* 'hard words'); (*c*) *κλῆρος* 'lot,' a Dissimilation for **κρᾱρος*, cf. Arcadian *Κραριῶται* and Rhodian *Ἡλο-κράρης* (Meister, Griechischen Dialekte 2. 104, G. Meyer 160), the word thus meaning 'head' as sign of individuality, going with *ναύ-κλῆρος ναύ-κρᾱρος* 'householder' (whatever the first element of these words may be) and Hesychius' *κραῖρα* 'head'; (*d*) *κραιπάλη* 'headache,' for **κρασι-παλη* 'a fight in one's head,' the first element being Locative of **κράς*, while from another form **κρᾱ-πάλη* is borrowed Lat. *crāpula*:

ἀ-μείνων 'better,' from *μένος* 'strength:'

ἀ-σκηθής 'safe,' quasi 'supported, cared for' (cf. with Active meaning, *σκεθρός* 'careful'); a Dissimilation for **ἀ-σχηθής*, from the root of *σχῆμα*, *ἔχω* (in *σχεθεῖν* the *χ* is retained through the analogy of *σχεῖν*):

ἀ-σπερχές 'hastily,' from *σπέρχω* 'hasten':

ἀ-στεμφής 'stiff,' from a root meaning 'to be hard,' whence also *στέμφυλα* 'pressed grapes,' Sk. *stambh-* 'to restrain, hold fast':

ἀ-σύφηλος (with Aeolic accent) 'insulting,' **τυφηλός* (see above on *ἀήσυλος*) going with *τυφλός* 'blind,' *τῡφώδης* 'dull,' *τῦφος* 'conceit':

ἀ-ταρτηρός 'baneful,' **ταρτή* a Subst. from **ταρτός* Part. of *τείρειν* 'to distress':

ἀ-τενής 'strained,' Lat. *in-tentus*, from *τείνω*:

ἀ-τρύγετος 'swelling,' Lat. *turgidus*, from a root **tver-g-** (Fröhde B.B. 14. 107), an extension of the root **tver-** (see on *σαυρωτήρ* sec. 5, and, on the *ρυ*, *ῥύζω*, p. 11):

ἀ-υσταλέος 'squalid,' Od. 19. 327, cf. Sk. *çush-* 'to dry,' Lat. *sū-dus* 'dry'; from **ἀ-συσταλέος* as *ἄυπνος* from **ἄσυπνος*.

So, with *ἀν-* for *n-* before a vowel, I would explain *ἀν-άεδνος* 'quite dowerless,' *ἀν-άελπτος* 'quite unlooked for,' and Hesiod's *ἀν-άπνευστος* 'quite breathless,' Suidas' *ἀν-άγνωστος ἀν-άπταιστος* (J. Schmidt K.Z. 23. 273).

B. The same intensive particle appears in several Verbs: Lat. *incitō infringō ingeminō innovō intremō* etc. beside *citō frangō*

etc., Greek *ἀσκαρίζω ἀσπαίρω* 'palpitate' beside *σκαρίζω σπαίρ ἀσφαραγέω* 'clank' (Theocr. 17. 94) beside *σφαραγέομαι* 'burs and *ἀ-κούω* 'hear' beside *κο(F)έω* 'perceive.' So

ἀ(F)είδω 'sing' beside *οἶδα*: *i.e. ἀείδω* used absolutely mea 'make my meaning known,' used with an Acc. 'make know celebrate.' In the original signification 'know' we have (Hoffmai B.B. 15. 62) Cyprian *ἄειδε* 'hear' and the common word *αἰσθάνομ* (*i.e. *ἀ-Fιδ-θάνομαι*) 'perceive': for the transition of meanii from 'know' to 'make known' cf. *ἱστορία* 'knowledge' (*τὸ εἰδέν* or 'narrative' (*τὸ εἰδέναι ποιεῖν*), and *γιγνώσκω* 'know' besi *γνωρίζω* 'make known':

ἀ-λέγω 'heed' beside Lat. **legō* in *dīligō intelligō neglegō* (qui a different word, as the Perfects show, from *legō* 'gather'). Fro a Neuter Subst. **ἄλεγος* comes *ἀλεγεινός* 'demanding cautio troublesome'; which, with Ablaut, and without the intensive *ἀ* appears in Hesychius' *λαγεινά· δεινά*. From this **ἄλεγος* con further (*a*) *δυσ-ηλεγής* 'cruelly troublesome,' Homeric epith of war and death; (*b*) *ταν-ηλεγής* 'intensely troublesome,' us of death, with the derived sense of *τανύω* 'stretch,' as in t Homeric use with *ἔριδα, μάχην, πόνον*, 'to intensify' the stri etc.; (*c*) *ἀπ-ηλεγέως* 'most carefully,' the *ἀπο-* heightening t meaning:

ἀ-λείφω 'smear,' cf. Lat. *dē-libūtus* 'besmeared':

ἀ-λυκτάζω ἀ-λύσσω 'am in distress,' going with *λύσσα* (*i* **λύκ-ja*), which in Homer means 'martial rage,' the spirit a wolf, *λύκος*: in Il. 16. 156 and 352 warriors are compar to wolves, and Theocr. 4. 11 *πείσαι τοι Μίλων καὶ τὼς λύκος αἰτί λυσσῆν* shows that the Greeks themselves connected *λύσσα* wi *λύκος*. With these words go *μορμο-λύττεσθαι* 'to madden as hobgoblin, *μορμώ*,[1] would,' and *μορμο-λυκεῖον* 'bugbear,' literal 'hobgoblin wolf':

ἀ-μαλδύνω 'destroy,' from **μαλδύς*, Sk. *mṛdús* 'soft.'

ἀμέλγω, cf. Lat. *mulgeō*.

C. In three other Verbs we have the 'copulative' *ἀ-* of *ἀθρό ἅπᾶς ἁπλόος*, dialectically *ἀ-* in *ἀδελφός ἄκοιτις ἀκόλουθος ἄλοχ ἀτάλαντος*; representing *sm̥-*, *ἅμ-α*, Lat. *simul*, Sk. *sam* 'with' (as Preposition) or, in compounds, 'together.' This appears as *ἀ-*

[1] With *μορμώ* go *μόρμοι* 'panics' (Hesychius) and I think *μέρμερος* 'm chievous,' *μέρμηρα* 'trouble,' and *μορμύρων* in Il. 18. 402 *βόος Ὠκεανοῖο ἀφ μορμύρων*, rightly explained by Hesychius as *ταράσσων* 'making an uproar': has nothing to do with Lat. *murmur*, which would give far too weak a meanir

(*a*) *ἀ-μαρτάνω* 'fail' (the root, on which see Neisser B.B. 19. 120 *sq.*, may perhaps be found in Lat. *mora*), with which cf. Hesychius' *ἀμαρεῖν· ἁμαρτάνειν* and Homer's *ἤμβροτον*; as *ἀ-* in (*b*) *ἀ-μείβω* 'exchange' beside Lat. *mīgrō* 'remove' and Old Slavonic *miglivŭ* 'mobile,' and (*c*) *ἀ-μεύομαι* 'surpass' ('change places with') beside Lat. *moveō*. In these Verbs the copulative prefix, like the (of course unrelated) Lat. *com-* in *commaculō comminuō concitō convellō* etc., merely 'gives intensity to the signification of the simple word,' Lewis and Short s.v. *cum*. With the same force it appears in *ἀ-μολγός*, which Eustathius says was 'Achaean' for *ἀκμή* 'prime' (as Hesiod Op. 588 uses *ἀμολγαίη* of a 'prime' cake, *μᾶζα*): I would connect the word with **mlg-** in Lettish *milst* 'to swell,' Lat. *multus* for *mulctus (Wiedemann B.B. 13. 303 *sq.*), so that it will mean 'swelling, climax,' and *νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ* will be Cicero's *multā nocte* 'late at night.'

A copulative, though not an intensive, *ἀ-* seems to appear in

ἀ-οσσητήρ 'helper,' which I would explain as 'one who hears a divine voice (*Fόσσα*, as *ὄσσα* may everywhere be read in Homer, L. Meyer K.Z. 28. 90: the root appears in Lat. *vocō*), and in obedience to it goes to help his comrades.' Hesychius has also the form *ὀσσητῆρα*, referring, according to Moriz Schmidt, to Il. 15. 254 *τοῖόν τοι (ἀ)οσσητῆρα Κρονίων ἐξ Ἴδης προέηκε*, in which case the word must necessarily have had a digamma:

ἄ-σβολος 'soot,' quasi 'thrown together, collected,' from *βάλλω*. The *σβ* is the same dialectic representative of **gv** which Fick B.B. 17. 323 finds in *φερέ-σβιος* 'life-giving' and *σβέννῡμι* 'quench' (Goth. *qistjan* 'to destroy'): and which I find, before other vowels than *ε* or *ι*, in (*a*) *ἀμφί-σβαινα* 'a serpent that can go either way' and *ἀμφι-σβητέω* 'dispute,' both from *βαίνω*; and (*b*) *φλοῖσβος* 'din,' the clash produced by the impact of one heavy body on another, from a root **bhleigv-**, cf. *φλίβω θλίβω* 'rub,' Lat. *flīgō* 'strike,' Welsh *blif* 'catapult.'—Another dialectic representative of **gv** was *ζ*, Eur. Phoen. 45 *ἐπεζάρει=ἐπεβάρει*, Hesychius *ζέλλειν ζέρεθρα ζείναμεν=βάλλειν βάραθρα σβέννυμεν*. So I think in (*a*) *ζάλη* 'spray' from *βάλλω*; (*b*) *ζᾶλος* 'jealousy'[1] beside Lith. *gelà* 'pain,' Old High German *quāla* 'torment'; (*c*) *ζάψ* 'sea,' and Homer's *ἐπι-ζάφελος* 'stormy,' from *βάπτω*, the sea 'dipping' the ships, cf. Eur. Orest. 706 *ναῦς . . . ἔβαψεν*

[1] The *ᾱ* here is Ablaut of *ō* as in *κᾱρός* beside Lat. *cōra*, *μᾶκων* beside Old High German *māgo*, see Johansson B.B. 15. 306 *sq.*

'the ship sank,' Old Norse *kaf* 'a dive, the deep'; (*d*) *ζάω ζώω* quasi 'walk,' and *δίζημαι ζητέω* quasi 'go about,' all from *βαίνω*: (*s*) *ῥοῖζος* 'whistling' beside *ῥοῖβ-δος* (for the termination cf. *ῥάβ-δος*).

D. Beside the copulative **sm̥-**, Greek *ἀ-* or *ἀ-*, there appears a parallel form **so-**, Sk. *sa-*, Greek *ὁ-*. We have it in Hesychius' *ὀγάστωρ ὄζυγες ὄθροος ὄξυλον* (Schulze 495), Homer's *ὄπατρος* and Il. 2. 765 *ὄτριχας οἰέτεας* (the latter, despite Schulze, a miswriting for **οὐέτεας, i. e. *ὀ-Fέτεας*); and I think in *ὀ-δούς*, Armenian *a-tamn*, each a Singular formed out of a Plural signifying 'the united teeth, the rows of teeth,' as perhaps *ἀστήρ ἄστρον* Arm. *astł* are Singulars formed out of Plurals signifying 'the whole body of stars,' the initial vowel in each word being a copulative prefix.

E. In two important words the initial *ἐ-* or *ἑ-* seems reduplicative, standing for *σε-*:

ἐσθλός 'brave, good' =**σε-στλός*, from the root of *στέλλω* 'set in order,' the meaning thus being 'ready, settled, steadfast.' The Greeks found a difficulty in pronouncing the combination *στλ*, which occurs in no old word (*στλεγγίς* 'scraper' appears first in Hippocrates, *ὄστλιγξ* 'curl' in Attic): they preferred either (1) to aspirate the *τ*, Attic *ναυσθλόω* 'convey by sea' beside *ναυστολέω*, Hom. *ἱμάσθλη* 'whip' with the same termination as *ἐχέτλη*, Att. *μάσθλης* 'leather' from the same root as *μάστιξ* 'whip,' and so, I think, *ἐσθλός*; or (2) to drop the *σ*, *τλεγγίς*—or the *τ*, Sappho *μάσλης* 'leather,' Doric and Lesbian *ἐσλός* and Arcadian *ἐσλός* (which last must represent **ἐστλός*, not **ἐσθλός*, or it would have a smooth breathing)—or both letters, Att. *ναῦλον* 'fare' beside Hesychius' *ναῦσθλον*; or (3) to change the *λ* to *ρ*, *στρεγγίς*; or (4) to insert a vowel, *ὀστάλιγξ* (as M. Schmidt reads *ὀστάλαιξ* in Hesychius), *στελεγγίς*.—The same *στέλλω* appears, I would suggest, in *ὀφθαλμός* from **ὀπ-σταλ-μός* 'arrangement for seeing,' the first element going with *ὄμμα ὄπωπα ὄψις*: **ὀψταλμός* became *ὀφθαλμός* as **ἐψτός*, the proper Participle of *ἕψω*, became *ἑφθός*:

ἑστίᾱ 'hearth, altar' (in Homer only in the compounds *ἀνέστιος ἐφέστιος*) =**σε-στίᾱ* from a root **stĭ-** 'stone,' whence *στῖον* 'pebble' and I think *περί-στια* 'lustration of the Ecclesia' by carrying a victim round the altar, and, with Ablaut, Goth. *stains* 'stone' and Old Slavonic *stěna* 'stone wall.' On the parallel form *ἱστίη* see next section.

(2) The greatest difficulties in Greek vocalism are connected with the occasional appearance of ι where we should have expected ε (G. Meyer 57–60, 29; Kretschmer K.Z. 31. 375 *sq.*), and of υ where we should have expected ο (G. Meyer 61, 62; Schulze p. 495 *sq.*).

A. (*a*) Some of the instances quoted of ι for ε rest on doubtful or impossible etymologies:

αἰγίλιψ, epithet of *πέτρη* in Homer and Aeschylus (Suppl. 794), is of unknown meaning (Monro), and can have nothing to do with *λέπας* 'rock.' Hesychius' *λίψ· πέτρα ἀφ' ἧς ὕδωρ στάζει* may go with *λείβω*.

ἴγγια· εἶς and *ἴττον· ἕν*, quoted by Hesychius as Cretan, are too obscure to be deduced from a root **sem-**: M. Schmidt suspects both glosses.

ἰλλάς 'rope,' *ἰλλός* 'squinting,' *ἴλλω* or *εἴλλω* 'wrap up,' *ἴλλομαι* 'move to and fro' can hardly have anything to do with Lat. *volvō*.

ἵππος cannot go with Lat. *equus*, Sk. *áçvas*: the aspiration is quite abnormal, and the Homeric form ought at least to be **ἵκκος*, cf. *πέλεκκον* from **πέλεκ-ϝον*. The form *ἴκκος* in the Etymologicum Magnum may be Lat. *equus* borrowed (with ι from *ἵππος*), as *ἀκκιπήσιος* in Athenaeus is Lat. *aquipēnsis* borrowed.

κισσός 'ivy' cannot go with Lat. *hedera* from a root **ghvedh-**, or we should have **χισσός*.

λικριφίς 'sideways,' with a strange termination, goes with Lat. *licinus* 'with upturned horns' and *oblīquus* (*i.e.* *ob-līc-vos) 'crooked'; not with *λέχριος*, which stands for **λέξ-ρ-ιος* and goes with *λοξός* (De Saussure, Mém. Soc. Ling. 7. 91, n.).

χθιζός is not directly from *χθές*, *i.e.* **ghjes**, but from an Ablaut **ghjz** with sonant sibilant, Thurneysen K.Z. 30. 352; the termination is **djó-**, cognate with Lat. *diēs*.

(*β*) In *ἰγνύη ἵζω ἴθρις ἱστίη* the initial vowel is reduplicative, as in *ἰκτίς* (*κτίδεος*) *ἰχθύς* (Arm. *jukn*) *ἴπταμαι* (*πέτομαι*) *ἴσθι* (Zend *zdī* 'be thou') as opposed to *ἐχθές ἔγνωκα ἕστηκα*: in such cases it would be absurd to talk of a change from ε to ι. So in *νίσσομαι τίκτω* the ι is reduplicative, as in *τιθήνη δίδωμι τιτύσκεσθαι* beside *τέτανος δέδωκα τετυκέσθαι*. Thus

ἰ-γνύη 'hollow of the knee' is reduplicated from the root of *γνύξ*, *γνύ-πετος*, Sk. *jnu*:

ἵζω[1]=**ἰ-σδ-jω* from the 'reduced' root of *ἕζομαι*, *ἕδος*, Lat. *sedeō*; and so *ἰδρύω* (the ι is short)=**ἰ-σδ-ρ-ύω*:

[1] *ἱστός*, properly Participle of *ἵζω* 'set up,' is used as a subst., 'mast, loom.'

ἴθρις· σπάδων and ἐθρίς· τομίας (so M. Schmidt reads for ταλμίας) in Hesychius may both go with θρίζω 'cut off':

ἰ-στί̄η is the Homeric form of ἑστίᾱ, see above. The Homeric compounds of ἑστίᾱ, and the evidence of Boeotian, Cretan, Heraclean, Locrian, and Sicilian inscriptions (Meister 1. 46), prove that neither form ever had an initial *F*: the Arcadian proper name *Vistias* can have nothing to do with ἰστί̄η, and is as obscure as the name Κάβαισος in the same inscription (Meister 2. 103).

νίσσομαι=*νί-νσ-jομαι, from the reduced root of νέ(σ)ομαι, νόστος: τίκτω=*τί-τκ-τω, from the reduced root of τεκεῖν, cf. κάσις 'brother' from *τκ-ŗ̥-τις.

(γ) We have i as Ablaut of **je** in Sk. *vic- vidh-* beside *vyac-* 'to extend' *vyadh-* 'to pierce,' and so I think in ὑπερ-ικταίνοντο 'they sped on' (Od. 23. 3) beside Sk. *pra-yaksh-* 'to press on.' The relation of ἴκτερος 'jaundice' (for the termination Havet, Mém. Soc. Ling. 4. 230, compares ὑσ-τέρᾱ, γασ-τήρ) to **jekv-**, Lat. *jecur*, is not quite clear: we should have expected *ἴπτερος.

(δ) Homer's κίρνημι πίτνημι πίλναμαι (σ)κίδναμαι beside κέρασσα πέτασσα πέλασσα σκέδασα (ἐκέδασσα), Pindar's κρίμνημι[1] πίτνω beside κρέμασαν πετοῖσαι, Attic ὀριγνάομαι beside ὀρέγομαι, owe their ι to the analogy of reduplicated Verbs, they are formed after γί-γνομαι μί-μνω,[2] as Homer's σκιρτάω (root **sker-**, cf. σκαίρω) is formed after τί-κτω. So Pedersen Idg. Forschungen 2. 293 says 'the ι of σκίδνημι is due to the influence of ἵστημι τίθημι πίμπλημι etc.'

Homer's πίσυρες beside Lesbian πέσυρες must owe its ι to the preceding numeral, τρία τρίς τριτος. So (Baunack K.Z. 25. 225 *sq.*, Brugmann Grundriss 2. 165 *sq.*) ὀκτα- in compounds owes its -α- to ἑπτα-, Heraclean ὀκτώ and Elean ὀπτώ draw from ἑπτά their breathing and labial respectively, ὄγδοος borrows its consonants from ἔβδομος.

(ε) There is no clear proof of any confusion in the Ionic-Attic dialect between **e** and **i**: the Old-Attic forms Αἰνεᾶται—Αἰνιᾶται, Αὐλεᾶται—Αὐλιᾶται only show different ways of resolving the diphthong ει before a vowel, Delian στλιγγίς is an Assimilation (see J. Schmidt K.Z. 32. 321 *sq.*) for στλεγγίς, Μινδαίων is a very late form for the earlier Μενδαίων on the coins of Mende in Pallene.

[1] In the MSS. almost always written κρήμνημι (Kretschmer K.Z. 31. 375), see Aesch. Theb. 229, Eur. Herc. Fur. 520.

[2] Homer's πέρνημι kept its ε through the influence of its cognates περάω 'sell' and πέρην, Il. 24. 751 πέρνασχ', ὄντιν' ἔλεσκε, πέσην ἀλός.

But in the non-Ionic dialects the letters interchange so often that we can only explain the instances by supposing that in those dialects ε was pronounced 'close,' half-way to an 'open' ι, and so might be represented by either letter. Before a consonant we have this variation in

Arcadian *ἰν* beside *ἐν*, even in consecutive lines of the same inscription (Meister 2. 90): cf. Hesychius *ἴγκρος· ἐγκέφαλος, ἰσχερῶ· ἐξῆς* (*i.e. ἐν σχερῷ*):

Cyprian *ἰν* beside (Hesychius) *ἔνανον· ἔνθες*, *ἴ(ν)θε* beside *ἐ(ν)θάδε* (Meister 2. 210): cf. Hesych. *πιλνόν· φαιόν* (= Att. *πελλόν*):

Cretan *ἰν* and *ἐν* in the same inscription (G. Meyer 58):

Locrian *γίνος* (Havet, Mém. Soc. Ling. 2. 168).

So the Sicyonians themselves called their city *Σεκυών* (Meister 2. 89): Hesychius has *λεκροί* and *λικροί* 'antlers' without designation of dialect. Before a vowel (Solmsen K.Z. 32. 513 *sq.*) we find this variation in Cyprian, Lesbian, Boeotian, Thessalian (excluding Larisa), and Doric:

Cyprian *θιόν* and *θεῷ*, *μὶ* and *μὲ* (Meister 2. 211):

Lesbian *χρυσίω* and *χρυσέω*:

Boeotian *θιός* and *θεοῖς*, *δοκίει* but *καλέοντι*:

Thessalian *Λίοντα* and *Λέουν*:

Laconian *σιός* and *Θέωνα*:

Heraclean *Τιμοκράτιος* but *Φέτεος*:

Cretan *θιός* and *θεός*, *ἀμίων* and *ἀμέων*, *ἴωμεν* and *ἔωμεν*.

We must therefore conclude that, however it was written, ε was always pronounced 'close' in Aeolic, Doric, Locrian, and Cyprian; and, at least when it stood before a consonant, in Arcadian also.

B. (*a*) The derivation of the following words is unknown, and we cannot say that the *υ* stands for *ο*:

πρύλεες 'champions' (Hom.), cf. Cyprian *πρύλις* 'war-dance' (Hoffmann B.B. 15. 89).

πρύμνη 'stern,' *πρυμνός* 'hindmost': not from *πρό*, which would give just the wrong sense.

πρύτανις 'president': Attic also *προτανεία προτανεύω* (Meisterhans, Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften, p. 19), Lesbian both *πρύτανις* and *πρότανις*, the words being popularly connected with *πρό*.

πύλη 'gate': not from *πέλω* 'move,' which gives too indefinite a meaning.

πύματος 'last': Sk. *pú-nar* 'back' (Bugge B.B. 14. 68) has little resemblance of meaning.

σπύραθοι 'stercus' (Hippocrates), cf. Att. *σφυρίδες*.

σπυρίς or *σφυρίς* 'basket': Lat. *sporta* goes rather with *σπάρτον* 'rope.'

τρύξ 'new wine': Eng. *dregs* cannot be connected.

ὕπεας 'awl' (Herodotus): Att. *ὀπήτιον* may take its *ὀ-* from *ὀπή* 'hole.'

So *γλύφω* 'carve' goes with Lat. *glūbŏ* 'peel,' Ags. *cleŏfan* 'split,' not with *γλάφω* 'scrape.' In *ὔλογος* 'army,' *ὕρραξ* 'pell-mell' (Schulze 495), the first element is a dialectic form of *σύν*, not a 'copulative' *ὀ-*.

(*β*) In the following words the *ν* is formative, a stem-ending (Brugmann Grr. 2. 104, cf. 91, n.):

ἄγυρις 'gathering' (*ἀγών*), *ὁμήγυρις*, *πανήγυρις*, Att. *ἀγύρτης* 'beggar': from a stem *ἀγυ-*, as *ἀγορά ἀγείρω* from a stem *ἀγο-* (*ἀγε-*), all cognate with *ἄγω* 'drive.'

αἰσυμνητής 'umpire': stem *αἰσυ-*, cf. *αἶσα*(*F*)*α*, see on *αἶσχος*, sec. 4.

ἅμυδις 'together' (the accent, as opposed to that of *ἀμοιβηδίς*, is from *ἅμα*)=stem *ἀμυ-* (on the breathing see sec. 3), as *ἅμα* from a stem *ἀμό-*.

διαπρύσιος 'passing through': stem *πρυ-*, from the root of *περάω*, see *πρᾶσσω*, sec. 4.

δρύπτω 'I tear': stem *δρυ-* (*δέρω*), as *δρέπω* 'pluck' from a stem *δρε-*.

ἐπασσύτεροι 'one after the other,' of obscure formation: if it went with the Homeric *ἀσσοτέρω* (by-form of *ἆσσον*) it would be **ἐπασσότεροι*.

κροκύδειλος 'lizard,' Hipponax 119: stem *κροκυ-*, as *κροκόδειλος* from *κροκο-*, sec. 4.

μάρτυρος Hom., *μάρτυρ* Pind. and Att.: stem *μαρ-τυ-*, root mr̥-, as in *βρα-βεύς* 'umpire' (Kretschmer K.Z. 31. 392).

νώνυμος Hom., *νώνυμνος* Hom. Pind., *ἀν-ώνυμος ἐπ- ὁμ-* Hom. Pind. Att., *εὐ- πολυ-* Hes. Pind. Att., *δι- συν- ψευδ- πατρωνύμιος* Att.: not 'compounds of *ὄνομα*,' as Kretschmer K.Z. 31. 377 makes them, or they would end in *-μων*: they are from a stem *ὠνυ-* (for the ending cf. *ἔτυμος ἥδυμος*), as *ὄνομα* is from a stem *ὀνο-* (Bartholomae B.B. 17. 132).[1]

[1] On *ὄνομα* and its cognates—among which Lat. *nōmen* must not be reckoned, it cannot be separated from *cō-gnōmen* and Old Slavonic *znamę* 'sign'—see further J. Schmidt K.Z. 23. 267 *sq.*; Thumb K.Z. 32. 130 *sq.*; Bezzenberger B.B. 10. 72; R. Schmidt Idg. Forsch. 1. 77; Audouin Mém. Soc. Ling.

ὄρτυξ 'quail': stems ὀρτυγ- and ὀρτυκ-, cf., with other stems from the same root, Sk. *vartakas vártikā vartīras*, all meaning 'quail.'

ῥοφέω 'swallow' (Ionic): stem **sru-**, cf., with the same 'determinative' **bh**, **sro-** in Att. ῥοφέω (Ablauts **srē-** Lithuanian *sriẽbiu*, **sr̥-** Lat. *sorbeō*), and, with a different determinative, **sr̥-** in Old Slavonic *srŭkati*.

ὑπόβρυχα 'under water': stem **mru-**, cf. Lat. *mare* (Hirt Idg. Forsch. 1. 475).

(γ) In ῥύζω 'growl' beside ῥόζω ῥοχθέω, and ῥύμβος 'bull-roarer'[1] beside ῥόμβος, we have different Ablauts: the ῥυ- represents **vr̥-** (Fröhde B.B. 14. 107), the ῥο- represents **vro-**. It seems that in one dialect of the Ursprache **vr̥** (**vl̥**) became **ru** (**lu**), in another the sonant took the same form as in other combinations: we have Sk. *ruc-* 'shine' *rudh-* 'grow' *lubh-* 'be lustful' beside *várcas* 'light' *vardh-* 'grow' *valbh-* 'enjoy' respectively, ὀρύσσω 'dig' and (nasalised) ῥύγχος 'snout' but Sk. *vr̥h-* 'to tear,' λύκος Lat. *lupus* but Lith. *wilkas*, see on σαυρωτήρ sec. 5.

(δ) In the following cases the υ—like the **u** in Sk. *dhur- ush-hur-* beside *dhvar-* 'injure' *vas-* 'shine' *hvar-* 'be crooked' respectively—is Ablaut of **vo** or **ve**:

γυνή, **gun-**,[2] beside **gven-**, Goth. *qinō*, Old Irish *ben*, Old Slavonic *žena*, Sk. *janis*, and Elean βενέοι (*μίσγοιτο τῇ γυναικί*, Meister 2. 22).

ἐπι-σκύνιον 'skin over the eyes,' **skun-**, beside **skven-tó-**, Old Norse *skinn*.

7. 61; G. Meyer Gr. Gr.[2] 77 and Albanesische Studien 3. 69; Brugmann Grr. 1. 219 fin. and 2. 340; Schulze 201 *sq.*; Persson 227. The forms in Celtic (Irish *ainmm* or *ainm*, Welsh *enw*) and Old Slavonic (*imę*) have not yet been satisfactorily explained. The root may appear in ὄνομαι 'blame, disparage,' *i.e.* 'name,' in our parliamentary sense, stigmatize. Arcadian Κλεωνόμω, Laconian πατρονόμου, seem to owe their third vowel *o* (for *υ*) to a false connexion with νόμος.

[1] *i.e.* (Andrew Lang, Custom and Myth, p. 39), a fish-shaped piece of wood making a hideous noise when whirled round by means of a piece of string. The Greeks themselves seem to have compared the shape of the bullroarer to that of the wryneck, ἴυγξ, with its long snake-like neck: 'the mad bird, the variegated wryneck of the four spokes, bound to an endless wheel,' which Aphrodite in Pindar (Pyth. 4. 381) brings to Jason to help him in gaining the love of Medea, can hardly have been a real wryneck, but a bullroarer spun round by means of a wheel. From the noise which this would make, not from the bird itself, which has not a loud cry, came the Homeric ἰύζω 'roar'; and, from the use of the bull-roarer in magical ceremonies, the meaning of ἴυγξ as 'charm, spell' (Pind. Nem. 4. 56) or 'yearning produced by a spell' (Aesch. Pers. 989).

[2] A Velar after or before *υ* becomes Palatal, not Labial (De Saussure, Mém. Soc. Ling. 6. 161 *sq.*).

θύρᾱ, **dhur-**, Lit. *dùrys*, Arm. *durn*, Sk. *dur-*, beside **dhvor-**, Zend *dvara*.

κύκλος 'wheel,' **kúkvlos**, beside **kvékvlos** Ags. *hveohl*,[1] **kvekvlós** Ags. *hveogel*, Sk. *cakrás*, and **kvokvl-** Lat. *poples* (an Oscan form, for *quocles, as *popīna* is the Oscan form of *coquīna*) 'ham of the knee' as being rounded (Bugge B.B. 14. 64, 65).

κύλιξ 'cup,' **kul-**, beside **kvel-** *πέλιξ* (Cratinus, Meineke 2. 64), and **kvol-** Sk. *kalaças*.

στύραξ 'spike at the butt-end of a spear,' **(s)tur-**, beside **(s)tver-**, see on *σαυρωτήρ*, sec. 5.

ὕδωρ, **ud-** Sk. *údan-*, beside **vod-** Goth. *vatō*, Old Slavonic *voda*.

ὕπνος, **súpnos**, Old Slavonic *sŭnŭ*, Arm. *khun*, beside **svépnos** Ags. *svefn*, and **svópnos** Lith. *sāpnas* (Lat. *somnus* and Sk. *svápnas* may represent either **svep-** or **svop-**).

πίσυρες πέσυρες (see pp. 8 and 2), **kvetur-**, Lith. *keturì*, beside **kvetver-** Lith. *ketverì*, Old Slavonic *četverŭ*, Irish *cethir*, and **kvetvor-** Dor. *τέτορες*.

So apparently in

μύλη, **mul-**, beside **mvel-** Irish *melim*, Old Slavonic *mlja*, Sk. *mar-*, and **mvol-** Goth. *malan*, Lith. *malù*, Arm. *malem* (Lat. *mola molō* may be either **mvol-** or **mvl̥-**, see below):

νύξ, **nuk^{v}t-**, beside **nvokt^{v}-** Lat. *nox*, Irish *nocht*, Goth. *nahts*, Lit. *naktìs*, Old Slavonic *noštĭ*, Sk. *náktis*:

φύλλον, **bhúl-jom**, beside **bhvól-jom** Lat. *folium*.

I.e., though no extant language has initial **mv**, **nv**, or **bhv**, the Greek forms here show that such combinations existed in the Ursprache. So (Brugmann Grr. 166. 170. 184) **v** is lost after initial **bh** in *ὑπερ-φίαλος*, Lat *fīs*, Old Slavonic *bē* 'he was'; and after medial **n** in Att. *γόνατα ξένος φθάνω*, and Old Slavonic *tĭnĭkŭ* 'thin.'

In five of these words we have a further Ablaut, the final liquid of the root becomes sonant:

γυνή: **gv̥n-**, Dor. *γάνᾱ*, Boeotian *βανά*.[2]

θύρᾱ: **dhv̥r-**, Lat. *foris*, Old Slavonic *dvĭrĭ*.[3]

[1] So, I think, *πέπλος* 'robe' as being circular when spread out flat on the ground; whence in Latin it was called *cyclas*.

[2] Also, I think, Ionic (not 'borrowed into Attic from Boeotian' as J. Adam says of *βάνασσος*, Classical Review 7. 102): *βάνασσος* 'mechanical'—Herodotus 2. 165 opposes *βανανσίη* to *τὸ μάχιμον*—=*βανᾰ́-αυτ-jos* (for similar shortenings in compounds see on *ἔγχελυς*, sec. 4) 'quite womanish,' the second element being from *αὐτός* in the sense of Homer's *αὖτως* 'merely, simply.'

[3] But not *θαιρός*, which was the pivot of a gate, *πύλαι* (Il. 12. 459), not of a door.

quail': stems ὀρτυγ- and ...

same root, Sk. ...

swallow' (Ionic) : stem ...

bh. aro- in Att. ...

rbeō), and, with a different ...

ukati.

a 'under water': stem ...

475).

ὀύζω 'growl' beside ...

side ῥόμβος, we have different ...

(Fröhde B.B. 14 ...

in one dialect of the ...

the sonant took the same ...

have Sk. ...

as 'light' ...

ig' and ...

Lat. lupus but ...

he following ...

e dhvar- ...

—is Attic of ...

un-,[2] beside ...

na, Sk. ...

22).

ον 'skin over the ...

...

ic

tly

or ω,

dialects

close' and

..., are mere conjectures.

(*a*) in the article, which like our 'the' was doubtless unstressed, Pamphylian *ὐ* but Arcadian *ὀ*:

(*b*) at the end of a word, Lesbian *ἀπὺ* and *ἀπὸ* (the Grammarians give *δεῦρυ* as the Aeolic form, Sappho has *δεῦρο*), Arcadian *ἀπὺ κατὺ*[1] *ἄλλυ*[2] but *ἐλύσατο*, Cyprian *ἀπὺ γένοιτυ ὠρίσετυ* (never *-το*), Pamphylian *ἐβωλάσετυ ἐπιήλοδυ κατεϝέρξοδυ*. So before a final consonant, Cyprian *Κεράμινς* Nom. Sing. (in other words *-ος*), Pamphylian *βωλήμεννς* and in the same inscription *κεκραμένος*, *Ἐστϝέδιινς* Nom. and *Κουρασίωννς* Gen.:

(*c*) in the first element of a compound, whether a monosyllabic Preposition, Cyprian *ὐν-έθηκε* and *ὀν-έθηκε*, both from *n̥-*, Att. *ἀν-*; or at the end of a disyllabic Preposition, Lesbian *ἀπυ-* and *ἀπο-*, Larisaean *ἀπυ-*, Arcadian *ἀπυ- κατυ-*; or at the end of a stem, Rhodian *Ἀγαθυ-μβρότου* and *Τιμο-ρρόδου*, Pamphylian *Ϝοικύ-πολις* and *Νεγο-πόλεις*.

Pitch-accent seems to have had nothing to do with this pronunciation of *ο*, we have *υ* in the oxytone syllable in *Ϝοικύπολις* and may suppose it in **Ἀγαθύμβροτος*.[3] On the other hand, except in the *later* Lesbian dialect, on which see below, this peculiar *υ* seems to appear only in the unstressed syllable.[4]

In some sub-dialects *ο* before *ι*, whether stressed or not, seems to have been pronounced 'close': the instances (G. Meyer 116; J. Schmidt K.Z. 32. 394 sq.) are—Ionic (at Abu Simbel) *νῖς*, Cretan *νῖ* and *ὅπνι*, Euboean *μέτνικος*.

(*η*) In the *later* Lesbian dialect—that of Theocritus in his three 'Aeolic' poems, and of the poetess Balbilla, not that of Sappho and Alcaeus or of any early inscription—even radical *ο* seems to have been pronounced somewhat 'close.' The Greek grammarians, who say that the 'Aeolians,' *i.e.* the Lesbians, 'turn *ο* into *υ*,' give *μύγις ξύανον στύμα τύτε ὔμφαλος ὔπισθα ὔρνις* as the proper Aeolic forms, though Pittacus (in Bergk) has *στόμα*, a Lesbian inscription *ὅτε*, Alcaeus *ὄρνις*; so that we cannot be sure that

[1] For **κατὸ*, which is to *κατὰ* as *ὑπὸ* to *ὑπα-* (Sappho).

[2] Homer's *ἄλλυδις* owes its *υ* to *ἄμυδις*.

[3] So in Cyprian *κυνύπισμα* (Hesychius) 'wine made from the refuse of pressed grapes,' if Meister 2. 220 is right in making this = **κωνό-πισμα*, from *κῶνος* 'resin' + *πίνω*: but M. Schmidt suggests *κυνυ-πίεσμα* ('juice pressed out').

[4] Cyprian *δοϝέναι* and *δυϝάνοι* seem to contain the same root in two forms, (1) dou- from dōu- (Wiedemann, Litauisches Praeteritum, 41 *sq.*), cf. Old Slavonic *davati*, and (2) du-, cf. Lat. *duim*, with *F* developt before a vowel, as in Chalcidian *Γαρυϝόνης*, Boeotian *Εὐϝάγορος*, cf. Epirotic *Εὔβανδρος*. Cf. respectively (1) dō(u)- in Cyprian *δώκοι*, and (2) dŭ- in *ἐπέδῡκε* (Meister 2. 220).

the various readings δυνεῖ and ὔσδων in Sappho 40 and 4 are genuine. In a late inscription we have ὐμοίως, in Balbilla (Meister 1. 53) ὔμοι, in Theocritus ὔμοιον ὐμάρτη, in Hesychius ἐξ ὐμάλλων· ἐξ ὁμοίων, while Theocritus has στύμα, Hesychius μυρμύρων. These facts seem to show (1) that the 'close' pronunciation of radical *o* was confined to the later Lesbian dialect, and (2) that even in this later dialect the radical *o* was pronounced only slightly 'close,' since in all instances but those just given it is spelt *o* and not *v*.

(*θ*) As the Romance languages, descended from the dialect of the Roman lower class, make every Latin *u* into *o*, so the dialects of Western Cyprus (Hoffmann B.B. 15. 49 *sq.*) seem to have made every *v* into *o*: the town-name Σόλοι (in Cyprus) is in Plutarch Σύλοι (Meister 2. 220), we have ἰθονίκη in an inscription from Paphos (Deecke B.B. 6. 71), Hesychius quotes θοράναϛ μοχοῖ σοάνα (beside θύρᾱ μυχόϛ ξυηλή) as Paphian, and his βόρμαξ ἐπτόκασεν ἰνκαφότευε κόμβοϛ κρόσταλλοϛ λοφνίϛ πέποσμαι σμογερόν (beside μύρμηξ ἐπύκασεν ἐγκαταφύτευε κύμβοϛ κρύσταλλοϛ λυχνίϛ πέπυσμαι ἐπισμυγερῶϛ) may belong to the same family. So also in some Boeotian dialect (G. Meyer 90), Ἀμόνταν θοσίην; but Boeotian Εὐφρασόναν Σομφόρω, Attic Ὄλομποϛ, Laconian Κονοουρέων, may be due to Assimilation (Kretschmer K.Z. 29. 412), while Strabo's Ὁρμίνα for Ὑρμίνη (in Elis, Il. 2. 616, see Meister 2. 31) seems to show the influence of ὅρμοϛ 'roadstead.'

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(3) Leskien's principle of 'Ausnahmslosigkeit,' that a phonetic law has no exceptions, is doubtless true within each dialect; but in Greek there were as many dialects as there are in English, and every poet and each of his hearers or readers must have been familiar with several. So *ovis* and *bōs*, words common enough, were loanwords in Latin (Havet, Mém. Soc. Ling. 6. 17 *sq.*), the proper Roman forms would be *avis and *vōs: the Romans said 'sedeo in solio,' though the *l* in the last word was Oscan. In 'the skipper met the shipper in a well-equipt skiff' we have four different dialects: in the Windhill dialect of Yorkshire the forms *misen*, *misel*, *miseln* (myself) are used without distinction, and 'probably due to importation from neighbouring dialects' (Prof. Joseph Wright, Dialect of Windhill, p. 122).

A. Whether an initial vowel should preserve its aspiration or not must have depended on dialect in Greek, just as it did in Latin and does in English: the lower orders at Rome, the linguistic progenitors of the Romance languages, must have dropt all their *h*'s, and in England it is only the educated classes that keep theirs.

ἡδύς and *ἧδος* go together: the latter in Il. 11. 318 *ἡμέων ἧδος* 'satisfaction from us' has an ironical sense, which I detect also in cognate words with short vowel, viz. (*a*) *ἄδος* Il. 11. 88 (where it seems to have a digamma), and *ἄδη* or *ἀδή* (in Homer only in Acc.), 'satiety'; (*b*) *ἀδινός* or *ἀδινός* 'to repletion'; and (*c*) the post-Homeric *ἀδρός* 'thick, large,' quasi 'sufficient.' —In Il. 5. 203 *ἄδην*, also written *ἄδδην*, may be a contraction of **ἀ-σϜάδην* 'without satisfying oneself' (Schulze p. 452 *sq.*); and so I would explain *ἀδέω* in Homer's *ἀδήσειε ἀδηκότες*, both also written *ἀδδ-*, as for **ἀ-σϜαδέω*, 'am dissatisfied, displeased':

φροίμιον 'prelude,' beside *προ-οίμιον*, must come from **οἶμιον*, as *φρουρός* comes from *πρό*+**ὀρός* 'watcher' (*ὁράω*), and *φροῦδος* from **φρουδοῦ*, *i.e.* *πρὸ ὁδοῦ*, 'ahead on the way,' Il. 4. 382. Homer's *οἴμη* 'song' will then be dialectic for **οἶμη*, perhaps meaning 'connection,' arrangement of words, from a root **soi-**, Sk. *sḗtus* 'binding,' *si-*, 'to bind,' *i-más* 'band.' (Lat. *saeculum* then must be from some other root.)

B. In Lesbian we have *ἴπερ ἴψος* for *ὑπέρ ὕψος* (G. Meyer 91), in Larisaean *ἰπέρ* (Meister 1. 224), in Megarian *αἰσιμνᾱτᾶς* for *αἰσυμνητής* (Kretschmer K.Z. 29. 412 *sq.*), in Hippocrates both *στριφνός* and *στρυφνός* 'hard.' So I would explain *κίναιδος* 'wanton' as for **κύναιδος*, *i.e.* *κυνὸς αἰδῶ ἔχων*, 'with as much modesty as a dog,' the dialectic form being employed to disguise the meaning.

C. The Lesbian representative of ṛ was *ρο* (G. Meyer 27), *e.g.* *βροχέως θροσέως στρότᾱγος*, Homer's *ἤμβροτον* beside Att. *ἥμαρτον*: so *βροτός* (cf. Sk. *mṛtás* 'dead') must have been Aeolic, the true Ionic word being *θνητός*, Dor. *θνᾱτός*. So n̥ is represented by *νο* in Alcaeus' *γνόφαλλον* beside Att. *κνάφαλλον*:[1] the root, as the varying initial proves,[2] was originally bi-aspirate, **ghn̥-bh-**,

[1] On *να* for n̥ in Ionic-Attic see Osthoff, Morphologische Untersuchungen v., preface: he quotes *γνάθος*, *ναίω* (*i.e.* **νάσ-jω*), and, for *μα* from m̥, *ματεύω* beside *μεταλλάω*.

[2] Cf. Hesych. *ἀκαθόν· ἀγαθόν*, *i.e.* the original form was **ἀ-χαθός*, from 'intensive' *ἀ-* (see sec. 1) + a root ghadh-, Ablaut ghādh- in Goth. *gōds* 'good.'

cf. ghne-bh- in Att. γνέφαλλον, and with Metathesis (as in ὀμφαλός beside Ags. *nafela*) ghem-bh-, Old Slavonic *zębą* 'I tear in pieces' (wool being *carded* for use).

One dialect seems to have used ἐ-, not ἀ-, to represent the nasal sonant: Hesychius has ἐοσσητήρ· ἀοσσητήρ, and ἐγρυπνεῖ· ἀγρυπνεῖ, the first vowel in each being the 'copulative' prefix, originally sm̥-, sec. 1, c. (In ἀ-γρ-υπνεῖ, literally 'is chasing sleep,'[1] and in ἄ-γρα 'chace,' ἀ-γρέω 'seize,' ζω-ά-γρια 'reward for saving life,' the ἀ- must be a prefix, the root gr-, ger-, as in Hom. ζώ-γρει 'take alive,' and Hesych. ἔγρηνται· ἥρηνται.) So ṛ=ερ in Homer's ἐρι- and Θερσίτης beside ἀρι- and θάρσος, Hesych. ζέρεθρα and μέργιζε 'gobble' beside βάρθρα and μάργος; and ḷ=ελ in Hesych. ζέλλειν μελερόν beside βάλλειν μαλερόν. Again, with the consonant coming first (as in ματεύω γνάθος καρδίη πλατύς), we have m̥=με in Hesych. μέσταξ for μάσταξ, and ṛ=ρε in Lesbian κρέτος for κράτος (G. Meyer 6), Hesych. ῥέμφος for ῥάμφος 'beak,' Boeotian τρεπέδδας beside (in another inscription) ταπέδδας (B.B. 17. 336, n.).

D. Homer's ὀδμή = Att. ὀσμή, as Ἄδμητος = Att. Ἄσμητος (Kretschmer K.Z. 29. 420); so Pindar's κεκαδμένος 'furnished with' = Att. κεκασμένος, perhaps meaning 'bound with,' and going with the post-Homeric κῆδος 'connexion by marriage' —quite a different word from the Homeric κῆδος 'care, mourning.' Homer's καίνυμαι 'surpass,' Perf. κέκασμαι, cannot be for *κάδνυμαι or go with κεκαδμένος, for Dental+ν would remain unchanged, as in ἀλοσύδνη πίτνω ἔθνος (G. Meyer 280): I would explain it as for *κάσνυμαι (cf. εἴνῡμι for *ἔσνῡμι), from a root kns-, Sk. *çaṁs-* 'to praise,' so that καίνυμαι will mean 'am praised' for something, Od. 4. 725 παντοίῃς ἀρετῇσι κεκασμένος ἐν Δαναοῖσι.

E. Herodotus (Rhys, P and Q Groups, p. 16), uses κ- for π- in words derived from the Relative stem, *e.g.* κότε κοῦ κῶς: thus his πρόκα 'forthwith' may stand for *πρό πα, *i.e.* πρό+the Instrumental (Brugmann Grr. 2. 274) of kvo-. Thus πρόκα will be identical with Lat. *prope* 'near,' an Oscan form (see p. 12 init. on *poples*) for *proque from *proqua (Brugmann Grr. 1. 973). —The -κα in αὐτίκα must be differently explained, apparently as kn̥, Ablaut of κέν 'then' (see Persson Idg. Fors-

[1] Havet's (and Benfey's) connexion of ἄγρυπνος with ἐγείρω, Mém. Soc. Ling. 6. 111, is rightly controverted by Bréal, do. 172.

chungen 2. 228): the first element is *αὐτί, Location of αὖς 'ipse' (Hesychius), while αὐτός is from the stem of αὖς+a 'determinative' o (see on θέσφατος, p. 1).

F. Before ε or ι a Velar ought in Greek to appear as a Dental (Bezzenberger B.B. 16. 254 *sq.*, Bechtel Hauptprobleme p. 356 *sq.*): the rule-right forms of βίος and βιᾶ, beside Sk. *jīv-* and *iyā-* respectively, would be *δίος and *διᾶ. The former appears in διερός 'living' (Fick B.B. 16. 287), and I think in δίεμαι 'hasten, am *quick*'; of which the Perfect Active would be *δεδίωκα (as that of ἀφίημι is ἀφέωκα, G. Meyer 559), whence was formed a Present διώκω 'set in motion' (G. Meyer 45). The form *δίᾱ I detect in

(*a*) διᾱ́-κονος 'servant,' quasi βίᾳ κονῶν, 'compelled to work': the second element, as in Hesychius' κονεῖν· ἐπείγεσθαι, Homer's ἐγκονέω 'hasten,' Att. ἀκονιτί 'without trouble' (Schulze 353, n.), is from **ken-**, a parallel form of **kven-** in πονεῖν, as **kel-** in κέλλω, κέλης, Lat. *celer*, is a parallel form of **kvel-** in πέλω 'move,' Lat. *colō*:

(*b*) διᾱ-νεκής 'continuous,' quasi βίᾳ ἐνεχθεις, 'brought on by force, not to be stopt': the second element being an unnasalised form (as in Lat. *nactus*) of the root of ἐνεγκεῖν and Lat. *nanciscor*.

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(4) It is often difficult to decide whether a word is a compound or a derivative, or of what elements an admittedly compound word is made up.

ἀζηχής in Homer always connotes sound: it is used of the cries of pain, of a tumult, of the bleating of sheep, and of noisy eating and drinking. I would therefore explain it as 'dry-sounding,' from *ἀζός, Adj. of ἄζη 'dryness,' + ἦχος 'noise,' comparing Il. 12. 160, κόρυθες δ' ἀμφ' αὖον ἀύτεον, of a 'harsh, grating sound' (Monro), and Verg. Georg. 1. 357 aridus . . fragor 'a jarring noise.' Hesychius' ἀζᾱχ[έα] then will be the Doric form; his ἀζεχής is a different word, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄζην ἔχειν, as the Scholiast on Il. 15. 25 gives the derivation of ἀζηχής (which Apollonius Rhodius uses as = ἀζαλέος 'dry,' Wackernagel K.Z. 33. 51).

αἶσχος 'disgrace' = *αἰσ-σχ-ος, from **ais-** in Goth. *aistan* 'to observe,' Old High German *ēra* 'honour,' αἰ(σ)-δώς 'shame, respect' (Bezzenberger B.B. 4. 313),[1] and αἶσ-(*F*)α 'apportioning,' giving

[1] The δ is probably terminational, not from δίδωμι.

each his due share of honour. The second element of *αἶσχος* is the 'reduced' root of *ἔχω*, so that the whole word means 'having observation,' getting oneself observed. So *πάσχω*=**πάθ-σχω*, 'I have suffering, I suffer,' from *πάθος*, *παθεῖν*: Hesychius' *πασχητιᾷ* shows that the Greeks themselves considered *πασχ-* the root. There is no proof that **πάθ-σκω*, with an Inceptive ending, could give anything but *πάσκω* (which is the Elean form, G. Meyer 269): *μίσγω* is not for **μίγ-σκω*, but shows the same stem *μισγ-* as in Homer's *μισγ-άγκεια* 'meeting of glens,' *i.e.* *μιγ-σ-γ-*, the root of *μίγ-νῡμι* increased by **s**, and with the same termination (Brugmann Grr. 2. 91) as *σι-γή* beside *σι-ωπάω* 'look silent' (Kretschmer K.Z. 31. 471).

ἄνωγα 'command' means 'lead up' (Lat. *in*-dūcō, see sec. 1, A), cause to do a thing: **ὤγα* is an unreduplicated Perfect, like *οἶδα*, from the strong form (as in *ἀγ-ωγ-ός*) of the root of *ἄγω*. So *οἰμωγή* 'wailing,' from *οἴμοι*+**ὠγή*: for the sense cf. *κτύπον ἄγειν* 'make a noise,' *γέλωτα ἄγειν* 'raise a laugh.'[1] So I would explain *πρᾶσσω* as **πρᾱ-άγ-τ-jω*, 'make progress,' whence its Homeric use with a 'local' Genitive, *e.g.* Il. 24. 264 *ἵνα πρήσσωμεν ὁδοῖο* 'advance on our way,' and so *πρᾶγος* 'business'=**πρᾱ-αγ-ος*: the first element is **πρᾱ* 'progress,' a Subst. formed like *χρή* and *ὁμο-κλή* (Brugmann Grr. 2. 896), and standing to *πόρος περάω* much as *δρᾱ-* in *δρᾶμα δράω* stands to Lith. *darau* 'I do.'

ἀργαλέος 'difficult' (the *ἀ-* must be long, as it is in Att. *ἀργός* 'idle,' from **ἀ-Fεργός*) means 'impracticable, not to be done,' from *ἀ-* negative+*(F)ἔργον*. For the contraction cf. *ἄκων* from **ἀ-Fέκων*.

ἄρρατος 'unchangeable' (Plato) = **ἄ-Fρα-τος*, *ἀ-* negative + **Fρατός* Participle from **vr̥-** 'to turn,' whence also (*a*), with a termination **-mo-**, *ῥόμος* 'worm' (see sec. 3, C), Lat. *vermis* (from *vormis), Goth. *vaurms* 'serpent'; with **-mn̥**, Lat. *vermina* 'colic,' and (*b*) with a 'determinative' **t**, Lat. *vortō-*, Sk. *vart-* 'to turn,' Elean *βρατάνᾱ* 'stirring-ladle' (Hesychius), and *ὄρτυξ* 'quail' quasi 'dancing, turning round.'

διφθέρᾱ 'dressed hide' (Thuc. 2. 75 *δέρρεις καὶ διφθέρας* 'skins

[1] With the literal sense of 'raise' we find *ἄγω* in *ἀκτή* 'raised land, coast, river-bank,' cf. Soph. Oed. Rex. 183 *βώμιον ἀκτάν* 'the raised altar'; so in *ἄχθος* 'weight, what one can lift,' cf. Soph. El. 119 *ἄγειν οὐκέτι σωκῶ λύπης ἀντίρροπον ἄχθος*, and the Attic use *ἄγειν μνᾶν* 'to weigh a pound, be able to lift it.'

undressed or dressed') means 'twice spoilt,' δίς+φθείρω, diverted from its natural use as a covering for the beast, first torn off (δέρρις from δέρω, with a termination -ρις as in ἄκρις ὄκρις, Brugmann Grr. 2. 98) and then tanned. Hesychius has a dialectic form δισψάρα, which goes with his ψείρει· φθείρει (G. Meyer 209 fin.).

ἔγχελυς 'eel' = *ἐγχύ-χελυς, 'snake with the mouth of a tortoise,' χέλυς: *ἔγχυς exactly=Lat. *anguis*, since *eng-* becomes in Latin *ang-*, *frangō* is for *frengō, cf. Goth. *brikan*.—On similar shortenings in compounds, where the two middle syllables have the same consonant or two similar vowels concur, see G. Meyer 302 and Schulze 427: Aeschylus Eum. 52 has βδελύκτροπος for *βδελυκτό-τροπος, and so I would explain (*a*) παλαμναῖος 'suppliant not yet purified' as for *παλαμο μναῖος (as Παλαμήδης=*Παλαμο-μήδης, Fick K.Z. 22. 99), 'with a deed of violence, παλάμη, in his memory,' μνήμη; (*b*) στό-μαργος 'loquacious' as for *στομά-μαργος 'mad of mouth'; and (*c*) ὑπεμνήμῡκε, Il. 22. 491, of an orphan boy, as for *ὑπ-ε-μνη-ήμῡκε 'is bowed down in mind' (quasi *ὑπήμῡκε μεμνημένος): though for ἠμύω 'bow down' I cannot suggest any etymology.

ἔδαφος 'foundation' is marked by Brugmann, Grr. 2. p. 204, as the only *Neuter* word with the termination **-bho-**: I therefore take it as a compound of ἕδος+ἁφή ἅπτομαι, 'touching the seat' or bottom, a Dissimilation of breathing for *ἕδἁφος.

ἑτοῖμος 'ready' may mean 'striving after the way,' οἶμος; the first element being (as Prellwitz Etym. Wörterbuch der Griech. Sprache suggests) **jet-**, Sk. *yat-* 'seek to reach' (Middle). In the Active Sk. *yat-* means 'to marshal, put in order'; and with this we may connect ἑτεός, ἔτυμος, and (with the root in its long form reduplicated) ἐτήτυμος 'true,' quasi 'regular.' On the difference of breathing see sec. 3, A.

εὐρύς must be a compound, or we should have *εἰρύς,[1] as we have Εἰλείθυια beside Ἐλευθώ: it seems a contraction of *εὐ-υρύς 'full wide' (Sk. *urús*). So εὐθύς 'straight' may be from εὐ-+θύω, 'rushing well,' going in a straight line. The first element appears in three different forms: (1) **esu-**, εὐ-, ἐύς 'brave,' with metrical lengthening (Schulze 33 *sq.*) ἠύς; (2) **su-**, the reduced form, Sk. *sú-* 'well,' Greek ὐ- in ὕβρις beside βριαρός, ὑγιής beside

[1] The only non-compound word in Greek with υ in both syllables is γλυκύς, apparently a by-form of the *γλυκός which appears in Hesychius' γλυκή· βοτάνη τις ἐδώδιμος.

Lith. *gyjù* 'I get well (De Saussure Mém Soc. Ling. 7. 89, Zubaty K.Z. 31. 52 *sq.*); (3) **sū-**, Sk. *sū́-* 'well,' and I think Greek *ῡ- in *ῡθύς, whence by Dissimilation (Osthoff Morph. Unters. 4. 190 *sq.*, though his explanation is very different) ἰθύς, the second element being θύω. As Zubaty points out, the parallelism of

Sk. *sú-* 'well' and *dush-* 'ill,'
Zend *hu-* and *dush-*,
Arm. *h-* and *t-*,
Irish. *su-* and *du-*,

makes it difficult to separate εὐ-, as the correlative of δυσ-, from Sk. *sú-*, and put it with either Sk. *āyús* 'alive' or *ávas* 'favour.'—With εὖ I would put (*a*) εὖτε 'when' or 'as,' in the latter meaning also ἠύτε, with metrical lengthening: the τὲ being superflous, as in αὖτε, ὅς τε, added on the analogy of clauses in which it really meant 'and.' Thus Il. 23. 62-65 εὖτε τὸν ὕπνος ἔμαρπτε . . . ἦλθε δ' ἐπὶ ψυχὴ, literally 'well was sleep seizing him: the ghost appeared,' came to mean 'when sleep was seizing him, the ghost appeared;' Il. 3. 10–13 εὖτ' ὄρεος κορυφῇσι Νότος κατέχευεν ὀμίχλην . . . ὣς ἄρα τῶν ὑπὸ ποσσὶ κονίσαλος ὤρνυτ' ἀελλής means 'well does the south wind bring fog: so rose the dust,' *i.e.* 'as the south wind brings fog, so rose the dust'; and Il. 4. 277 μελάντερον, ἠύτε πίσσα, φαίνεται 'it looks blacker, quite pitchy': (*b*) εὔχομαι 'boast, vow, pray,' literally 'use only *bona verba*' about myself or the gods, the same termination appearing in νήχω σμήχω στενάχω τρύχω ψήχω, στοναχή, διδαχή (this from the same root as δήω 'I will find,' Zend *dā-* 'to know').

ἐχθοδοπέω 'quarrel,' Il. 1. 518, means 'organise hostilities,' from the root of ἔχθος ἐχθρός + **dekv-** Old High German *gi-zehōn* 'to arrange,' with which Brugmann Grr. 1. p. 332 puts δεῖπνον 'dinner,' quasi *δέπ-ν-jον.—Eng. *hatred*, literally 'arrangement (Ags. *raed*) of hate,' is a somewhat similar compound.

κροκόδειλος 'lizard,' an Ionic word (Hdt. 2. 69), = 'yellow coward,' κρόκος 'saffron' + δειλός, from the colour and shyness of the animal. The application of the word to the crocodile must have been a Litotes, or joke.

λᾱρῑνός, properly used of an ox (Ar. Pax. 925), = 'with a fine hide,' ῥῑνός. The first element is the intensive prefix λᾱ-, as in λᾱκαταπῡ́γων, λᾱκατάρᾱτος, Λᾱ́μαχος, representing *λαε- *i.e.* *λασε-,

as the similar prefix λαι- in λαίμαργος λαισποδίᾱς represents *λασι-:[1] both are from a root las-, Sk. *las-* 'to be lively,' reduplicated in λιλαίομαι 'I desire,' *i.e.* *λι-λάσ-jομαι.[2]

μενοινάω 'desire eagerly' = *μενο-Fοινάω (for the shortening of a compound see p. 20 on ἔγχελυς) 'am drunk with desire,' μένει οἴνωμαι: cf. the Attic use of μεθύειν 'to be drunk with passion.' In Il. 12. 59 μενοίνεον is wrong both in form (for μενοίναον) and meaning ('were anxious'): Goebel, Homerische Blätter, p. 15 *sq.* proposes to read μένοιεν ἄν.

νηγατέος, the Homeric epithet of χιτών and κρήδεμνον, may mean 'such as never was,' οἷος οὔπω ἐγένετο (as I think the post-Homeric ἄπλετος 'immense' meant οἷος οὔπω ἔπλετο), νη- negative + a Participial form from γίγνομαι. So Lat. *ingens* 'huge' means 'quod nondum genitum est.'

παιγνίη 'sport' (Hdt.) and παίγνιον 'toy' (Att.) are from an Adj. *παι-γνός for *παιδ-γνός, formed after νεο-γνός, the second element going with γίγνομαι. But the forms παιγμοσύνη παιξοῦμαι πέπαικα owe their guttural to a mistaken explanation of παίζω (*i.e.* *παίδ-jω) as for *παίγ-jω, since the -ζω in most Verbs arose from -γjω: Curtius, Verbum 1. 317, gives thirty instances of -ζω from -γjω, as against nineteen of -ζω from -δjω.

πώμαλα 'not at all' (Att.) is a negative which was originally an interrogative: πῶ μάλα 'how, very much how'? The two words were pronounced and accented as one, to show that the μάλα qualified the preceding word and not anything that might follow. So πῶ in Aesch. Agam. 1507 is a negation under the guise of a question: Sidgwick rightly translates it 'nay.' In meaning it differs from πῶς 'how?' no more than οὕτω differs from οὕτως: in each case euphony alone determined which form should be employed. So οὔπω and οὔπως, μήπω and μήπως, are used interchangeably: in

Il. 2. 419 οὐδ' ἄρα πώ οἱ ἐπεκραίαινε Κρονίων (see Fäsi),

Il. 3. 306 οὔπω τλήσομ',

Il. 14. 143 σοὶ δ' οὔπω μάλα πάγχυ θεοὶ μάκαρες κοτέουσιν,

Od. 2. 118 κέρδεά θ' οἳ οὔπω τιν' ἀκούομεν οὐδὲ παλαιῶν,

[1] For the difference in the final vowel cf. ἀρχέ-πολις ἀρχι-τέκτων (G. Meyer 81.).

[2] λελιημένος 'eager' is not from λιλαίομαι but from *λιάομαι 'I am much set on a thing,' cognate with λίᾱν λίην 'very much'; which itself seems to stand for *λιF-ᾱν, 'smoothly, easily,' beside λεῖ(F)ος 'smooth,' with the same termination as πλ-ᾱ́ν πλ-ήν 'except,' literally 'turning from' (e.g. πλὴν αὐτοῦ = 'away from him'), from the root of πέλω 'move.'

Soph. Oed. Rex 105 *οὐ γὰρ εἰσεῖδόν γέ πω*,
and again
Il. 4. 234 *μήπω τι μεθίετε θούριδος ἀλκῆς*,
Od. 9. 102 *μήπω τις λωτοῖο φαγὼν νόστοιο λάθηται*,
Eur. Hec. 1278 *μήπω μανείη Τυνδαρὶς τοσόνδε παῖς*,
we might just as well have had *οὔπως* (*μήπως*). In many passages *οὔπω* (*μήπω*) may conveniently be translated 'not yet': but in each it is the Verb that gives the connotation of time, the particle denotes only manner ('not at all').

σόλοικος 'foreign' (=*βάρβαρος*, Herodian) must be a comic formation from *σόλος* 'ball of iron'+the termination of *ἄποικος ἔποικος μέτοικος σύνοικος*, quasi 'lumpish dweller,' *heavy* citizen.

σφοδρῶς 'violently' (Od. 12. 124: *σφόδρα* and *σφοδρός* are post-Homeric)='acting for oneself,' from the roots of *σφός* 'their, his' and *δράω*, as in *ὀλιγοδρανέων* 'doing little, feeble.' So I would deduce *σφεδανόν* 'eagerly' (Il., in the phrases *ἕπετο σφεδανόν*, *σφεδανὸν ἕφεπε*, 'he followed on his own way') from the stem of *σφέτερος*+the termination *-δανό-*, *μηκεδανός*, a by-form of *-δνό-* in *ἀλαπαδνός γοεδνός μακεδνός ὀλοφυδνός πελιδνός ψεδνός*, as the termination *-τανό-*, *ἐπητανός*, is a by-form of *-τνό-* in *πελιτνός*.

ὑπόδρα, in the Homeric phrase *ὑπόδρα ἰδών* 'looking fiercely at him,' can have nothing to do with *δέρκομαι*, which would be giving the same idea twice over, and in which case the word ought to be *ὑποδράξ*, as the Alexandrians rightly had it. I therefore (Etyma Latina s.v. *odium*) take *ὑπόδρα* as Instrumental (for the accent cf. *σφόδρα* from *σφοδρός*) of an Adj. **ὑπ-οδ-ρός* 'with covert hatred,' from the root of *ὀδύομαι* (Schulze 341) 'am angry,' Lat. *odium*, Arm. *ateam* 'I hate,' Old Norse *ötul* 'fierce' (*e.g.* ötul augu 'fierce eyes'). With *odium* goes *atrōx* 'fierce' (Lat. Consonant Laws 22, see Thurneysen K.Z. 32. 562); so that, if I may coin the Latin word, *ὑπόδρα*=*subatrociter.

ὠχρος (apparently Neuter) 'paleness' is in Homer the colour of fear, Il. 3. 35 *ὠχρός τέ μιν εἷλε παρειάς*, Od. 11. 529 *ὠχρήσαντα χρόα*, of a coward: it may mean 'egg-colour,' as yellow as the yolk of an egg, *τὸ ὠχρὸν τοῦ ὠοῦ* (Aristotle). The first element is the root of *ὠ(Ϝ)όν* (a post-Homeric word), Lat. *ōvum*, Old Slavonic *aje* (which last proves the root to be *ō-*, not *ōv-*); the second is a by-form of *χρώς* 'colour.' From *ὠχρος* was later (first in Hippocrates) formed an Adj. *ὠχρός* 'pale, yellow.'

(5) Some other words may best be given in alphabetical order. *αἰετός* 'eagle' (=**αἰϝετός*, as Pergaean *αἰβετός* shows), Aratus' *αἰητός*,[1] may mean 'mighty one,' going with *αἴητος*, epithet of Hephaistos in Il. 18. 410, *αἶα* 'land' (the 'mighty' earth), and *αἰᾱνής* 'everlasting.' The two last words Johansson, B.B. 18. 4, puts with *αἰεί*, *αἰών*, and Sk. *āyús* 'living': the common idea then will be 'full of life, strong.'

αἰνός 'terrible' may originally have meant 'bitter, cruel,' **ἀμ-jός* (cf. *βαίνω* from **βάμjω*, Goth. *qiman*), m̥- Ablaut to ŏm-, Lat. *amārus* 'bitter' (on the first vowel see Latin Vocalism 5), *ὠμός* 'raw, cruel.'

ἄκων 'javelin' may go with *ἄκυλος* 'acorn' and mean 'made of oak.' So Schrader K.Z. 30. 461 connects *αἰγανέη* 'spear' with Eng. *oak*.

ἀνδροτῆτα 'manhood,' occurring three times in the Iliad, is of course unmetrical: it may be corrected in several ways. (1) The most impossible of all is Clemm's, who reads **δροτῆτα* from **νδροτῆτα* (*ἀ-νδρός*): this in two places gives an un-Homeric caesura *κατὰ τέταρτον τροχαῖον* (Monro, Homeric Grammar,[2] 367. 2), *λιποῦσα* **δροτῆτα καὶ ἦβην*, and in the third, Il. 24. 6 *ποθέων* **δροτῆτά τε καὶ μένος*, will not even scan. (2) The idea that **ἀδροτῆτα* could be a 'reduction' of **ἀνδροτῆτα* lacks support: *ἀβρότη* is epithet of *νύξ* in Il. 14. 78, and *ἄμβροτος* in Od. 11. 330, but the sense is different, *ἀβρότη* (like *ἀμφιβρότη*, G. Meyer, 179) is 'neu componiert' from *βροτός*, to mean 'void of men, unpeopled,' (*καθ' ἣν βροτοὶ μὴ φοιτῶσιν* Schol., *ἐν ᾗ βροτὸς οὐ πρόεισιν* Eustathius), and so in Aesch. Prom. 2 *ἄβροτον εἰς ἐρημίαν* (as Dindorf rightly reads for *ἄβατον*: Hesychius has *ἄβροτον· ἀπάνθρωπον*).[2] (3) I would therefore read **ἀροτῆτα*, as a parallel form to *ἀρετήν*, the *ἀρ-* in each case representing nr̥- (beside *ἀ-νήρ*). In Il. 2. 651 *Ἐνυαλίῳ ἀνδρειφόντῃ* we may read **ἀρεφόντῃ*, with the same stem as *ἀρετή*.

ἀντακαῖος 'sturgeon' was a Scythian word, Hdt. 4. 53: if this means Slavonic I would connect the word with **ant**- in *ἀντί* 'against,' Lith. *ant* 'up to,' and **akv**- in Lat. *aqua* (the Ur-Slavisch form would be *aka), and explain it as 'going up

[1] For the varying quantity of the second vowel cf. *ἀργέτι ἀργῆτι*, *ἀσκεθής ἀσκηθής*, *πρωτοπαγής εὐπηγής* (Schulze 473 n.).

[2] From *ἀβρότη* Goebel, Homerische Blätter, p. 1 *sq.*, derives *ἀβροτάζω* in Il. 10. 65 *μή πως ἀβροτάξομεν ἀλλήλοιιν*, 'walk by night to each other's hurt': Hesychius has *ἀβροτῆσαι* 'to meet by night.'

stream,' since according to Pliny (Hist. Nat. 9. 60) the sturgeon swims with its scales turned forward. Lat. *aquipēnsis* may mean the same thing, though I cannot explain the second element.—Another Scythian word, *ἄσχυ* 'hazelsap,' Hdt. 4. 23, may go with Polish *oskola* 'birchsap,' from a stem **askhv-**.

ἄντρον 'cave' may mean 'cul de sac,' and go with Sk. *ántas* 'end,' Goth. *andeis*.

αὖλαξ 'furrow,' *αὐλή* 'court' (within a high fence, Homer's *βαθέης αὐλῆς*), *αὐλός* 'flute,' *αὐλών* 'hollow way' or 'windpipe,' may all go together, the common idea being 'hollow.' The stem then is **au-l-n-** from **ave-l-n-**, p. 1, whence also **ve-l-n-** in Lat. *vallis* (Persson 230: *i.e.* *velnós, with 'pretonic' *a*), Sk. *vāṇī* 'reed' and *vāṇás* 'arrow made of reed.'[1]

βρέφος 'babe' stands to *βραχύς* 'small' much as *ἐλαφρός*, see note p. 11, stands to *ἐλαχύς*: the root of *βρέφος* must be **mreghv-**, as that of *βραχύς* is **mr̥ghv-**, Goth. *ga-maurgjan* 'to shorten' (Johansson K.Z. 30. 442 *sq.*). I detect a third form, **mr̥̄ghv-**, in *μορφνός*, Il. 24. 316, 'the little one,' according to Pliny (Hist. Nat. 10. 7) the smallest but one (the *μελανάετος*) of the six kinds of eagle.

δέλεαρ 'bait,' Laconian *βλῆρ* (Alcman 130), must mean 'dropt' into the water, from *βάλλω* (not, as Meister 2. 204 says, from a root **gvel-** meaning 'to split, tear'). In Od. 12. 252 the grammarian Callistratus read *ἰχθύσι τοῖς ὀλίγοισι δόλον κατὰ δείλατα* ('bait') *βάλλων*, for *εἴδατα* (Schulze 102).

δεσπότης and Sk. *jáspatis* 'master of the house' owe their *t* to a popular connexion with the words for 'lord,' *πόσις* ('husband') and *pátis*: the proper form, as Old Slavonic *gospodĭ* 'lord' shows, was **gvĕspod-**, the *-δ-* perhaps appearing in *δεσπόζω*. The further derivation is obscure: the word indeed may be un-Aryan.

δέχομαι in Homer and Att., beside *δέκομαι* in Sappho Pindar Hdt. and *-δοκ-* in compounds in all dialects, owes its *χ* to *ἔχω*, a word of cognate meaning: *i.e.*, to use Fick's convenient expression, *δέχομαι* 'rhymes' with *ἔχομαι* (Middle).—With *δοκ-* may go *δοχμός* (*i.e.*, **δοκ-σ-μός*, as *πλοχμός* is for **πλοκ-σ-μός*, De Saussure, Mém. Soc. Ling. 7. 91[2]) 'aslant,' a metaphor from a beast turning to 'receive' the hunter, Il. 12. 147 (of

[1] These must be quite different words from Sk. *vāṇī* 'music, tone' and *vāṇás* 'music, hundred-stringed harp,' with which Johansson, Idg. Forsch. 2. 55 n., puts *αὐλός*

[2] Cf. *ῥωχμός* 'cleft,' Il. 23. 420, for **ῥωγ-σ-μός*, from *ῥήγνυμι*.

boars at bay) *ἀνδρῶν ἠδὲ κυνῶν δέχαται κολοσυρτὸν ἰόντα δοχμώ ἀισσοντε περὶ σφίσιν ἄγνυντον ὕλην.*

δῆρις 'contest' may mean 'spear-work,' from **δῆρϜις*, **dērv**- Ablaut to **dōrv**-, **dōru**, Sk. *dā́ru* 'piece of wood': cf., with short vowel, **derv**- Lith. *derwà* 'pinewood,' **dorv**- *δούρατα*, **doru** *δόρυ* 'spear.' This **δῆρϜις* then became **δῆρρις*, *δῆρις*, though by ordinary Greek laws it should have become **δέρϜις*, **δεῦρις*; much as **μηνσός* became **μηννός* (Lesbian *μῆννος*), *μηνός*, though by ordinary Greek laws it should have become **μενσός*, **μεισός*. In other words, the law that **rv** became *ρρ* was earlier in operation than the law that **ērv**- became *ερϜ*, as the law that **ns** became *νν* was earlier in operation (Brugmann Grr. 1. 611) than the law that **ēns** became *ενν*.

εἰκῇ 'at random' seems a Litotes for *εἰκότως* 'as we should have expected, simply, naturally,' Soph. Oed. Rex 979 *εἰκῇ κράτιστον ζῆν, ὅπως δύναιτό τις*. It is then Instrumental of an Adj. **εἰκός*, seen in *εἰκο-βολεῖν* 'to aim at random,' cognate with *ἔοικε* 'it seems.'

εἰπεῖν 'to say' may mean 'to clear up,' **veikv**-, cf. Sk. *vic*- 'to sift, separate, examine.'

ἐπί-σταμαι 'know' seems formed from the Adj. *ἐπιστήμων* (Od. 16. 374) 'knowing,' literally 'setting oneself to a thing.' The Subst. *ἐπιστήμη* 'knowledge' appears first in Hippocrates.

ἑρμηνεύς 'interpreter' must be formed from *Ἑρμῆν* (Acc. of *Ἑρμῆς*), taken as a stem: Hermes was the god of speech, *λόγιος* (Lucian). So *Ζῆν*, Acc. of *Ζεύς* (Il. 8. 206), being taken as a stem produced in the Tragedians the forms *Ζῆνα Ζηνός Ζηνί*.

ἦτρον 'abdomen' ('wind' in our pugilistic sense) stands to Old Slavonic *vĕtrŭ* 'wind' as Lat. *venter* (see Etyma Latina) stands to *ventus*: *ἦτρον* is from (**a**)**vē**-, *ἄημι*, with a termination **-trom**, as *venter*, stem *ventri*-, is from **vent**- (a Participial form from the same root, Brugmann Grr. 1. 612), with a termination **-ri**-.

κάλλαια 'a cock's wattles' may mean 'beauties,' **κάλλαιος* Adj. from **καλλή* by-form of *κάλλος* (as *εὐχή* of *εὖχος*).

κλοιός κλῳός 'wooden collar,' *i.e.* **κλωϜ-ι-ός*, shows the same stem **kl̥v**- as Lat. *clāva* 'wooden club.'

κωλύω 'hinder' is a Dissimilation for **κῡλῡ́ω* (as *κωκύω* 'howl' for **κῡκῡ́ω*, Lith. *kūkiu*): with a short vowel the root appears in *κυλλόω* 'cripple,' and Sk. *kuṇis* 'crippled in the arm' (Fortunatov B.B. 6. 216).

λᾶός ought in Ionic to be *ληός*, as it is in Hipponax, and perhaps

once was in Homer (Monro, Hom. Gramm.² p. 390). From ληός I would deduce (*a*) ληίον 'crop,' the produce of 'common' land, and (*b*) λῃΐς λῃΐη λεῖᾱ 'booty,' public property before it was divided among the combatants, cf. λείας ἄδαστα Soph. Aj. 54.

ματάω 'linger' (Il.) and μάτη 'folly' (Tragg.) are from mn̥-tós Part of μένω, with the same transition of meaning as appears in Eng. *dwell* and *dull*.

μείων 'less,' for *μή-jων (G. Meyer 391), goes with Sk. *mā-* 'to measure,' and so means 'more measured,' μετριώτερος, not so immense.

μη-νῡ́ω, Dor. μᾱ νῡ́ω 'make known,' is from mn̄- Ablaut of mn̥- in Lat. *mens*, Sk. *matis* 'thought.' For the transfer of meaning from 'think' to 'declare' see on ἀείδω, p. 4.

μογοστόκος, epithet of Eileithyia in Homer, of Artemis in Theocritus, cannot mean, as Brugmann Grr. 1. 204 makes it, 'causing pangs,' from *μόγονς Acc. Plur. of μόγος: τίκτω is not used metaphorically in Homer, and such a use would be peculiarly inappropriate in connexion with the occasion. Liddell and Scott rightly translate it 'helping women in hard childbirth,' protectress γυναικῶν μόγις τεκουσῶν: the first element is an Adverb *μόγ-ος (with the same termination as πάρ-ος) from a stem μογ-, whence with Locative ending, and the same ς as in ἀμφί-ς, we get μόγις 'with difficulty' (accented like the Subst.), and, with a determinative -ϙ- (see on θέσφατος, p. 2), μόγος 'labour.'

μῡ́ωψ 'gadfly, goad' means 'flylike,' stinging as a fly does: from μῡ́ᾱ, the Attic form of μυῖα (Theophrastus, Hist. Plant. 5. 77, where Liddell and Scott wrongly make it the name of a plant), + ὤπα. Prellwitz derives it from μυῖα in the sense of 'buzzing'; but this will not suit the meaning 'goad.'

νεᾱλής 'fresh' is not a compound of ἁλίσκομαι, but a by-form of *νεᾱλός (as δαψιλής is of δαψιλός, ἀλουργής of ἀλουργός), from a Subst. *νέᾱ 'youth,' whence also νεᾶνις, νεᾱνίᾱς. For the termination cf. ἀπατηλός, σῑγηλός.

νοῦσος=*νόσ-Fος (Kretschmer K.Z. 31. 471), which I would connect with νέ(σ)ομαι 'come': thus Od. 9. 411 νοῦσος Διός means 'the visitation of Zeus,' and Soph. Ant. 421 θεία νοσος, of a whirlwind, 'the visitation of heaven.'

παφλάζειν 'to foam' must be from an Adj. *παφλός (or *παφλάς, cf. γυμνάς beside γυμνός), from the same root as πέμφιξ πομφόλυξ 'bubble.' It cannot be, as Prellwitz makes it, a Reduplication from ἔφλαδον 'they burst,' which would give *παιφλάζειν (Brug-

mann Grr. 2. p. 1084): *παμφαίνω* 'shine' must be formed on an Adj. **παμ-φανής* 'all shining,' whence also *παμφανόων*, while *παπταίνω* 'look round' must be from a root **kvn̥kvth-** (or whatever the last letter may be), **kvenkvth-**, whence, without the nasal, Sk. *caksh-* 'to see' (Fick B.B. 18. 134).—So *τετρεμαίνω* must be from an Adj. **τε-τρεμανός*, not straight from *τρέμω*, or we should have **τιτρεμαίνω*, like *τιταίνω*; and *τετραίνω* 'pierce' from an Adj. **τε-τρανός*, or we should have *τιτραίνω* (the form used by Theophrastus).

πεπνῡμένος 'wise,' *νόον πεπνῦσθαι* 'to have understanding' Od. 10. 495 (see Goebel, Homerische Blätter, p. 24), go with *ποιπνύω* 'am busy,' the common idea being that of *strength*: the root is **kvneu-**, Old High German *pi-hniutan* 'to glorify,' *πνύξ* 'meeting-place of the Ecclesia,' quasi 'enclosure, stronghold.' Thus *πνέω* 'blow' must originally have been used of the wind blowing strong, and then transferred to the breathing of human beings.

πεπτηώς· δι' ἀσθένειαν καὶ δειλίαν πεπτωκώς, says Hesychius: in Homer the word always means 'fallen,' *e.g.* Od. 14. 474 *ὑπὸ τεύχεσι πεπτηῶτες κείμεθα* 'we lay on the ground, with our shields over us,' and Il. 2. 312 (of young sparrows) *πετάλοις ὑποπεπτηῶτες* 'at the bottom of the nest, under the leaves.' It has no more to do with *πτήσσω* 'crouch' than has *καταπτήτην* in Il. 8. 136, of horses falling under the car: horses do not crouch down when they are frightened, but struggle to get away.

πηγή 'fountain' must go with *πηγός* 'big,' the Homeric epithet of horses and waves, and Sk. *pajrás* 'strong': it means a place where the water is strong enough to force its way out.

πίθηκος πίθων 'ape' must go with *πίθος* 'jar,' and means 'rotund, pot-bellied.'

πρόχνυ means 'wholly' in Homer, as it is allowed to mean in Apollonius Rhodius: it has nothing to do with *γόνυ* (which would not account for the *χ*),[1] in Il. 9. 570 *πρόχνυ καθεζομένη* means 'sitting right down,' not 'sitting on her knees,' which would be an impossible feat. I would deduce the word from **πρόξ*, formed from *πρό* as *πέριξ* is formed from *πέρι*, and, I think *ἅπαξ* from **ἅπα* Instrumental of **ἀπός*, *i.e.* **sm̥kvós**, from **sm̥-** 'together' (see 1, C): for the sense cf. Lat. *prōrsus* 'utterly,'

[1] Sk. *prajnus*, quoted by Fick, Wörterbuch[4] 1. 432, is unauthenticated, and at best only means 'bandy-legged.'

from *prō*. The second element is the **-nu** which appears in Cyprian *ὄνυ* 'this,' Arcadian *τάνυ* 'these things,' Goth. *thannu* 'so then,' and I think *πάνυ* 'altogether' (*i.e.* *πᾱ̆-νυ*, the first element going with Lat. *pon-itus*, Sabler K.Z. 31. 371), see Persson Idg. Forsch. 2. 251: **πρόξ-νυ* became *πρόχνυ* by De Saussure's law, Mém. Soc. Ling. 7. 90, as **λύξ-νος* (cf. Zend *raokhshna* 'shining') became *λύχνος*.

ῥῆγος 'rug' (Hom.), *ῥέγος* (Anacreon), *ῥέζω* 'dye' (Epicharmus), and *ἁλο-υργής* 'dyed with sea purple' (Att., see Schulze 498, *n.*), must go with *ῥήσσω* 'beat the ground' (Il. 18. 571), cloth being stamped on to make the dye penetrate: so German *walken* 'to clean cloth' is the same word as Eng. *walk*. The root must be **vrĕ̄g-**, Ablaut **vr̥g-** in *ῥάσσω* 'push': Sk. *raj-* 'to be red' cannot be connected, if only because the meaning would be too narrow.

σατίνη 'chariot' may be a Persian word, standing for **ξατίνη* (as *σατράπης* stands for **ξατράπης*, Old Persian *khshatrapāvan-* 'viceroy'), and going with Sk. *kshat-tár-* 'charioteer.'

σαυρωτήρ 'spike at the butt-end of a spear' must mean 'twirler,' from a Verb **σαυρόω*, itself from a Subst. *σαῦρος*, originally, I would suggest, meaning 'a stirring-stick,' and hence coming to mean 'a lizard,' which when motionless looks like a piece of wood. This *σαῦρος*=**τϝάρ-ϝος*, from a root **tvr̥-**, whence also Lat. *trua* 'stirring-ladle' (on the *ru* see p. 11 med.), *ὀτρῡ́νω* 'urge,' *ὀτραλέως* 'quickly'; Ablauts (1) **tur-** in *τορύνη* 'ladle,'[1] a Dissimilation for **τυρύνη*, as *κόκκυξ* is for **κύκκυξ*, Lat. *cucūlus*; (2) **tvor-** in Old Norse *thvara* 'stirring-stick'; (3) **tver-** in Ags. *thviril* 'churn-handle,' Eng. *twirl*, Old High German *dweran* 'to mix up,' Sk. *tvar-* 'to hasten.' From a by-form **stver-**, **stur-** (see Schrijnen, Phénomène de l' S Mobile) comes *στύραξ*, p. 12.

σῶμα, which in Homer always means 'dead body, carcase,' may go with *σῶς* 'safe,' and mean 'remnant, what has escaped being eaten by dogs or birds': Il. 3. 23 *ὥστε λέων ἐχάρη μεγάλῳ ἐπὶ σώματι κύρσας*.

τόσσαις 'being,' *ἐπιτόσσαις* 'finding' (both in Pindar), seem to point to an Aeolic Verb **τόσσᾱμι* 'I do so much,' from *τόσσος*.

φύλαξ 'guardian' may originally have meant 'the man in the house,' *οἰκέτης*, **bhu-l-** being Ablaut of **bhōu-l-** in Old Norse *bōl* 'lair' (Wiedemann Lit. Praet. p. 137, despite Kluge

[1] Fick, Wörterbuch[4], 1. 499, adds *τῡρός* 'cheese'; but this is not made by stirring, though butter is.

K.Z. 26. 97), **bhō-l-** in φωλεύω 'lurk,' φωλάς 'in his den' (of a bear). So φῡλή 'tribe' may originally have meant 'house' in the sense of Lat. *gens*.

*χέρης, used by Homer in the forms χέρηα, χέρηι, χέρηες, must go with χείρ and mean 'belonging to a handicraftsman,' χερνής, as opposed to a warrior. Thus it is used contemptuously, Il. 1. 80 βασιλεὺς ὅτε χώσεται ἀνδρὶ χέρηι ('a low fellow'), Od. 15. 324 οἷά τε τοῖς ἀγαθοῖσι παραδρώωσι χέρηες; and so in the Neuter, Il. 14. 382 ἐσθλὰ μὲν ἐσθλὸς ἔδυνε, χέρηα ('those fit for an artisan') δὲ χείρονι δόσκεν. In Od. 14. 176 οὔτι χέρηα πατρός, 'not like a handicraftsman beside his father,' we have a Genitive-Ablative of comparison, such as Brugmann Griech. Gramm.[2] 183 finds in Thucydides' πόλεμον ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων 'most notable in comparison with those before.' The Comparative of *χέρης is χερείων or χείρων 'more fit for an artisan,' or, as in Il. 14. 382 above, 'more like an artisan.' But in another view battle was called 'handwork,' χάρμη (with the 'reduced' root χr̥-); and with this I would put χερμάδιον 'a stone used in battle as a missile.'

XII.—RARE WORDS IN MIDDLE ENGLISH. By the Rev. Prof. SKEAT, Litt.D.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Philological Society, Friday, June* 3, 1892.]

Abos. For this word, see **Boose.**

Aker. See **Ker.**

Boose, a cow-stall. The earliest quotation in N. E. D. is dated 1440. But it occurs a century earlier, in Allit. Poems, ed. Morris, B. 1075; where it is misunderstood, and ignored in the glossary, owing to the preceding indef. article being written closely against it, as is common in M.E. The mysterious word *abos* means *a bos*, i.e. a boose. It makes excellent sense. Speaking of Christ's nativity, the author well says: "Was never so blisfull a bower as was a boose then, Nor no shroud-house so sheen as a shepen there." *Shepen* is a stable.

Borken, barked. It is curious that Stratmann's Dict. does not happen to give the pp. of the verb *borken*, to bark as a dog. Yet *borken*, which is the right form, occurs in the first line of bk. i. pr. 5 of Chaucer's Boethius. It so happens that it is missed in Dr. Furnivall's index, and Dr. Morris's text has the corrupt reading *broken*. Mätzner gives an example of *borken* from the King of Tars, l. 400; but he misses the example in Chaucer.

Bredes. In Allit. Poems, B. 1405, we have: "Burnes berande the *bredes* upon brode skeles," *i.e.* men bearing the roast meats upon broad dishes. I note this because *bredes* is not in the glossary, and the side-note says it means "bread." See *brede* in Stratmann.

Chevisaunce, resource. This is given in the New Eng. Dictionary as the right reading in the Rom. of the Rose, 3337. I draw attention to it because it affords us a conclusive test as to the genuineness of the Rowley Poems. It so happens that all the existing editions have *cherisaunce*, by mistake, though the original French text has *chevisaunce*. The editors thought it meant "comfort," and so explain it. Hence, by a second misprint, arose

the form *cherisaunie*, and even *cherisaunei*, duly explained as "comfort" in Kersey. Chatterton fell into the trap, and began his poem of Ælla with "Some *cherisaunei* 'tys," *i.e.* it is some comfort.

Decoped. Rightly explained in Stratmann, with a reference to Rom. of the Rose. It means "cut, or slashed," said of shoes. The explanation in Halliwell is wrong. He refers us to *coppid*, which he explains by 'peaked.' Under *coppid*, he refers to *couped* in P. Plowman; but this means 'slashed.' Cf. also *coped*, Libeaus Desconus, ed. Kaluza, l. 143.

Degare. A copy of the Romance of Sir Degaré occurs in the Percy Folio MS. iii. 26, where the name is explained as meaning "almost lost." Dr. Furnivall notes that an O.F. *degarer* answers to Low Lat. *deuagari*, as *degaster* does to *deuastare*. This does not work out correctly; for, by the same rule, *degarer* would answer to Low Lat. *deuarari*, as the *g* is for *u*. But the fact is, that, as in other cases, the real prefix is *des-* (for Lat. *dis-*), which became *de-* in later French (mod. F. *dé-*). The full form would be *des-garé*. This only differs from O.F. *es-garé* in the use of the prefix *des-* instead of *es-* (Lat. *ex*); and we know that these two prefixes were of equivalent value. The O.F. *esgare* meant lost, abandoned, strayed, out of the way; cf. mod. F. *égaré* lost. The English explanation "almost lost," just represents a not uncommon sense of *esgaré*, viz. strayed, applied to one who has lost his way for a time, but may hope to recover it. The etymology is now apparent, viz. from the prefix *des-*, *de-* (Lat. *dis-*), and the verb *garer*, to take heed, from the O.H.G. *warón*, to observe, heed, be aware of. The Eng. *wary* is from the same Germanic root. Cf. Ital. *sgarrato*, mistaken, from the same source.

Dray, a squirrel's nest. This word occurs in Drayton's Quest of Cynthia, st. 51; W. Browne's Pastorals, bk. i. song 5; and in Cowper, in a piece called A Fable. The A.S. spelling would be *dræg*; cf. *day* for A.S. *dæg*. It seems to me that the sense of 'nest' would very well explain a passage in Béowulf, l. 757, where it is said that Grendel was scared by Béowulf, and wanted to get away to his own haunt; "wolde on heolstor fléon, sécan deoflan *gedræg*," he wanted to flee to his hiding-place, to seek the devils' dray. The explanation of *gedræg* in Grein is not at all clear. There seem to have been two forms, *gedræg* and *gedreag*, which may have been from different roots.

Eynes. This form appears in the glossary to the Allit. Morte Arthure, with nine references. Wholly failing to understand it, I applied to Mr. Bradley, who correctly informed me that it is a ghost-word. The *n* should be *u*; and all the forms quoted are variants of the mod. E. *eaves*, a border, margin. See *evese* in Stratmann, and *eaves* in the New English Dict.

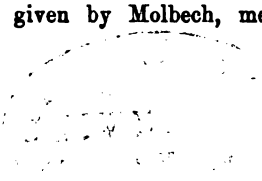
Fausere, Fasoure, Vasure. In Libeaus Desconus, ed. Kaluza, l. 1919, we have a curious and unexplained word. The passage relates the effects of an earthquake:—

> "The halle-rof unlek,
> And the *faunsere* ek,
> As hit wolde a-sonder,"

i.e. the hall-roof unlocked or came apart, and so did the *faunsere*, as if it would part asunder. The MS. can also be read as *fauusere*, which is, in fact, a better form; and the various readings give us the forms *fasoure*, *vasure*. I wish to suggest that the word here meant is an old form of the mod. F. *voussure*, for which Littré gives the old forms *vousure*, *vossure*. In mod. E. architecture, the corresponding term is *voussoir*, applied to a somewhat wedge-shaped stone used for forming an arch. The proper sense of the word is the curvature of an arch, or the vaulting of a roof; Cotgrave explains *vousure* as "a vaulting or arching." The point is, that it gives precisely the very sense required; "the hall-roof fell apart, even where it was made of vaulted stonework." The sb. is formed as if from a verb *vousser*, answering to a Low Lat. **volutiare*, from *volutus*, pp. of *voluere*; that is, it is from the same root as *vault*, and has much the same sense.

Feraunt. The gloss. to Morte Arthure explains *feraunt* as 'seemly.' But Bradley rightly explains it as 'iron-grey,' O.F. *ferrant*, as an epithet of a horse. Hence it is not from A.S. *faran* 'to go,' but from Lat. *ferrum* 'iron.' *Ferrand* occurs, in romances, as a name for a horse; from its colour.

Fnatted. In Weber's King Alisaunder, 6447, there is a description of a monstrous race of men, with very long faces, and ears an ell long; "and *fnatted* nose, that is wrong." The word is misprinted *fuatted*, both in the text and glossary; but such a form is impossible; there is no such diphthong as *ua* in M.E. *Wrong* means simply distorted, or crooked. As to *fnatted*, it is the Danish *fnattet*, given by Molbech, meaning afflicted with



a disease called *fnat*, which was a skin disease, a kind of *itch*. So in Swedish dialects, *fnatta* is to scratch a place that itches (Rietz).

Fodding. In Kyng Alisaunder, l. 48, we find: "Wyse men fond also there Twelf *fodding* to thes yere, The yere to lede by right ars (arts)." Weber's explanations are seldom right, but in this case he has seen his way. He makes *fodding* to be the A.S. *fadung*, disposal, arrangement; hence, a division of the year, a month; and he explains *to lede* by "to guide." This explanation is borne out by a passage in the A.S. Leechdoms, quoted in Bosworth and Toller, s.v. *gefadung*. Cf. *fade*, ready (?), in Sir Tristrem, l. 153. The word appears neither in Mätzner nor in Stratmann.

Fuatted. See **Fnatted.**

Gele. This word occurs in the Pearl, 931. Morris explains it by "spy, see"; this suits the context, but there is no authority for it of any kind. Mr. Gollancz says it either means "hesitate, delay," from A.S. *gælan*; or perhaps it is from Icel. *gæla*, to comfort, to soothe. The latter will not suit the context. It is clearly from A.S. *gælan*, in the intransitive sense of "tarry." The passage is—"And by thyse bonkes ther I con gele, I se no bygyng nawhere aboute," *i.e.* And wherever I have lingered beside these banks, I see no building anywhere. (The MS. needlessly repeats *And* before *I se*.)

Gessenen. In Morte Arthure, 2521, we find the line—"He bare, *gessenande*, in golde, thre grayhoundes of sable." The word *gessenande* is not explained. I take it to be present part. in *-ande* from a verb of which the stem is *gessen-*, and the infin. mood is *gessenen*. It must be French, because it is a term in heraldry. I take it to be a verb formed from the M.E. sb. *gesin* or *gesine*, Cursor Mundi, 3906, Cov. Mysteries, p. 150. This is adapted from the F. *gesine*, which Cotgrave explains as 'a lying-in,' though the related verb *gesir* merely means to lie down. If we give to this verb *gessenen* the same simple sense, it makes it equivalent to the F. *coucher*; and the pres. part. becomes equivalent to the pres. part. *couchant*, lying down, a well-known heraldic term. Then the sense becomes: "he bare, on his shield, *or*, three grayhoundes couchant, *sable*." This is perfectly intelligible and consistent.

Harrawnte. This word occurs in the Morte Arthure, 2449. It is necessary to quote the passage.

'Thane come the herbariours, harageous knyghtez,
The hale batelles on hye *harrawnte* therafter.'

Harageous is said to mean 'violent,' though its etymology is not clear. *Harrawnte* is supposed, in the glossary, to be a verb. I take it to be really a present participle, representing the O.F. *harant*, pres. pt. of *harer*, which Cotgrave explains by 'to set on a dog.' The original sense of *harer* was simply 'to cry out aloud, to shout,' as it is merely the O.H.G. *haren*, 'to cry aloud, to shout,' in a French form. I explain the passage thus: 'Then come the harbingers (or vanguard), fierce knights; and the complete battalions (or squadrons) come after them, all shouting aloud.' *On hye*=on high, aloud.

Himland. This word, spelt *hymlande*, occurs in the same line as *hope*, q.v. It is clearly a present participle, but has never been explained. I would explain it as 'abounding in hummocks,' from the same root as *hummock*. At this rate, *himland hills* would mean rolling hills, hummocky hills, which suits the whole context admirably, as the thing described is a rough ride over uneven ground and various obstacles. Probably the vowel *i* is due to a mutation of *u*; compare E. *pit* from Lat. *puteus*. I think we may compare it with E. *hump* and Low G. *hümpel*, a little heap; Lat. *cumulus*, Gr. *κῦμα*; Ital. *cima*, a mountain-top.

Hope. In the Morte Arthure, l. 2503, we find: "Thorowe *hopes* and hymlande hillys and other." Mr. Bradley explains it by 'valley,' which is practically right, and refers us to A.S. *hop*, with short *o*. I wish to point out that there seems to be two distinct *hopes*, one with original short *o*, and one, perhaps, with long *o*. Mr. Bradley has got hold of the right one, etymology and all; but Grein and Bosworth are at fault. Sievers has: "*hop*, recess," which I take to be the right A.S. form, but with a wrong sense. I would set it all right thus. (1) A.S. *hop*, strong neuter sb., pl. *hopu*, explained by Jamieson as in use in Scotland in the forms *hop*, *hope*, and as meaning a sloping hollow between two hills, sometimes a rather deep glen. The *o* is short, because the plural terminates in *u*; see Sievers, A.S. Gram. § 239. Only two A.S. examples are known, both plural, and both in Béowulf, viz. *fen-hopu*, or sloping hollows with a fenny bottom, and *mōr-hopu*, sloping hollows on a moorside. This explains the form *hopes* in the present passage, and doubtless occurs in *some* English place-names, such as Hope, near Castleton-in-the-Peak,

Hopton, etc. The other word I take to be of Norse origin; it also occurs as *hope* in Lowland Scotch, but it has quite a different sense; it means a recess or haven, and occurs in place-names on a sea-coast, such as Kirkhope in Orkney (Vigfusson). This may well be the Icel. *hōp* (with long *o*), a recess, a haven; and may be connected with E. *hoop*, i.e. a circular bend. I think we ought to keep the words separate, and to correct the quantities given in Grein and Toller.

Ker. In the glos. to Sir Gawain and the Grene Knight, we find "*Kerre*, rock, 1431." Stratmann explains it better by "marsh." The line is: "In a knot, bi a clyffe, at the *kerre-syde*," i.e. at the side of the marsh; the same marsh, or pool, is called *a flosche* (flush) in the preceding line. I notice this because the very same expression occurs again, only a few lines above, at l. 1421; but it is there printed *aker syde*, with the explanation of *aker* as "field, plain" in the glossary. But the alliteration proves that the word begins with *k*. The line is—"Sone thay calle of a quest in a ker-syde." See *Carr* (2) in the New Eng. Dictionary.

Keve. This word occurs twice in the Pearl, 320, 980. Stratmann suggests "turn," but with a query. Mr. Gollancz points out to me that it is the Icel. *kefja*, to dip, to dive, to sink. The sense seems to suit sufficiently. In the former passage, the dreamer is told that, before he can go to heaven, his "corse in clot mot calder keve," *i.e.* his corpse, made colder, must sink into the clod. The latter passage is less clear. The dreamer lifts up his eyes, and sees, far above, the heavenly Jerusalem, brightly shining "by3onde the brok, fro me warde keued," *i.e.* beyond the brook (of death), that dipped down away from me.

Lauen, pools; K. Alis. 3856. Given in Stratmann, s.v. *La3e*.

Laye. This word occurs in Morte Arthure, 3721; and is not explained. But it is the same as *la3e*, a pool (A.S. *laga*, a lake), explained in Stratmann and in Mätzner, with references to *other* passages.

Lorayn. In the Morte Arthure, 2462, there is a mention of "launces with loraynes"; the word *loraynes* is not in the glossary. Halliwell and Stratmann give *lorein*, with the sense of "a rein." So here, *launces with loraynes* may very well mean lances provided with thongs for throwing them. Cf. Lat. *lorum*, a thong. The Roman *iaculum* was furnished with an *amentum*; Ovid, Met. xii. 321–3.

Maches. In Morte Arthure, 2950, we are told how Sir Gawain attacked his enemies; one of his feats was that he "metes the *maches* of Mees, and melles hym thorowe," *i.e.* he meets (somebody), and smites him through. The 'somebody' is here called "the *maches* of Mees," which has not been explained. When we remember that *a* was then pronounced as the *a* in *path*, which only differed from the sound of *ar* when the *r* was properly trilled, we see that *maches* is an error for *marches*. This is the O.F. *marchis*, given in Littré as the usual spelling of the word which exists in English as *marquis*. Again, Cotgrave explains that *marquis* meant, "in old time, the governor of a frontire town." Hence "the *maches* of Mees" means the governor of *Mees*, where *Mees* is the name of the town. Further, as the said marquis was a follower of the Duke of Lorraine, it is an easy guess that *Mees* represents a frontier-town of Lorraine, which happens to be Metz, as rightly explained in the Index. Hence we arrive at the romantic fact that one of the governors of Metz had the distinguished honour of being slain by Sir Gawain. Note that the *ch* sound of *marches* is still heard in the E. *marchioness*.

Mansell, Masnel. See **Masuel.**

Masuel. We must add to the M.E. Dict. the word *masuel*, a little mace, a kind of weapon; O.F. *maçuele* (Godefroy), also spelt *massuele*, *masuele*. Cotgrave gives: *Massue*, 'a club,' which is the same word, without the dimin. suffix. It occurs twice in Rich. Coer de Lion, ed. Weber, 351, 5660. In the latter place Weber has spelt it *masnel*, with *n* for *u*; and in the former place he actually has *mansell*, probably a misprint for *masnell*, which means *masuell*, as before. In both places the line scans better with the right form. In l. 351 read: 'Forth he took a *masuël*,' in three syllables. In l. 5660, scan the line: 'By that o | ther syde | his *mas* | *uel*.' The Low Lat. form would be *maxucella*, as it is a fem. form; see *Maxuca* in Ducange.

Mes, a good position for taking aim. This word occurs twice in the Rom. of the Rose, though it does not appear in the editions. It so happens that in both cases (ll. 1453, 3462) it occurs in the same phrase, viz. *at good mes*; and in both places it has been turned by the editors (except Thynne) into *at goodness*, though this yields no sense. *Mes* is a real word, and an old Anglo-French hunting term. It represents a Lat. *missum*, and signifies a good place for aim, a good place for a shot. Thus, in a lay by

Marie de France, entitled *Guigemar*, l. 87, a man tries to shoot at a deer. "Trair voleit, si *mes* eust," *i.e.* he wished to pull the bow, if he could get a good shot. And, in Gaimar's Chronicle, there is a most interesting example, with reference to Sir Walter Tyrrel and King William Rufus. It is said of Tyrrel that when "le grant cerf a *mes* li vint, Entesa l'arc," *i.e.* when the great stag came within his aim he drew the bow. The arrow missed the stag, as we all know, and killed the king. The E. phrase *at good mes* represents an A-F. *a bon mes*, i.e. within one's aim, in a favourable position for a shot. When this is seen, both passages become easy. In the former, the writer says that the God of Love came after him with a bow—

> "Right as an hunter can abyde
> The beste, til he seeth his tyde
> To shete, at good mes, to the dere."

In the latter passage we have the lines—

> "Suffre, I rede, and no boost make
> Til thou at good mes mayst him take."

The original French has *en bel leu*, in a good position, in the former passage, and *en bon point* in the latter passage, with the same sense.

Odam, son-in-law; King Alis. ed. Weber, 2081. Weber explains it wrongly, though rightly comparing G. *Eidam*. I note it because it is difficult to find in Stratmann, where it is entered under *āthum*.

Paleis, Palis. There is a word in Chaucer's Boethius which does not seem to be explained with sufficient clearness. We know that M.E. *paleis* usually means 'palace'; but there is another *paleis*, also spelt *palis*, in Chaucer, which Dr. Morris and Dr. Furnivall explain by 'pale'; and the Lat. original has *uallum*. 'Pale' is not quite right, nor does it explain the form; the right sense is 'a set of pales,' *i.e.* a paling, or a palisade, a kind of stockade. The word is not plural, but singular; it is the O.F. *palis*, *paleis*, mod. F. *palis*; whence the verb *palisser* and the sb. *palissade*. The Low Lat. forms are *palitium* (whence F. *palis*) and *palacium* (whence O.F. *paleis*). I find that *paleis* occurs three times in Libeaus Desconus, ed. Kaluza, 1556, 1791, 1862; and in the first instance, at any rate, the sense of 'stockade' suits better than 'palace'; the various readings in l. 1556 present

the forms *palysed*, i.e. provided with a palisade, and *palyd*, i.e. provided with pales; which renders my suggestion highly probable. The word is not in Stratmann. The same word occurs, spelt *palays*, in Gawain and the Grene Knight, 769. See **Pyked** below.

Partlet, a woman's ruff. I have not seen any satisfactory etymology of this word. In the Century Dictionary it is connected with *partlet*, a hen. I believe that the two words were originally quite distinct, but were gradually confused in spelling. *Partlet*, a hen, is spelt *Pertelote* in Chaucer; and it is asserted in the Century Dictionary that this *Pertelote* was a feminine name.

But the other *partlet* is remarkable for having, originally, no *r* in it. The M.E. form is *patelet*, which occurs in Rob. Henrysoun's Garmond of Gude Ladeis, st. 7, as the name of an article of female attire. This is precisely the O.F. *patelette*, given by Godefroy and Cotgrave. Cotgrave has it in the sense of a part of a bridle; but Godefroy gives it as a dimin. of *patte*, properly a bird's foot, but occasionally used in the sense of a band of stuff, or a flap of a garment. I think the right etymology must be looked for in this direction, though I do not quite see through it. Perhaps we receive further light by consulting *paitlattis* and *paitclayth* in Jamieson. Skelton has both *patlet*, in his Magnificence, l. 2100, and *partlettes*, in his Maner of the World, l. 163. In Fairholt's Costume, ii. 15, s.v. *arming Doublet*, we have a remarkable mention (in 1513) of "arming *patletts* of white satten quilted and lined with lynen cloth, for my lord to wear under his harness."

Pechelyne. This word occurs in Morte Arthure, 1341; the sense being unknown.

The passage is one where a certain emperor threatens to deprive Arthur of all his possessions. He says he will not leave in Paris (which then belonged to Arthur) so much as "his parte of a pechelyne."

The O.F. *pescher*, to fish, occasionally appears without *s*, like the Mod.F. *pêcher*; see Godefroy. I take *peche* to be from O.F. *pecher*, to fish; and I explain *peche-lyne* to mean "a fishing-line," *i.e.* a line to catch fish with. This suits the context. Arthur is to lose all his possessions, and his men will have nothing to eat; they will not even have a fragment of a fishing-line to catch a stray fish with. The threat is sufficiently expressive.

Pisane. This word is also spelt *pesane*, as in the Morte Arthure, 3458, and *pusane*. See *pusane* in Stratmann. Add to the references

there given *pysane*, Libeaus Desconus, ed. Ritson, 1618, and *pisaine*, in the same, ed. Kaluza, 1708; and, probably, *pesant*, conjecturally explained by 'head-piece' in Fairholt's Glossary of Costume in England, and dated 1579. It seems to have meant a gorget, or neck-piece, fastened below the helmet. Bradley proposes to connect it with the O.F. *gorgerette pisainne*, mentioned in Godefroy, s.v. *pisain*, i.e. an adj. formed from *Pisa*, in Italy. Godefroy also gives the adj. *pisanes* with the same sense, and with the example *elme pizane*, which I take to mean 'helmet of Pisa.' I conclude that the word is really formed from the place-name *Pisa*. *Milan* was likewise celebrated for cutlery and armour; cf. E. *milliner*. Ritson's Glossary to his Met. Romances gives a quotation from Grose: "3 coleretes *pizaines* de jazeran d'acier."

Potenere, a purse. In the Percy Folio MS. iii. 47, we find the spelling *poteuere*; and in the same, ii. 305, it is *potewer*. But the right spelling is *potenere*, whence the other forms result, by mistaking *n* for *u*, and then altering *u* to *w*; as, no doubt, the scribes did. See *Pawtenere* in the Prompt. Parv., and Way's note; and the note on *pawtenar* in Skelton, ed. Dyce, ii. 105. Godefroy gives O.F. *pautonniere*, s.f. a purse; which is clearly the same word. Ducange discusses it under *Pantonarus*, *Pantoneria*, and *Pautoneria*. He thinks it refers to a beggar's scrip; from O.F. *pautonier*, a servant, beggar, rascal.

Pyked. In Gawain and the Grene Knight, l. 769, we have a description of a park "with a pyked palays, pyned ful thik"; and in the next line we are told that this "palays" extended for more than two miles. This line has never been explained. *Pyked* and *pyned* are both explained wrongly in the glossary, and *palays* is not explained at all. Possibly the editor took *palays* to mean "palace," and this threw him out. But palaces are not usually two miles long; hence we must take *palays* in its other sense of "palisade" or "fence"; see *Palays* above. Then *pyked* means furnished with pikes or spikes; see this meaning in Stratmann. Lastly, the *y* in *pyned* is short; it stands for *pynned*, i.e. pinned in, enclosed, fastened, penned up; cf. *pindar*, and see Stratmann. We know that this is right because, in the same MS., in the poem on Patience, 79, we find—"Pynez me in a prisoun, put me in stokkes," where Dr. Morris rightly, as I think, explains *pynez* by fasten, or shut in, *i.e.* pen or pin up; though the sense "torture" is possible. Hence the line means that the park had a spiked paling all round it, the spikes

being pinned or fastened very thickly or closely together. This gives an exact sense, and suits the context. The misspelling *pyned* is due to omitting a stroke over the *n*.

Pyned. See **Pyked** above.

Quernes. See **Ternes.**

Radevore. This difficult word occurs in the Legend of Good Women, 2352. The only suggestion of any value is that given in Urry's Glossary, viz. that it stands for *ras de Vore*, i.e. serge made at a place called *Vore*. Tyrwhitt remarks that "there is a town in Languedoc called *La Vaur*; but I know not that it was ever famous for tapestry." Further investigation shows that this explanation is certainly correct; the difficulties that arise all vanish on examination. In the first place, as Urry's Glossary tells us, such phrases as *Ras de Chalons*, and *ras de Gennes*, were really in use. My own difficulty was a phonetic one. I could not see how the *s* in the Old French *ras* could be ignored in the pronunciation; particularly when we notice that this very word *ras* produced the E. word *rash*, as explained by Nares, of which more anon. But Mr. Mayhew pointed out to me that, in O.French, *s* before a consonant vanished in the second half of the eleventh century. Hence, when *ras de Vore* was used as a complete phrase, it regularly became *radevore* in English. The next point refers to the place *Vore*. This is clearly, as Tyrwhitt says, *La Vaur*, in the province of Languedoc, and in the modern French department of Tarn, at no very great distance from Toulouse. It appears that silk and serge are still made at this very place; see Engl. Cyclopædia, s.v. *Tarn*. We thus obtain, as the final result, that *radevore* means, precisely, "rash made at La Vaur." We have now only to enquire into the sense of *rash*. The F. *ras* means, especially, serge or satin. The English *rash*, says Nares, is "a species of inferior silk, or silk and stuff manufacture." One of his quotations speaks of "velvets, satins, sylkes, *rashe*, and other stuffs"; and the Century Dictionary quotes from Middleton: "'t is good stuff, indeed; It is a silk rash." This explanation precisely fits the passage in Chaucer. Philomela had learnt, in her youth, how to weave, in an embroidery frame, such rash as was made at La Vaur. The nearest mod. E. equivalent seems to be "serge."

Sigh-clout. This word occurs in the Percy Fol. MS. ii. 323; see note 5. It is explained by Dyce in a note at p. lxix. as a clout for straining milk; from *sie*, to strain. Dr. Furnivall remarks

that he only knows *sile* in this sense. But *sie*, to strain milk, is given in Halliwell, who, curiously enough, quotes the very passage here in dispute, and refers us to Palsgrave, who has: "I sye mylke, or clense." It is a particular sense of A.S. *sīgan*, M.E. *sizen*, to sink.

Stele. In the Allit. Poems, C. 513, the author laments that some people don't know the difference between their right hand and their left, nor yet between "the stele and the stayre." Among these we have to include, very possibly, William of Shoreham; and neither Morris nor Stratmann have seen any difference. They explain both words as meaning the step or rung of a ladder. I believe this will suit some passages, and that the senses of the words were confused (as our author hints) even in the fourteenth century. The *stayre* is really the stair or step of a ladder. But the *steles* are the two uprights, the handles by which the climber holds; called by Chaucer the *stalkes*. *Steel* in prov. E. still means a long upright handle, as of a besom or of a pitch-fork. Stratmann (s.v. *stale*, which, though differing in form, has the same senses) obligingly refers us to the very passage in the Ancren Riwle which settles the question; there was no ambiguity at that date. At p. 354 we are told that ignominy and pain are the two stales of the ladder (the two *leddre-stalen*) that are upright to the heaven; and between those stales (*stalen*) are fixed the *tindes*, steps, or stairs.

Stivour. (Not in Stratmann.) In Weber's King Alisaunder, 2571, we have: "Mury is the blast of the *stivour*." Weber explains it as "an ancient wind-instrument," but it certainly means the player on such an instrument, just as, in the next line, *harpour* means a player on a harp. Otherwise, his note is correct; the instrument was called *estive*, and is mentioned in the Roman de la Rose, 21308; see my note to House of Fame, 1218. See *Estive* in Godefroy. Cf. Lat. *stipula*, in Virgil, Ecl. iii. 27.

Talle ne in tuch. In Allit. Poems, ed. Morris, B. 48, we read that a ragged man would be turned out of a nobleman's hall, and forbidden to enter again, on pain of being set in the stocks, "thagh neuer in talle ne in tuch he trespas more." I take this to mean: "though he should never again do wrong either in tale or in touch," *i.e.* by word or deed. I see no difficulty, especially when we notice the curious uses of *touch* in Sir Gawain and the Grene Knight, by the same author, and further note

that, in that poem, the words *tale* and *touch* are alliterated, l. 1301. Dr. Morris explains *tuch* by 'cloth,' from the G. *Tuch*; but I decline to equate the Eng. *ch* with the Ger. *ch* in this way; the M.E. for 'cloth' was *touk*, i.e. if it be related to M.E. *touker*, a fuller (Stratmann, s.v. *tuken*). The editor further explains *talle* by *tuly*, which means scarlet. This I cannot accept either. The spelling *talle* for *tale* is like the spelling *walle* for *wale*, to choose, B. 921.

Tayt. In Allit. Poems, ed. Morris, B. 889, the word *tayt* means "joy." The glossary says "fear," but see Stratmann.

Teneling. This word, in the glos. to the Grene Knight, is an error for *teueling*; see Stratmann, s.v. *teveling*, i.e. sport. This word is entered in Stratmann under *tavelin*, and is easily missed.

Ternes. In Rich. Coer de Lion, 2009, is the line: '*Ternes* and *quernes* he gave him there.' Weber's Glossary indulges in a bad shot as to the sense: '*Ternes and quernes*, thrusts in fencing, or blows with the broadsword.' The context shows that both senses are impossible; for King Richard, who dealt these blows, had nothing in his hand but a truncheon, which is neither a broadsword nor suitable for thrusting. The fact is, these are terms in dice-play. *Ternes* means double three, and *quernes* means double four; neither are in Cotgrave, but he gives '*Quines*, two cinks, or fives, on the Dice.' Littré, s.v. *terne*, quotes from Villon; the passage shows that *ambesas* (E. *ames ace*) meant double ace, and *ternes* double three. The passage is jocular. King Richard, with his truncheon, gave his enemy a double three, and after that a double four. The fourteen blows near finished him; "he thought he should be dead." He could not have survived fourteen thrusts of a broadsword, delivered by the Richard Coer de Lion of romance.

Thacces. In the glossary to the Allit. Poems, we find "*Thacce*, a blow, C. 325." This is due to a most curious misconception. The alliteration shows that the word should begin with a vowel; and, in fact, *thacces* is merely the two words *the acces* run together. Hence *thacces* must disappear from under *th*, and take its place under *a*. The line is—"For when thacces of anguych wacz hid in my sawle"; *i.e.* when the attack of anguish penetrated to my very soul.

Thulged. In Gawain and the Grene Knight, 1859, we read: "Thonne he *thulged* with hir threpe, and tholed hir to speak." *Thulged* is not in Stratmann; and the glossary says: "*thulged*=

tholged=tholed, endured." This cannot be right, because *tholed* occurs in the same line properly spelt; and we cannot thus account for the spelling *thulged*. The fact is, that *ge* represents a *j*-sound, resulting from a palatalised *d*; cf. the frequent pronunciation of *dew* as *Jew*. *Thulgen* represents A.S. *thyldgian*, to bear patiently, from the same root as *tholian*. See *gethyldigean* in Bosworth's Dict.

Tipen, to overturn; cf. mod. E. *tip up*. Stratmann only gives *tippen*, with short *i*. But the word should rather be *tipen*, with a long *i*. In the only example quoted there is but one *p*, and the vowel is written *y*. "*Type* doun yonder toun," *i.e.* overthrow that town; Allit. Poems, iii. 506. So again in the Percy Folio MS., *Death and Life*, 194 (vol. iii. p. 64):—"Trees tremble for feare, and *tipen* to the ground." Cf. Lincolnshire *type* or *tipe*, to tip up, in Peacock's Glossary, and *tipe*, in Halliwell. These point to a lost Germanic strong verb, *tīpan*.

Totez. In Allit. Poems, ed. Morris, B. 41, a ragged man is described as having "his tabard to-torne, and his *totez* oute." Dr. Morris says that *totez* is merely a form of "toes," which I cannot accept. Stratmann gives *tote*, sb. ?toe; *totez*, pple., A.P. ii. 41. Of course the plural of "toe" cannot be past participle; 'pple' is probably a misprint for pl. (plural). The word is surely the Low G. *tote*, a peak. Hexham has: "*een Tote*, a teat; *de Tote van een schoen*, the beake or lap of a shoe; *een Tote-pot*, a pot with eares, etc. Cf. M.E. *toten*, to peep out; *his ton totեden out*, his toes peeped out, Piers. Pl. Crede, 425. I translate *tote* by extremity or end; the sense is, "the ends (probably of his toes) peeped out." It is a mere coincidence that *toe* begins in the same way. A.S. *tōtian*, to peep, is quite distinct from *tā*, toe. *Again-tote*, a peeping behind one, occurs in this same poem, B. 931.

Trashes. In Allit. Poems, ed. Morris, B. 40, is the line—"With rent cokrez at the kne and his clutte trasches." "Rent cokrez" are rent cockers or leggings. *Clutte* means clouted, patched, as explained in the New E. Dict., s.v. *Clouted*. *Trasches* is explained, with a query, by Morris and Stratmann, to mean *trousers*. Surely the words cannot possibly be identified. *Trashes* is the plural of *trash*, still in use; and one sense of *trash* is rags. Cf. Swedish *trasa*, a rag, a tatter; *slita i trasor*, to tear to tatters; *hans kläder äro utsletne i trasor*, his cloaths are worn out to rags or tatters (Widegren).

Treieted. Not in Stratmann in the sense required. It occurs in Gawain and the Grene Knight, 960. The *i* stands for *j*; the sense is "variegated"; see Burguy, s.v. *tresgeter*. In the glossary it is misprinted *treleted*; but the sense given, "adorned," is correct.

Trochet. Both in Allit. Poems, B. 1383, and in Gawain and the Grene Knight, 795, some well-built towers are described as *trochet*. The glossary tells us that this is an architectural term of uncertain meaning; Stratmann suggests "ornamented." The word occurs frequently in the Venery de Twety, in Reliq. Antiquæ, i. 151, where it is applied to a hart who has thrown out tines from the tips of his antlers. The divisions of the antler are given in this sentence: "whan an hert hath *fourched*, and then *auntlere ryall* and *surryall*, and *forched* one the one syde, and *trochet* on that other syde, than is he an hert of .X. and the more." The engraving of an antler in the Century Dictionary helps us here. The *fourches*, or forks, are the long projections on the one side of the horn, and the *troches* are the clustered and shorter projections on the other, near the tip. If we now turned to Cotgrave, we find: "*Teste de cerf trochée*, troched, or whose top is divided into three or four small branches." And again: "*Trocheure*, the troching on the top of a deer's head, or the top troched." Hence *trochet*, as applied to a stag's horn, means tufted at the tip with small tines. It is a term of the chase, and of French origin. I do not suppose it was a term in architecture, but was applied to a tower poetically. The sense is, clearly, "adorned with small pointed pinnacles."

Unkek. This word occurs in the Seven Sages, ed. Weber, 955. By comparison with l. 2251, it is seen to be an error for *unlek*, i.e. unlocked, opened. Weber explains it by 'unopened,' whereas it means precisely the contrary, as the context shows. The spelling with *k* is due to anticipation. Similarly we find *sikerklik* for *sikerlik*, in the same, 1373.

Windren, to paint up or trim the eyebrows. In the Rom. of the Rose, 1018, we read: "No *wyntred* browis hadde she." This is one of the words which Tyrwhitt does not explain; nor is it in Morris or Stratmann. Only two lines below the infin. mood occurs as *wyndre*, "It neded nought To *wyndre* hir or to peynte hir ought." And this is the better form. This verb to *windre* represents *guignier* in the F. text, of which an older form must have been *wignier*; and it is obvious that the E. word is merely

the O.F. *vignier* done into English, and treated with an excrescent *d*, after *n*, just as the F. *son* has become E. *sound*. We thus get the sense at the same time; for *guignier* meant to disguise or paint or trim up, and is usually joined with *farder*, to paint, with a like sense. Hence the passage means that the damsel did not paint or trim her eyebrows, because it was needless for her to do so; they were not capable of improvement.

Writhe. I wish to draw attention to a passage in Chaucer's Boethius, bk. i. met. 4, where both the best MSS. are wrong. The reference is to Mount Vesuvius, that (according to MS. C., printed by Furnivall) "*writith* owtthorw his brokene chymynees smokynge fyres." Furnivall's index explains *writith* by "work-eth," which is impossible, and was obviously suggested by the reading *wircheth* in the MS. printed by Morris. In this case, as in other places, the black-letter editions by Caxton and Thynne have an older reading, viz. *writheth*, which is perfectly correct. The reading *writith* is due to the mere omission of an *h*; the reading *wircheth* is due to the transposition of *r*, thus giving *wirtheth*, with the usual confusion of *t* and *c*, thus giving *wircheth*. The sense is that Mount Vesuvius writhes or twists its smoking fires out of its broken chimneys, which is very expressive. How Ch. came to use *writheth* is obvious when we refer to the Latin original: *Torquet* fumificos Vesevus ignes." It is, perhaps, worth while noticing that Chaucer again uses *writhen away* to translate Lat. *detorqueri*; bk. v. pr. 3; l. 4452 in Morris's edition. I have lately found that MS. Ii. 1. 38, in the Camb. Univ. Library, likewise has the correct reading *wrythith*.

XIII.—THE OLD ENGLISH ALLITERATIVE LINE.

By Prof. H. Frank Heath, Ph.D.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Philological Society, June* 2, 1893.]

The references to Beowulf throughout this paper are taken from M. Heyne's edition, 1888; the references to other poems from Grein's Bibliothek der A-S. Poesie, 1857.

When Dr. Furnivall first asked me to read a paper before this Society I had recently formed a new theory about the construction of the Old English "Expanded Lines," "Longer rhythms" as Guest calls them, *Streckverse*, or *Schwellverse*, as they are named by German scholars. It struck me that I might make this theory the subject of my paper, and Dr. Furnivall approved of my suggestion. But as time went on, and I began to think my paper out, I remembered that I held heretical views about the construction of the *Normal* alliterative line, views which, so far as I am aware, are only shared in England by one friend and fellow-student, and that it would therefore be necessary for me to at least give an introductory section upon the *Normal* line, as I conceive it, or rather as my most honoured master, the late Prof. Ten Brink, conceived it to be constructed.

Then came the publication of Prof. ten Brink's fragmentary posthumous contribution to Paul's "Grundriss" upon O.E. literature, containing a very condensed account of his theory of O.E. metric, and without the explanatory notes which he had intended to add. I found upon enquiry that men of the very highest rank amongst English philologists had found some difficulty in understanding this cramped and incomplete presentation of the case, and I felt that, this being so, I could not better honour the memory of my master, nor better advance the cause of truth than by an exposition of his views, as I understand them to have been, after hearing a course of lectures from him on the subject, and taking an active part in the *Seminar* which he held in connection with it. The first part of this paper, therefore, lays little claim to

originality, other than that small measure of it which lies in the method of presenting the subject.

First, then, I hope you will allow me to remind you of one or two general truths, about which there is no doubt, but of which we must grasp the full importance, if we are not to wander from the right track into the many pitfalls which beset the study of this very difficult subject. To begin with—What is the essential difference between Prose and Verse? The difference, of course, is that verse is speech with a *definite Rhythm*, whilst prose has properly no definite Rhythm; though corrupt prose styles such as that found in some of Aelfric's Homilies show a very near approach to a Rhythm both continuous and definite.

Rhythm, of course, means regular movement causing a sensation in one of the organs of sense; movement, the law of which can be appreciated by the senses. This is universal. In dancing, in music, in a swinging pendulum, when travelling in a railway-train, we have this phenomenon called Rhythm.

> " Wer theilt die fliessend immer gleiche Reihe
> Belebend ab, dass sie sich rhythmisch regt?
> . . . . . .
> Des Menschen Kraft im Dichter offenbart."
>
> —Faust. Prol.

Rhythm, then, more exactly, *is a regular sequence of Movements, each group of Movements constituting the sequence being divided into equal periods of Time (morès) of which one period receives a preference according to some principle.*

Now Metre is Rhythm realised in speech. Metric is, therefore, only a part of Rhythmic. Metric is the *particular*, Rhythmic the *general*. All poetry is necessarily rhythmical, and the ordinary distinction between rhythmical and unrhythmical measures is due to the fact that the classical languages made use of a particular form of Rhythm in their verse. There are, I need scarcely remind you, *three* varieties of *Metre*. (1) The *Syllabic*, where every rhythmical time-period coincides with a syllable. This is nowhere found in strict use, but the Vedas are a near approach to it. (2) The *Quantitive* measure—in which the time-period which receives the preference (Thesis) has a definite duration *in Speech* relative to the other time-periods. Thus the length of time taken to pronounce the long syllable of a dactyl is exactly

twice that taken in speaking each of the short ones which follow. That is why a spondee can be substituted. This is the measure of Greek and Latin. (3) The *Accentuated* measure. Here the relation of stressed to unstressed syllables in the line corresponds, on the whole, to the relation between time-periods, or morès, which receive a preference and those which do not, *i.e.* the stressed syllables coincides with the Tact or beat of the rhythm.

We see then that Rhythm is the essential, and it may be the same though the *metrical realisation* differs. Thus, in the classic Elegiac verse, the rhythm of the Hexameter and that of the Pentameter is the same, but the *Metre* is different; or, again, the Rhythm of the lines in a stanza of the Nibelungen-Lied is the same throughout though the Metre differs.

This being so, I should like to assert the two following *dicta* with regard to any theory of O.E. Metric. (1) No explanation of O.E. verse can be satisfactory which does not prove a unity of Rhythm. (2) No explanation is satisfactory that does not give us a Prosody which a poet could easily carry in his head.

Now the most elaborate system of recent times, and the one universally adopted in England, is that laid down by Prof. Sievers in the tenth volume of Paul and Braune's "Beiträge," and more recently in Paul's Grundriss, and in his "Altgermanische Metrik," Halle a/S, 1893. Sievers has undoubtedly added very considerably to our knowledge of the O.E. verse-system, and his work marks a great advance on the results of Wackernagel and Max Rieger, but does it stand the tests I have just formulated? I think *not*. Sievers believes, as you all know, that there are *five* Types with Variations:—

Typus A. ⏑ x | ⏑ x ||

Typus B. x – | x ⏑ ||

Typus C. (α). x ⏑ | ⏑ x || Full Type.

(β). x ⏑ | ⏑̆ x || Shortened Type.

Typus D. (α). ⏑ | – ⏑̆ x ||

(β). ⏑ | ⏑ x ⏑̆ ||

Typus E. ⏑ ⏑̆ x | – ||

Examples from Beôwulf.

A. (a) ȝomban ȝyldan, l. 11 || (b) leôfne þeôden, l. 34.

B. (a) âlê | don þâ, l. 34 || (b) ond Hâl | ga til, l. 61.

C. (α). (a) oft Scyld Scêfing, l. 4 || (b) ond ȝrîmhelmas, l. 334.

(β). (a) of feorweȝum, l. 37 || (b) in ȝeardaȝum, l. 1.

D. (α). (a) bearn | Healfdenes, l. 469 || (b) feôond | mon cynnes, l. 164.

(β). (a) fyrst | forð ȝewât, l. 210 || (b) holm | ûp ætbær, l. 519.

E. (a) healærna | msêst, l. 78 || (b) weorðmyndum | þâh, l. 8.

Here I can find *no* unity either of Rhythm or Metric. Here are half-lines of Trochaic and Iambic form, and that even in the two halves of the same line; cf. âlêdon þâ || leôfne þeôden |. Not only that, but in Typus C we find an Iambic foot immediately followed by a Trochaic one, *i.e.* absolutely no Rhythm at all. It is quite impossible to speak such a line without either lengthening the first stressed syllable or putting a pause after it; thus the line must either be x | ⏑́ ⏑́ x | ⏑́ x or x ⏑́ ʌ | ⏑́ x.

If we analyse Typus D in the same way we should get ⏑́ ⏑́ ʌ | ⏑́ | ⏑́ x, i.e. *Three Chief Accents*; and similarly with E.

When we turn to the Variations the matter is worse. I only give the Variations of A as a specimen:

A.	⏑́ x | ⏑́ x Original Type.	All	x | ⏑́ x | ⏑́ x
	⏑́ xx | ⏑́ x	occur	x | ⏑́ xx | ⏑́ x
	⏑́ xxx | ⏑́ x	with	x | ⏑́ xxx | ⏑́ x
(Rare)	⏑́ xxxx | ⏑́ x	Ana-	x | ⏑́ xxxx | ⏑́ x
(Still rarer)	⏑́ xxxxx | ⏑́ x	krusis.	x | ⏑́ xxxxx | ⏑́ x

Further, there are five Variations of A caused by the addition of a third and even a fourth (subordinate) Accent to the line in different positions.

I have already shown that this scheme does not satisfy my first requirement. I do not think any one will contend that it satisfies the second. No poet could possibly carry so complicated a system in his head. To compose with such a Prosody would imply at once the greatest crudity and the greatest subtlety in the ancient 'scop.'

Old English verse is accentual, and can only be explained from the Rhythmical standpoint. Even Sievers, in his article in Paul's Grundriss (s. 870, Bd. II.), acknowledges that the Germanic verse is to be traced back to a four-accent type, with a constant Iambic Rhythm, such as we find in a number of the Vedic songs. But he believes that at the time when the earliest Germanic poems were composed, musical recitation had completely disappeared, and, further, that the poets had lost all sense of Rhythm. His arguments to prove this are, to me, completely inconclusive. And the constant recurrence of such phrases as 'swutol sang scopes,' and reference to the 'gle͡o-be͡am' as one of the chief joys of the banqueting hall would be meaningless if we are to suppose that simple recitation was the method of delivery. Besides, though Möller[1] has failed to show that 'Beowulf' was originally written in a four-lined strophe, yet he has, I think, conclusively proved that a tendency is traceable in O.E. poetry to fall into a four-lined stanza-form as a reminiscence of an older phase of composition. If this be so, it is clear that the Germans must have used the musical delivery, and that at the time of the popular epic (as we know it), even if song had given way to intoned recitation, which is quite possible, yet the old sense of rhythm still survived.

To turn to the constructive side of my argument, the following is Ten Brink's scheme of the O.E. Rhythm, viz. One Fundamental Type, with Four Variations, as follows:—

F.T. x)x́̋xx́ xx̋xx́ ||
Var. 1. x)x́xx̋ xx̋xx́ ||
Var. 2. x)x́xx̋ xx́xx̋ ||
Var. 3. x)x́̋xx́ xx́xx̋ ||
Var. 4. x)x́̋xx̋ xx́xx́ ||

[1] H. Möller "das A-E. Volks-epos in der urspr. stroph. Form," Kiel, 1883.

Katalectic F.T. (*a*). x)x̋xx́ xx̋(x̲(x́ || (*β*)· x)x̆x̆x̆x xx̋xx́ ||
Λ Λ

„ Var. 1. (*a*). x)x́xx̋ xx̋(x̲(x́ || (*β*)· xx́)xx̋ xx̋xx́ ||[1]
Λ Λ

„ Var. 4. x)x̋xx̋ xx́(x̲(x́
Λ Λ

The O.E. verse, therefore, in the short or half-line shows four beats of two Morès, each of the form xx́, though there is evidence that in earlier times the half-line consisted of *two* beats of *four* Morès each, *e.g.* | xx́xx̀ | . The following facts point in this direction. (*a*) That even in historical times the *Rhythm* of the verse always distinguishes two Chief from two Subordinate Accents. (*b*) That when the Accents are not arranged as Dipodies the Prosody seems to require that the type of line in question should be more clearly expressed in speech.

It will be seen that in all the above cases the *Rhythm* is the same. In the second half-line the first of the two Chief Accents is the stronger, and bears the alliterative letter. Indeed, it is the strongest Accent in the whole line. Anakrusis is oftener lacking than not, which caused Sievers to look upon the Anakrusis as not belonging to the verse.[2] Examples of the various forms are the following :—

F.T. ȝehê̋dde únder hë̋ofenúm, Beow. 505ᵃ.

Var. 1. Λ sé̋ þê wǽterë̋ȝesán, Beow. 1261ᵃ.

Var. 2. Λ ốfer ȝeö̋fenés biȝä̋nȝ, Beow. 362ᵃ.

Var. 3. Λ s'ï̋ȝemúndé ȝesprö̋nȝ, Beow. 885ᵇ.

Var. 4. Λ ä̋tol ŷ̋ðá ȝeswínȝ, Beow. 849ᵃ.

It will be noticed that the unaccented syllables between the second and third Accents in the last two examples are lacking.

[1] This type occurs only in the second hemistich after an akatalectic first.
[2] Two-syllabled Anakrusis is sometimes found, and probably also three-syllabled occasionally, though this is denied by some.

In fact, it is seldom that lines occur in which all the unaccented syllables are expressed, and, to put the matter shortly, *Old English verse*, as we shall see, *in common with all Germanic verse, only requires that every "preferenced Time-period"* (Thesis or *Gutes Zeittheil*) *shall correspond with the beginning of a syllable.* Thus, in the Fundamental Type, *all* the unaccented syllables may be wanting, thus:— ∧ ʒŏ̋mbán ∧ ʒy̋ldán, Beow. 11ª, or ∧ bre̋ost

⌞″ ◡́ ⌞″ ◡́ ∧ ⌞″

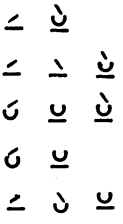
hórd blŏ̋d hre̋ow,[1] Beow. 1720ª.

–́ • ⌞″ –́

The syllables able to stand in the Thesis or verse-tact are determined partly by Lachmann's Law, which deals with the word-stress, and partly by the law of Sentence-stress, which, in O.E., was not logical, as now, but purely conventional.

Lachmann's Law, I may remind you, is as follows:—That there are two grades of Stress in words besides the unstressed syllables, though the Chief Stress is not different in kind from the Sub-stress. Further, that after a long syllable, bearing a Chief Stress, follows a sub-stressed syllable; after a long syllable, bearing a Sub-stress, follows a sub-stressed syllable; also after an unstressed syllable (short or long) follows a Sub-stress. On the other hand, after a *short* syllable, bearing either a Chief Stress or a Sub-stress, follows an unstressed syllable.

This may be formulated thus:—



–́ ◡̀

–́ ⌞̀ ◡̀

◡́ ◡ ◡̀

◡́ ◡

–́ ◡̀ ◡

Scholars have denied that Lachmann's Law applied to the spoken language. But this is 'a priori' improbable, for it neglects the very close connection between verse and the spoken tongue in Early Germanic times—besides which, if it only applied to the verse, this highly conventional system of accentuation

[1] The dot • expresses a short pause.

(as it then would be) would certainly strike an audience as unnatural and fail to catch on. But it can be proved that Lachmann's Law applied to the O.E. *spoken* language.

In words of the following form:— ◡́ ⏓; ⏑́ ⏓̀; ⏑́ ◡ ⏓; ◡́ ⏓ ⏓̀; it can be shown that the syllables in the second place are either weakened or disappear. In words of this form:— ◡́ ⏓ ⏓̀, this must occur even in compounds in which a chief accent had fallen there in the simple word, *e.g.* ȝeátwe (Armour) < ȝá+tawu (cf. ȝá-mol for ȝa-mâl, which shows that ȝa- was accented), or, again, frǽtwe (Ornament) < frá+tawu.

Other examples, which prove the validity of this Law, are:—the disappearance of the Reduplication in the Praet. of Red. vbs., *e.g.* hêt < héhat, and the early disappearance of the connecting vowel in the Praets. of weak verbs, *e.g.* *tealde* for *talde* < tálida; sealde for salde < sálida. In these last cases, as also in *ȝeatwe* and *frætwe*, the disappearance of the middle-syllable insured the survival of the suffix-syllable, which was of the utmost importance, by transferring the Sub-stress to it.

The conventional Law of Sentence-stress, as is well known, was shortly this: That certain Parts of Speech naturally took a stronger stress than others. (1) The Substantive, certain notional Adverbs, and the Pronouns self, begen, and perhaps ôðer. (2) The Verb. (3) Pronouns and Particles. In addition to this, when two words of the same rank stood together, the first took the Chief Stress. Thus *we* should say 'Shákespeare's mother' but 'the mother of Shákespeare,' *i.e.* Logical stress. In O.E., on the other hand, they said 'Écȝlafes bearn' but 'beárn Ecȝlafes.' In the second half-line, however, a certain amount of freedom was allowed in this respect. Thus in Beow. 1129[b] "wúnode mid Fin," the chief accent falls upon 'wunode,' and not on 'Fin,' because the first syllable of the verb is the alliterative one.

I can now proceed to give the rules for Quantity and Accent in the O.E. verse.

Rules for Quantity.

1. Absence of Anakrusis is replaced by a Pause.
2. When the unaccented syllable (*senkung*) is wanting after a Chief Accent, its value is replaced by lengthening the preceding Chief-accented syllable, *e.g.* X X̋ (X) X́.

3. When the unaccented syllable (*senkung*) is wanting after a Sub-accent, its value is replaced partly by lengthening the preceding syllable, partly by a Pause.
4. Syllables to be lengthened must be long. Here is to be noticed that Germanic verse occasionally allows the freedom that syllables which in the spoken language are short, are, for the purposes of versification, treated as long, *e.g.* words of this form ◡́ — ◡̀, when they come at the end of a verse and are preceded by ◡́ ◡, are accented ◡́ —́ ◡̀ instead of ◡́ — ◡̀. The word '*cyning*' is specially to be noticed in such lines as feŏ́rh cy̋nìnʒès, heŏ́fon cy̋nìnʒès (where the 'n,' instead of beginning the second syllable, is counted as closing the first, and consequently lengthened in accordance with the universal custom in O.E.).[1] Also the Pres. Parts. berende and wesende in lines such as sweŏ́rd bĕ́réndé and rǽd bĕ́réndé and cnĭ́ht wĕ́séndé, Beow. 372ᵇ.

(5) In conclusion, a rhythmical Morè can in general be filled by either a long or a short syllable—though in practice this freedom is very restricted—especially by the action of Lachmann's Law.

Rules for Accent, i.e. *Relation of Verse Accent to Word Stress.*

I. The two chief Accents fall upon the two most strongly stressed syllables, and in the second hemistich the alliterative letter should coincide with the strongest stressed syllable in the line—except in cases like "wunode mid Fin" referred to already.

II. (*a*) Every syllable capable of bearing a stress, if it comes before a less strongly stressed syllable which fills a Morè (*i.e.* is not capable of being slurred), or if it comes at the end of a line, must bear a Verse Accent. Thus the second syllable of 'Burgendum' and the third syllable of 'Gifica' in the line '*Bŭ́rgéndum Gĭ́ficá.*' Again, 'fŏ́lcá ʒeondfĕ̋rdé ||'

[1] Cf. wîs̄-dom; see Ten Brink Chaucer's Sprache und Verskunst, § 87.

(*b*) Every syllable capable of bearing a stress is accented when it follows a less strongly stressed syllable which fills a Morè (*i.e.* is not capable of being slurred), *e.g.* Eŏrmanríc Gŏtum.

III. If a syllable capable of bearing a stress stand between two which are more strongly stressed, it may or may not receive a Verse Accent. If it is a sub-stressed syllable, and a Suffix, it can only bear a Verse Accent when, by so doing, it forms a Dipodie, *e.g.* 'Eŏrmanrïïc Gŏtum.' The 'an' must be unaccented, because, if accented, it would not form a Dipodie. On the other hand, in leŏfné þeŏdén, the syllable *-ne* does bear a sub-accent.

Of the normal line scanned, according to these rules, there are plenty of examples—the vast majority are such. I have already given an example of each variation, and I have no time for more.

Katalectic Lines.—One of the Sub-accented syllables may be replaced by a pause—but never a Chief-accented. As a rule it is the fourth verse Accent which is wanting. Only the Fundamental Type and Variations 1 and 4 can be Katalectic. A Katalectic verse can end either with (*a*) an unaccented or (*β*) an accented syllable. In the former case the Pause is a short one, in the latter long (cf. *scheme supra*, p. 9).

Examples—

F.T. *a.* frŭmcýn wĭ́tan ∧ Beow. 252ª.
Hr″ŭntíng năma ∧ Beow. 1458ᵇ.
β. mŭrnénde mŏ̋d ⊼ Beow. 50ª.
wŏ̋rd hórd onlĕ̋ac ⊼ Beow. 259ᵇ.

It is to be noticed that in case *β* an unaccented syllable occurs between the second and third Accents almost invariably. And when this is not the case then there is invariably Anakrusis, *e.g.* Gecýsté þă̋ ⊼ Beow. 1871ª.

Var. 1. *a.* wé þurh hŏ̋ldne hĭ́ȝe ∧ Beow. 267ª.
þæ̆t wæs gŏ̋d cýning ∧ Beow. 11ᵇ.
β. þæ̆t fram hă̋m ȝefrǽgn ⊼ Beow. 194ª.
ónd Hŭ̋lga tĭ́l ⊼ Beow. 61ᵇ.

The omission of an unaccented syllable between the first and second Chief Accent is much commoner in the second hemistich than in the first.

Var. 4. *α.* swűtol sáng scópes ∧ Beow. 90ᵃ.
wŏ́p ŭ́p âháfen ∧ Beow. 128ᵇ.
β. fýrst fŏ́rþ ȝewát ⊼ Beow. 210ᵃ.
hŏ́lm stŏ́rme wéol ⊼ Beow. 1132ᵇ.

Here two things are to be noticed. (1) This type of verse is not so beautiful in form as those above, for a Pause, following upon a Sub-accent, is not natural. The poet is, therefore, careful to ensure that the Sub-accent coincides with a Chief stress. (2) In case *β* there is always an unaccented syllable between the second and third Verse Accents.

In var. 1 *only*, the first Sub-accent is sometimes absent, thus: ′ | ″ ″ ′, and this form generally occurs in the second half-line, *e.g.* ⊼ ȝewä́den hǽfdé, Beow. 220ᵇ.

How can we distinguish ′ | ″ ″ ′ from ″ ″ ′ | ′, *i.e.* var. 4, Katatalectic?

Easily, for in the case of var. 4 ″ ″ ′ | ′, the last Verse Accent, as we have seen, always coincides with a *Chief Stress*, whilst in this particular variety of Katalectic, var. 1, the last Verse Accent always coincides with a Sub-stress (Nebenton); moreover, in this case, the line *always* begins with an unaccented syllable, which looks like Anakrusis.

Finally, there is an occasional Katalexis of the *Fundamental Type* where the first chief-accented syllable in the line is lengthened so as to cover the following unaccented and accented Morès, thus:

x)x̋xx́ xx̋xx́
∧ ⌊″⌋ ⏓ ⏑̋⏑ ⏓́
⌊″⌋ ⏓́

Ex. ŏ́r âstélidǽ (Cædmon's Hymn).
hấm ȝesŏ́hté, Widsið 7ᵇ.
þrýmm ȝefrŭ́nón, Beow. 2ᵇ.
ȝŭ́đ-ȝewǽ́dú, Beow. 2618ᵇ.

The prolonged syllable at the opening, it must be noticed, is not only always long and bears a Chief Accent, but it is generally followed by a Continuant Consonant. In addition to which, this particular form of verse nearly always occurs in the second hemistich, which makes the matter easier; for the first accent in this hemistich is naturally the strongest in the whole line. This form of line, I may say, presupposes and points towards a musical form of delivery—to *song*, for it would be difficult to *speak* such a line without destroying the Rhythm.

It is possible, of course, to find shorter lines than even these, but all scholars, including Sievers and Rieger, look upon them as corrupt.

Hyperkatalectic lines proper, i.e. lines ending in an extra *unaccented* syllable, there are not many of. Most of them are to be reduced to the right measure by slurring, which was apparently allowed freer play in the Caesura than elsewhere. *e.g.*

Wŏ́rd wǽ̆ron wy̆́nsúme, Beow. 613ᵃ.
Eä́rd ón eŏ́rlscípe, Beow. 1728ᵃ.
Sĕ́llíce sǽ̆drácan, Beow. 1427ᵃ.

Expanded Lines, called by German scholars *Schwell-verse* or *Streck-verse*, are hypercatalectic, in that they possess a larger number of Verse Stresses than the normal line. Either, or both, hemistiches may be expanded. The half-line is either (1) expanded by a half; the method in the great majority of cases, or (2) it is doubled in length, which is a peculiarly characteristic form of the expanded line in the younger Genesis.

Now is it possible to discover any principle in the way in which these verses are expanded? Because if not, then it will be impossible to say which part of the verse is expansion, and which not, and it is equally impossible to see how such a line was understood to be expanded by an Old English audience.

Ten Brink does not seem to have come to any final conclusion about the matter. Certainly the view taken by my old friend, Dr. Gregory Foster, in his Studies on Judith (Q. and F. 1892); a view with which Ten Brink was then inclined to agree, I believe, does not coincide with that which he seemed to hold in the winter of 1889–90.

I will quote Foster's theory verbatim, as it gives what was practically Ten Brink's last opinion on this matter.

"Such lines," he says, "are 'expanded' by *prefixing* to each hemistich a chief-stressed syllable, thus raising the number of chief-stresses in each hemistich to three, and one or more either secondary or un-stressed syllables. In the first hemistich, this prefixed syllable should alliterate, but not in the second hemistich, in which the syllable having the chief-letter becomes the second chief-stressed, but remains the first, and only, rime-letter of the hemistich."

Now, though as a matter of fact, this account of the construction fits the majority of the lines in Judith, yet even in a poem, the author of which has shown such marvelous skill in the use of these expanded lines (as Foster has proved), and who, in other respects, was evidently a most polished and skilful versifier—even in this poem there are at least two lines which will not fit in with Foster's theory, and he remarks that "the irregular form of these lines in the Cynewulf poems is remarkable."

Besides which, one does not see why in such a line as beā́lofúl his bḗddés neṓsán, Judith 63ª, the word beā́lofúl should be expansion rather than neṓsán. There is nothing in the reason of things, according to this theory, why the first element should be expansion. Foster makes no attempt to explain the construction of hemistiches which are *double the normal measure.*

Now, in my opinion, no theory about these Expanded Lines—so far, at any rate, as they are found in the older verse, the poetry composed in recitation and not on parchment—can be the right one, unless it explains to us not only their actual form, but how an audience appreciated that they were listening to an expanded line. If the expansion was not *heard* by the audience, as in some way an integral portion of the line, the additional syllables would strike the ear as an impertinence, and as absolutely destroying, not only the Prosody, but the rhythm of the line.[1] Of course the rhythm of an expanded line must be the same as that of a normal line in *character*, though it should be felt to be an extension of the normal phrase. The law, then, if one is to be found, must be one which appeals to the ear, not to the eye.

Now, as we all know, the unity of the two hemistiches depends upon the alliteration. The first half-line, usually, though by

[1] They would in fact have an effect similar to the irregular verse of Southey for our ears.

no means always, has two alliterative letters; the second half only one. The existence of only one rime-letter in the second hemistich ensures the two halves being felt to form one whole, and makes it clear in the majority of cases whether we are listening to the opening or close of a line. This being the case, what would be the most natural place for a poet to make an addition to his hemistich? Surely if the expansion is to take place in the first hemistich, it would come between the normal hemistich and the verse pause. If the *second* hemistich is to be expanded it would receive an addition between the verse pause and the opening of the hemistich. In this way the ear could never be in doubt as to what was expansion and what not, nor as to which hemistich the expansion belonged to. The alliterative letters would fall in exactly the same places as in the normal line; the expansion would receive no rime-letters. On testing the expanded lines in the O.E. corpus from this point of view I have found that the vast majority of expanded lines conform to this type, which may, therefore, be taken as the normal, or Type I. Every line (about which there is no doubt that it is expanded), in Béòwulf is constructed according to this type; but *no* expanded lines occur in the oldest part of Béòwulf. Here is a line expanded in both hemistiches, though it is not necessary that one should always be expanded because the other is, indeed, as a rule, in Béòwulf only one hemistich is expanded.

Beow. 2996. lǻndés ond lŏcenrá ⌊ bé̋ȧgá ||
ne þŏrfte hím ⌋ ðá̋ lé̋an oðwī̋tán ||

Other examples are: —

Beow. 1167ª. æt fŏ̋túm sǽt frḗan ⌊ Scy̋ldingá ||

Beow. 1708ª. frḗode, swâ wit fŭ̋rðúm ⌊ sprǣ̋cón ||

Beow. 2174ª. wrǽtlícne wŭ̋ndúr- ⌊ mâ̋ððúm ||

Two things are to be noticed here—(1) that when the first hemistich is expanded it *always* has two alliterative letters, at any rate in the older poetry. In Judith, which is modelled upon the old heroic poems, there is only one exception to this,

viz. 90ᵃ[1]. (2) There is no objection to the second element of a compound forming the expansion of the first hemistich, especially when there is no unstressed syllable at the opening of the second element. The necessary pause, which must then take place between the two elements, helps to mark the commencement of the expansion. Several examples of lines, constructed like Beow. 2174ᵃ, are to be found elsewhere, *e.g.* the Rood Poem, 47ᵃ, 63ᵃ, 68ᵃ; Judith, 7ᵃ, 11ᵃ, 346ᵃ.

All the expanded lines in the Seafarer (except one, which I shall come to presently), all the expanded lines in the Wanderer (except one, which I shall return to), all the expanded lines in the undoubtedly older portion of Wîdsîð,[2] and the two examples of expansion in the Battle of Finnsburg (ll. 13 and 24), are constructed upon this normal type. Line 24 in the Battle of Finnsburg is interesting, because it is impossible to scan it at all upon Foster's theory, whilst it is quite easy on mine :--

l. 24. Sĭ́geférhð is mîn nä́ma ∧ ⌊cwǽð hé.

Two unaccented syllables together (*doppelte Senkung*) is by no means unknown in the first hemistich.[3]

To sum up—Every expanded line in the national epic and the lyrics (I have examined) are Type I. with two exceptions, which are Type II.

To turn to the religious epic—the work of the Cædmonian and Cynewulfian schools:

In Genesis A. *all* the expanded lines are of Type I. There are only three slight irregularities, viz. 2866ᵃ, which is expanded, and only has one instead of two alliterative letters, and 2142ᵇ and 2182ᵇ, which have the alliterative letter in the expansion instead of on the first Chief Accent of the normal portion of the hemistich.

Gen. A. 2142ᵇ. nis *wö́*ruld feóh, ⌋ ðe íc me ä́ʒan wĭ́llé.

Gen. A. 2182ᵇ. *fë́*sté ⌋ mýnteð ĭ́nʒeðä́ncúm.

[1] It is doubtful whether 9ᵃ is expanded; if it is, then this is another exception.

[2] Müllenhof rejected ll. 75-87 and 131-134 as later interpolations, and I agree with him. I think we shall see that there is ground for regarding ll. 59-64 with considerable suspicion.

[3] Cf. ʒesä́won þâ ǽfter wǽteré || Beow. 1426ᵃ.

It seems impossible, in either case, to consider the expansion as at the end. If the expansion *is* at the end, then they belong to Type III.

In Gen. B., which was written about two centuries later (latter half of ninth century), and has been proved to be based on the 'Heliand,' there is a *very* large number of expanded lines. Many of them belong to what I shall call Type II., and I pass these over for the present. Of the remainder, all, except two, are expanded in accordance with Type I. In two cases (338^a and 488^a) there is only one instead of two alliterative letters. The two exceptions to Type I. are 287^b and 301^b, but it is doubtful whether 287^b is an expanded hemistich at all. L. 301^b seems to be a case of what I shall call Type III., unless we may assume Elision of the 'e' in 'hæfde'; in which case we might possibly construe it as an unexpanded hemistich.[1]

Of the four expanded lines in *Exodus* all are of Type I., viz. ll. 570–73.

There are many more expanded lines in *Daniel*. If we omit the clearly corrupt passages, every expansion is constructed according to Type I. There might be some doubt about 453^a, but this is, in all probability, a case of three-syllable Anakrusis.

In *Christ and Satan*, lines 260^b and 261^a belong to Type II., but all the rest belong to Type I. If l. 89^a is not corrupt, there is only one alliterative letter instead of two. Line 205^a seems irregular, but the 'mid ealra,' at the opening of the line, has evidently crept in from l. 203, and it is, therefore, a normal line. To sum up then: In the Cædmonian poems there is only one probable case of Type III.—at the very utmost only three in all. Of Type II., if we except 'Genesis B.,' there are only two hemistiches, both of which occur in 'Christ and Satan.'

We now come to Cynewulf and his school. All the expanded lines in the 'Christ' are clear examples of Type I., with the exception of five. 1163^b and 1515^b may possibly be examples of Type III., but possibly they are hemistiches with two-syllable *Senkung*—though it is true that this phenomenon is rare in the

[1] I. h'ÿ́ld hǽ́fdé hís ⌊ ferlőrené or
II. h'ÿ́ld hǽfdẹ his ferlőrené.

But case II. we should have two syllables together unaccented, a doubtful possibility in the second hemistich; besides, it occurs in the middle of a passage of expanded lines, and this speaks against the second method of scansion, though it is true that 302^b may also be a normal hemistich.

second hemistich. 1385ª I can make nothing of in any way unless we are to assume three-syllable *Senkung* between the first and second Stresses. 1496ª and 1425ᵇ seem clear cases of Type III.[1] In the Elene, as in the Christ, there are but few alliterative lines, but they are all Type I. 582ª is slightly irregular, in having only one alliterative letter. Lines 163 and 610, which Foster takes to be expanded, seem to me normal lines.

In the *Dream of the Rood* the expanded lines are of two types—of the second Type there are about ten lines (quite certain), and about as many again where we cannot be sure whether they are Type I. or Type II. The remainder are clear examples of Type I. Three lines, 10ᵇ, 47ᵇ, and 83ª, offer some difficulties, but there are no clear cases of Type III. This is significant, as Ten Brink places this poem as the first of Cynewulf's religious epics.

The expansions in the Andreas are all Type I., but there are only a few.

In Guthlac, however, there are no less than eleven clear cases of lines constructed on Type III. (the least perfect form of the three), *e.g.* 163ª, 212ª, 347ª, 348ª, 436ª, 437ª ? 440ª, 673ª, 674ª, 713ª, 350ª. This is very extraordinary, and it is worth notice that Ten Brink has placed this poem among the last of Cynewulf's productions.

Finally, let us turn to the '*Judith*,' which Foster has clearly shown to belong to the Cynewulf school, and to be later than his work. The poet, as Foster has proved, makes a most skilful use of the expanded line, and there are, relatively, a large number of them. The large majority are clear cases of Type I., but 9ª and 65ª seem evidently cases of Type III., and, on the analogy of those, I am inclined to interpret seven other cases, 11ª, 17ª, 19ª, 20ª, 33ª, 270ª, and 242ª. But I shall return to these. Suffice, for the present, that I believe there to be nine cases of Type III. in Judith.

Type II. This type is the double of the normal line, instead of half as long again. Here it would be impossible for the whole expansion to occur between the close of the normal line and the verse pause in the case of the first hemistich, because the

[1] Ll. 1305ª, 1378ª, 1410ª, 922ª, 1050ª, 1360ª, and 1666ª, which Foster considers to be irregular expanded hemistiches, I look upon as normal unexpanded ones.

line would then sound like a normal line without alliteration in the second hemistich.

The expansion, therefore, takes place in the best examples, half between the two rime letters and half at the close. This in the first hemistich.

The result, therefore, is equivalent to two hemistiches with one alliterative letter in each. As a rule the second alliterative letter occurs in the accented syllable fourth from the end, but sometimes on that third from the end, and occasionally on the second from the close. In the second hemistich the whole expansion occurs between the verse pause and the normal line. In the later poetry there are examples of the whole expansion occurring at the beginning of the hemistich, even in the first hemistich, but this is very exceptional.

There are no Type II. lines in Beowulf or Finnsburg, *i.e.* in the national epic

In 'Seefarer' is *one* clear example of Type II. in the first hemistich of l. 106.

*d*ŏ̈l bíð sê̈ ðê hím | his *d*rÿ̈htén ne ondrǣ̈déð.

Here if, as Sievers assumes, 'ne' can bear a stress, the Sub-accent should fall upon 'ne.'

The second hemistich of l. 106 is an expansion of Type I. A curiously similar line to this occurs in the *Wanderer*, l. 112—the only one:

*T*ï̈l bíð sê̈ ðe hím | *tr*ëo̊wé ʒehë̈aldéð.

The second hemistich is also of Type I.

Now we come to the 'Wîdsîð.' Here are two groups of very long lines which can only be explained as Type II., but they are very irregular in construction, viz. 59–64 and 76–87.

An example from each group is:

60. Mid Gë̈fdúm ï̈c wǽs | ä̈nd míd *W*ï̈nedúm || ánd mid Gë̈fflë̈gúm.
84. Mid Mŏ̈rdúm ï̈c wǽs | ä̈nd míd Pë̈rsúm || ánd mid Mÿ̈rgï̈ngúm.

Even if this scansion is right there are several irregularities.

Now Müllenhof rejects ll. 75–87 and 131–134 on other satisfactory grounds, as later interpolations.

It is certainly very tempting to reject group 59–64, which is exactly parallel in style and in syntax, and almost, though not, perhaps, quite so vile in versification.

If this is justified, we only have two examples of Type II. in the older lyric poetry. Of these, that in the Wanderer occurs in the second half of the poem, which Ten Brink, upon other grounds than those of metric, considered to be by a later hand, and I agree with him. We have thus reduced our ten little niggers to one. I suspect there will soon be proof that will dispatch even this one. Type II., indeed, is not made any considerable use of till we come to Genesis B., where there are a large number, and if we remember the source of the English poem we shall not feel surprised I think. Most of the examples are regular, but I have noted that the alliteration occurs in an irregular place in ll. 322ª and 708ª.

322ª. Lā̆gon ðá ō̆ðré | Fȳ̆nd ón ðam Fȳ̆ré ||
708ª is a similar case.

In some cases it is difficult to say whether we have a line of Type I. or II., though the constant undoubted cases of the latter make an *a priori* presumption in its favour.

Example 260ª. Wi'ð þóne hē̆hstán | heō̆fnés weāldénd
or
Wiðþone hē̆hstán heō̆fnés ⌊weāldénd.

In *Christ and Satan* there are two hemistiches of Type II., viz. 260ᵇ and 261ª.

260ᵇ. *G*ō̆d seō̆lfá hím | rī̆cé heāldéð.
261ª is a regular example.

In the Cynewulfian poems we only find this type in "The Dream of the Rood," but here there are a good many, though, again, it is sometimes hard to say whether we have a Type I. or Type II.

An example of a second hemistich, as I have not yet given a regular one, is:

66ᵇ. cū̆rfón híe ðǣ̆t | on *b*eō̆rhtán stā̆né.

The conclusion to be drawn is that this is not so old as Type I., and probably arose after poems were composed on parchment and not by ear.

Type III. is the least perfect *and* the rarest. These could only arise when poets *wrote*, and did not compose in recitation. In the first hemistich expansion is by a half, but at the beginning of the hemistich instead of at the end. In the second hemistich expansion is at the *end* and not at the beginning. But this is rarer than Type III. in the first hemistich. The expansion can only be recognized as such by the *Syntax*.

Examples from the 'Guthlac':

163ᵃ. cwǽ̈don þǽt⌋ he ŏn þám beŏrȝé ||
440ᵃ. eä̈lles ðú⌋ ðæs wī̈té âwṻnné ||

Example from 'Christ':

1425ᵇ. Lǽ̈ȝ on hḗardúm ∧ ⌊stä̈ne.

If this is not right, then there is no alliterative letter.

In Judith there are several examples of Type III., but they are peculiar in having alliterative letters in the expansion as a rule. This one has only *one* alliterative in the hemistich.

9ᵃ. Gī́rwán⌋ ṻp swǽ̈séndó ||
19ᵃ. Fū́llé⌋ flḗtt sī́tténdúm ||

I do not see how else to scan this with 9ᵃ in view.

In conclusion, we find none of these lines in the national epic, nor in the old lyric, and in the Cædmonian poems there are also none (for, of course, I do not include Genesis B.). This type, therefore, does not occur till the Cynewulfian time, *i.e.* a time well within that when composition took place on parchment, and the invariable appeal to the ear both by poet and public was gone. Cynewulf seems to have grown more lax in the use of this type as time went on, for in Guthlac are many more than in any poem of his I have examined. In Judith, too, as we should expect, since it was written after Cynewulf's time, there is a comparatively large number of these lines, but I attribute the poet's use of the first alliterative letter in the expansion to his study of the older schools of poetry. He saw a line like Beow. 2173ᵃ—

Wrǽ̈tlícne wū́ndór ⌊ mä́ððúm ||

and did not recognize that 'maððum' must necessarily be the

expansion. The appeal to the ear was gone—his imitation was a purely mechanical and therefore superficial one, and if we are to scan many of his lines we must assume the word with the first alliterative letter to be in the expansion at the beginning of the line.

In conclusion, I need only say that if this conception of the construction of the expanded line be correct, the occurrence, or non-occurrence, of the various types in O.E. poems may serve as a relative time test in deciding their dates.

XIV.—ON GAELIC PHONETICS. By J. H. Staples.

(*Read at the Meeting of the Philological Society, Friday, March 3rd*, 1893.)

The speech sounds represented by the symbols and characters in the accompanying tables, and for which the test words in Tables II and III are examples, are those of a dialect of Argyll, having much in common with Scotch Gaelic dialects elsewhere, and therefore offering a somewhat representative utterance, but the nasal form of the peculiar Gaelic vowel in "aon," though prevalent in other districts, is not used in Argyll. There the vowel in "aon" would be the same as in "caomh," see Table II, 2nd column, Nos. 7 and 11. Also the pronunciation of n in the combinations 'cn,' 'gn,' see foot of Table III, though permissible, would in Argyll be rather old fashioned. The use of the 'n' sound in these combinations is very prevalent in many other Highland districts, but in Argyll nasal 'r' as in "mna," see lowermost space, Table III, No. 3, is substituted for 'n.'

In the following observations a Gaelic word is in ordinary spelling in inverted commas, single letters or letter-groups being alluded to thus 'bh,' phonetic spelling and single phonetic characters in parenthesis thus (*a*), using Prof. Sweet's modifications of alphabetic types, with exceptions described at head of Table I, and the following modifying marks are also used in connection with such types: viz. nasality (˜), thus (*ã*); forward position (·), thus (*ȧ*); backward position (.), thus (*ṛ*); half length (·), full length (:), thus (fi:r̆ënta·χk) "fireantachd"; extra or mere rounding without amounting to full consonantal (w) by (*ẘ*), thus (u*ẘ*l) "ubhal." I write phonetically (p), (t), (k) for Gaelic 'b,' 'd,' 'g,' when not voiced by the nasal prefix, but those letters represent sounds not quite identical in their voicelessness to the English voiceless stops, for a slight breath recoil, usually used with English (p) (t) (k), is quite or nearly absent from Gaelic 'b' 'd' 'g,' and on the other hand Gaelic 'p' 't'

GAELIC PHONETICS.

TABLE I.

The symbols beginning at the left are Melville Bell horizontally above, thus $\widetilde{\text{ʃ}}$ instead of ʃs, so as to include if in ordinary or modifications of ordinary type placed immedi Primer of Phonetics with the following exceptions: q instea voicelessness is indicated thus—n‘ instead of n*h*. Where an nasal sign is repeated in the same square immediately below proceeding inwards and downwards and with consonants begin

Vowels.

ɾ i $\widetilde{\text{ɾ}}$		ɭ ʌ $\widetilde{\text{ɭ}}$	ɾ *i*	ɪ ɨ $\widetilde{\text{ɪ}}$	
ɾ e	ɭ ë $\widetilde{\text{ɭ}}$	ɾ a	ɾ *e* $\widetilde{\text{ɾ}}$	ɭ ë $\widetilde{\text{ɭ}}$	ɾ ɾ *ą a* $\widetilde{\text{ɾ}}$ $\widetilde{\text{ɾ}}$
			ɭ *æ* $\widetilde{\text{ɭ}}$ $\widetilde{\text{æ}}$		ɾ *ɒ*
		ɬ u $\widetilde{\text{ɬ}}$	f *y* $\widetilde{\text{f}}$	ɬ ü $\widetilde{\text{ɬɾ}}$	ɬ *u*
ɬɾ əi $\widetilde{\text{ɬɾ}}$	ɬ ö	ɻ o	ɬ *ə* $\widetilde{\text{ɬ}}$	ɬ ö $\widetilde{\text{ɬ}}$	ɻ *o*
		ɻ ɔ $\widetilde{\text{ɻ}}$			

modified by Professor Sweet, but I use the sign for nasality
two or more symbols or characters if convenient. The letters
the right of the V.S. symbols are also those used in Sweet's
the voiced back open, ɴ instead of ñ for the front nasal, and
non-nasal sound may also occur nasalised the symbol with the
Sweet's order is reversed, beginning with the narrow front and
p and nasal sounds.

Consonants.

	ɱ m			ɲ n	ɭ ɴ	ɟ ŋ	
				ɲ n‘			
	ɓ b			ɗ d	ɠ ʄ	ɠ g	
	ɒ p			ɒ t	ɑ c	ɑ k	
ˈ w ˌ		ɛ ʒ	s z	ɷ r ɷ̃	ɷ j ɷ̃	ɛ q ɛ̃	
		ɛ ʃ	s ʂ	ɔ r‘	ɔ ç	c x c̃	ɾ h
				ɷ l ɷ̃	ɷ ʎ ɷ̃		
				ɷ l‘			

GAELIC PHONETICS.

TABLE II.

VOWELS WITH DIP

Test words for short, half long and long, and for na

1. ſ f*i*r, *s*; f*io*r, *l*.
2. ſ *i*s, *s*; p*io*b, *l*.
3. [l*e*, *s*; t*é*, *l*.
4. [f*ea*r (man), *s*; f*eu*r (grass), *l*.
5. T c*io*d, *s*.
6. ʅ s*ea*dh *s*.
7. ʅ aithr*ea*ch, *s*.
8. l l*ao*gh, *l*.
9.] ag*u*s, *s*.
10. { ɟ· *ai*threach, *s*; *ai*reach, *l*.
    { ɟ b*a*s (palm of hand), *s*; b*à*s (death), *l*.
11. ɟ c*a*l, *l*.
12. f fl*io*dh, *s*.
13. ʇſ t*i*gh, *s*.
14. ʇ s*ao*r, ½ *l*; s*aogha*l, *l*.
15. ꞧ t*ui*g, ½ *l*; an t s*aoi*r, *l*.
16. ʇ f*eabha*s, ½ *l*.
17. ʇ loch, *s*.
18. ɫ g*u*l, *s*; *ù*r, *l*.
19. ɫ g*u*r, *s*.
20. ɟ robh, *s*; gh*eo*bh, ½ *l*; l*ó*n (marsh), *l*.
21. ɟ bh*o*, *s*.
22. ɟ s*o*, *s*; *ò*g, *l*.

1. ĩ mi
2. ĩ l*ea*
3. ĩ m*a*
4. ĩ *io*n
5. ʅ̃ꞧ
6. ʅ̃ tal
7. ĩ *ao*n
8. { ɟ̃· *ai*th
   *ai*t
   { ɟ̃ n*a*t
9. f̃ br*io*n
10. ʇ̃ſ *oi*
11. ʇ̃ c*a*
12. ꞧ̃ſ
13. ʇ̃ d
14. ɫ̃ m
15. ɟ̃ l*ò*

ɜS AND TRIPHTHONGS.

ral.

nh, *l.* ı, *l.*	1. ſɿ *ia*sg; 2. ſɟ br*ia*gh; 3. ſf f*io*dh; 4. ſ̄ɛ m*io*nn; 5. ſɫ fi*ù*. 6. ſɿ g*ea*lach; 7. ſɫ f*eoi*l. 8. ſſ l*eigh*is; 9. ſɿ l*ea*chd. 10. ſɿ *ea*ch. 11. ſɟɫ be*ò*.	1. ſɿ̄ɫ be*a*nn.
nh, *l.*	12. ɿɫ̄ a ch*io*nn. 13. ɿɫ̄ *a*nn; 14. ɿ̄ɫ s*o*nn.	
lge)*s*; ınd) *l.* ı, *l.*	15. ɟſ l*ai*b; 16. ɟſ g*ae*l; 17. ɟɫ̄ c*a*ll.	
	18. ɛſ 19. ɛſ str*aoi*dheil. 20. ɫ̄ſ br*uidhi*nn.	
, *l.*	21. ɫſ b*ui*dhe; 22. ɫ̄ɿ *ua*n; 23. ɫɟ l*ua*th	2. ɫɿ̄ſ f*uai*m.
	24. ɟɫſ *oi*gh.	

GAELIC PHONETICS.

TABLE III.

CONSONANTS

Lip.	*Point.*	*Bla*
1. ᚠ *mi.*	2. ᚢ si*n.*	
	5. ᚢ *shn*amh.	
6. ᛒ am *bi* mi.	7. ᛞ an *d*an ᛚᚢᛞ ᛁ̄ᚾᚢ.	
10. ᛒᛁ *bi* mi. ᛁᛒ pio*b.* ᛁᛒᛁ o*b*air.	11. ᛞᛁ *d*an. ᛁᛞ ru*d.* ᛁᛞᛁ ea*d*ar.	
ᛒᛟ *p*iob. ᛟᛒ so*p.* ᛟᛒᛟ pa*p*achd.	ᛞᛟ *t*arbh ᛞᚱᛁᛞᛚᚦ ᛟᛞ sla*t.* ᛟᛞᛟ ba*t*a. ᚢᚾᛞ lea*t.*	
14. ᚦ*bh*a. 15. ᛒ siu*bh*al.	16. ᛞᚾ oi*r* ᛚᛞᚾ; ᛞᚾ *r*o; ù*r.*	17. ᛟ an *s*o. 1
21. ᚦ *f*ear.	22. ᛞ mo *shr*on.	23. ᛟ am fear *s*o
	28. ᛞ *l*e; cu*l.*	
	30. ᛞ ä *shl*at.	
1. ᚦ̄ *mh*ath. 2. ᛒ̄ a*mh*uil.	3. ᛞ̄ m*n*a. 4. ᛞ̄ a*mhl*uadh.	

Special combinations of consonants in Gaelic not foun necessary connections in the above table—ᛞᛞ *tl*ath; ᛞᛁᛞ *dl*uth

[TEST WORDS.

	Front.	Back.	Throat.
	3. ɩ si*nn*.	4. ɹ io*ng*a.	
	8. ɷ an *d*ealanach ʅɩɷɱʃɯıɜʅc.	9. ɑ an *g*ael ʅɹɑʃʃɯ.	
	12. ɑɱ *d*ealanach ɑɱʃɯıɜʅc. ıɑɱ i*d*ir ʃıɑɱʅɯ.	13. ɑı *g*ael. ıɑ o*g*. ıɑı a*g*ad.	
	ɑɲ *t*earr ɑɲʃɯ. cui*d* ɑϩʅɑɲ. dhui*t* ɛʅɑɲ.	ɑ›ϩ *c*inn ; ɑ‹ϩ *c*ul. ɲɑ› tri*c* ; cɑ‹ bo*c*. ɲɑ›ϩ i*c*eadh ; cɑ‹ϩ eu*c*oir.	
us.	19. ɱ boi*dh*each.	20.ɛ›a *gh*rian; ɛ*gh*abha*dh*	
lus.	25. ɲ *ch*iosai*ch*.	26c›mo *ch*ridhe; c*ch*oirea*ch*	27. ϩ ri *h*-am.
	29. ɷ *l*it ; *l*a ; ma*ll*.		
	5.ɷ̃ Do*mhnull*. 6ɱ̃ oi*dh*c he	7. ɛ̃ *dh*omh. 8. c̃ *ch*omnuich.	

ost of the languages of Western Europe, and not described a *dl*uth ; ɒɜ *tn*uth ; ɷɜ an *tn*uth ; ɑɜ *cn*o ; ɑıɜ *gn*ob ; ɑɜ an *gn*ob

'c' are connected with much more distinct breathings than the English stops. These breathings I represent by (h), and in some cases by (ç) and (x). As in 'bl' 'br' 'gl' 'gr,' the stops are usually more vocal than in other cases, they are represented thus (pbl), (pbr), (kgl), (kgr).

Although the Gaelic rule of spelling governing the last and first vowels of succeeding syllables in the same word seems generally known, and though readers are familiar with the use of the digraphs 'bh,' 'dh,' 'gh,' 'th' and 'mh,' as medials and finals, yet the appearance of the written words seems to the stranger of very confused phonetic significance, and the English student puzzling over the redundancy of letters forgets the, I think, greater irregularities of his own orthography. Gaelic writing was changed in Scotland some time in the last century in orthography from what had before been common both to the Irish and Scotch branches. The inaugurators of the change aimed at a better representation of the separate Scotch development, but were restrained by regard to customs they were used to, and by a desire to preserve the history of words or inflections. I shall try to show that, considering the types allowed it and the rules its writers felt bound by, some study of its system, which is at least ingenious, combined with a careful record of its actual speech sounds, and if possible with a comparison of them in different dialects, may be of some value to the philologist.

§ 1. One of the first things to be remembered is, that the vowel letters added to meet the rule above referred to, have no phonetic value, but are simply used to meet pedantic exigencies, see § 12.

§ 2. The Gaelic language remarkably illustrates the fact that speech sounds have a modifying influence on one another, vowels on vowels and on consonants, and especially in Gaelic certain consonants appear to exert a modifying influence on vowels, and in this language the influencing sound apparently once existing, now dead in speech, has remained in writing and left its mark in the character of adjacent sounds. The Latin alphabet, insufficient as regards this, as well as some other tongues, to represent all the speech sounds, vowel and consonant digraphs have been adopted by its writers to represent sounds for which the types furnished no single representative.

§ 3. The consonant sounds spelt by 'd,' 't,' 'c,' 'ch,' 'dh,' 'gh,' 's' and sometimes 'th' and 'sh' differ in character according as they are, or presumably have been, influenced by the contact

of the vowels 'a,' 'o,' or 'u' on the one hand called "broad," or by 'e' or 'i' on the other called "narrow," see § 12 and § 15.

§ 4. The speech is also nice enough to distinguish between advanced and retracted 'r,' 'l,' 'll' (λ), 'n' and 'nn' (ɴ), and as in the other cases, the influencing vowel, "narrow" for the advanced, "broad" for the retracted, may be now extinct in speech, but have left behind the consonant position appropriate to its contact: see § 12 and § 21.

§ 5. All the actual combinations of vowel letters are 'ai,' 'ao,' 'ea,' 'ei,' 'eo,' 'eu,' 'ia,' 'io,' 'iu,' 'oi,' 'ua,' 'ui,' 'aoi,' 'eoi,' 'eai,' 'iui,' 'uai.' The spelling 'ae' only exists as a modern phonetic abreviation of "Gaidheil" as "Gael." Of these vowel compounds "ao" always represents one of two simple vowels, see Table II, 1st column, Nos. 8 and 14, 2nd column, Nos. 7 and 11, and 'ei' represents only (e). There seems a repugnance to use the letter 'e' by itself between consonants except before final 'th.' The compounds 'ai,' 'ea,' 'eu,' 'io,' 'oi' and 'ui' only occasionally spell diphthongs, more usually simple vowels of which the *first* letter indicates the sound, often modified by the second letter which, *always* decisive of the character of a succeeding consonant, often only serves that use. The compounds 'eo,' 'iu,' spell sounds, of which the *second* letter indicates the character, and the first only marks the pronunciation of a preceding consonant, or if diphthongs be spelt the first vowel is short or weak, the second long or strong. The spellings 'ia' 'ua' are customarily diphthongs. The combinations 'aoi' only occasionally spell a diphthong ending in (i), otherwise only a simple vowel sound, 'eai' is practically obsolete, 'a' being dropped, 'eoi' spells a diphthong in which 'i' only "narrows" a final consonant, 'iui' is commonly a simple (u) between "narrow" consonants, 'uai' spells a triphthong unless 'i' serves only to "slender" a consonant, see Table II and § 14.

§ 6. The vowel sounds spelt by many of these combinations are often much modified from what they otherwise would be by the presence in the same syllable as finals or medials of 'bh,' 'dh,' 'gh,' 'th,' and 'a,' 'ea,' 'o,' and 'io,' specially by 'll,' and 'nn' as finals in monosyllables. Almost all vowels are nasalized by the presence in the syllable of 'm,' 'mh,' 'n,' or 'nn,' and other vocalic sounds and one unvoiced one are nasalized by the same means, see Table II 2nd column and Table III lowermost space, and § 13, § 14 and § 18.

§ 7. Particularly initial 'm' and final 'l' modify very strongly the sound of 'a' in monosyllables, the first by greatly advancing, the second by deepening, and so furnish vowel sounds which exist in no other circumstances, see § 17.

§ 8. Another important factor, which seems to have helped to decide the state of Scotch Gaelic speech, is the habit of carrying to a comparatively illimitable length one vowel or syllable, almost always an initial, and of dispatching with the utmost possible speed the adjoining syllable, so that short vowels and short syllables tend, by being unemphasized and excessively shortened, to be broadened or mixed or entirely silenced by the preceding long sound, and this, combined with an evident tendency to blur over or silence the consonants represented by the 'h' digraphs, when medial or final, helps to explain the fact that many apparently dissyllabic words are monosyllabic or even monophthongic in speech, see § 20, § 21 and § 22.

'Th' generally 'h' as initial, is always silent as a final, except sometimes after "narrow" vowels when it is (ç), and also often as a medial, chiefly when heard then as dividing a front from a back or mixed vowel when it also becomes (ç). 'Fh' is always silent, with few unimportant exceptions being (h). 'Sh' existing only as an initial with the value of (h) or if absorbing and silencing 'i' as (ç), see § 12 and § 14.

§ 9. Although Gaelic spelling has generally preserved the separation of syllables which once existed separately, by keeping the consonantal digraph marking a boundary now sometimes extinguished in speech, yet on the other hand there is a dislike to the contact of many consonants as medials or finals, and a very short but very distinct vowel is inserted as a glide which writing omits, and which differs in character according to adjacent sounds. This occurs, for instance, between 'b' and 'l,' 'l' and 'bh,' 'l' and 'g,' 'r' and 'b,' 'r' and 'g,' 'r' and 'bh,' 'r' and 'ch,' 'r' and 'm,' 'n' and 'm,' 'm' and 's,' see § 23.

§ 10. The breath glides, which are such a noticeable feature before the voiceless stops spelt by 'p,' 't,' and 'c,' taking the place of these vowel glides become in most dialects between 'r' and 't' (s) and sometimes *(/)*: see § 24.

§ 11. A process of phonetic decay has evidently destroyed many of the consonants in particular words, and in some dialects has extinguished some short second or final syllables or final stops and nasal consonants usually distinctly touched. But it may be

noted that the letters 'l,' 'r,' and 'ch' "broad" as (χ) "narrow" as (ç) have always full value given them, see § 20 and § 21.

Examples of the usual normal sounds of the vowels when least influenced by adjacent sounds are found on Table II Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 10, 14, 18, 20 and 22. Instances of values of vowel digraphs on Table II Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 12, 15, both in 1st column.

It may be noticed from an examination of the vowel digraphs and their values that 'i' is always as "narrowing" vowel the last in a syllable, and unless it be intended that the vowel in the succeeding syllable be sounded "narrow," 'e' begins the syllable harmonizing with 'i' in the first: see § 12. 'a' and 'u' are very often used indifferently as "broadening" vowels, 'a' and 'o' may sometimes be used indifferently in some monosyllables often indicating a difference of dialectal pronunciation, see § 23.

Examples are given below in Gaelic spelling and phonetic writing illustrating the foregoing matter as marked in paragraphs. Many vowel digraphs differ in different dialects thus "geal," "beul," "fior" in some (kj*a*l̩), (pi*a*l̩), (fiə̯r̩), in others (k*e*·l̩), (p*e*·l̩), (fi : r̩).

§ 12. The words "basaich" (p*a* : siç), "bais" ⟨p*a*:ʃ⟩, "laidir" (λ*a* : cjɨ̈r̩); Gaelic initial 'l' is usually (λ), but (λ) medial or final is written 'll'; "eadar" (*e*tə̈r̩), "ait" (*a* : cç), "staid" (st*a* : cç); final 'd' and 't' "narrow" are both (cç); "foid" (föcç), "ciod" (khɨ̈t), "cuid" (khucç), "rud" (r̩ut), "riut" (r̩uht), "deagh" (cjə̈:q), "an deigh" (ə̈njje:j), "deas" (cj*e*s), "deis" ⟨cje:ʃ⟩, "eadhon" (*e*qə̈n), "boidheach" (pöjə̈χ), "toiseach" (thö⟨ʃə̈χ⟩), "thoisich" (hö⟨ʃiç⟩), "sios" ⟨ʃi:s⟩, "fios" (fis), "fior" (fi:r̩), "fir" (fir̩), "chiosaich" (ç*y*siç), "fichead" (fiç*e*t), "dachaidh" (t*a*xi), "nithean" (n̥iç*e*n̩), "shiubhal" (çuwə̈l̩), "mo shuilean" (mə̈ hu:lə̈n̥) furnish some examples of § 1, § 2, § 3, § 4, § 8, and § 11.

§ 13. In "feabhas" (fiö·s), "gheibh" (jow), "ghabhail" in Deeside (qo:l̥), "leam" (l̥om), common Argyll pronunciation, are instances of a rounding effect of medial or final 'bh' or 'm,' see § 6.

§ 14. In "an" (ə̃n), "ann" (ə̃ũɴ), "gleann" (kgl̥*e*ə̃ũɴ), "beann" (p*e*ə̃ũɴ), "call" (kh*a*ũλ), "mall" (m*a*̃ũλ), "sonn" (sə̃ũɴ), "ionnsindh" (j̃ũɴsi) or (iə̃si), observe diphthongal effect in many of these words with round raised ending connected with terminals 'nn' and 'll,' § 6. The character the nasal gives

to the vowel in the article seems to remain with other use of the vowel by itself as feminine article and possessive pronouns (ë) and this is usually the sound of the pronoun "e" which apparently, in some dialects, seems considered "narrow" in the beginning, and broad in the end to judge from its use in connection with the substantive verb "is" and emphatic suffix, thus "is mise" (is mi*ʃ*e), "is tusa" (is tusë), "(i)'sesan" (*ʃ*esën), "(i)'sise" (*ʃ*i*ʃ*e).

The words "tuais" (tuë*ʃ*), "fhuair" (huëṙ), "fuaire" (fuëṙe), "buail" (puël), are instances where the final 'i,' otherwise making a triphthong, only narrows the adjacent consonant, see § 4 and § 5; "dh'ith mi" (jiç mi), "tṙiùiṙ" (tṙuṙ), are instances of the sound of final 'th' after a narrow vowel, and of the mere "narrowing" effect of 'i' respectively, see § 4.

§ 15. In "tigh" (təij), "rinn" (rẽiɴ), the round commencing diphthongs seem related to the final consonants. In the word "rinn" the diphthong may be due to its derivation.

§ 16. In "liadh" (λiëq), "seadh" (*ʃ*ëq) "lagh" (λëq), "aghaidh" (ëqi), "liath" (λië), the 'dh,' 'gh,' and 'th' seem to exercise an effect unnoticed in "fear" (fe*ṛ*) monophthongic or "each" (*e*ëχ) diphthongic, see § 6.

§ 17. In "math" (mæ̃), "mac" (mæ̃xk), "mam" (mæ̃:m), and in "al" (*v*:l), "cal" (kh*v*:l), "fal" (f*v*:l), we notice the respective effects caused seemingly by the initial and final consonants as these sounds obtain under no other circumstances, see § 7.

§ 18. In "dubh," "subhach" "cobhair," "treabhadh," "ubhal," "cuibhrionn," the value of 'bh' has generally died away or amounts, and in some dialects only, to a slight rounding, thus "ubhal" (u*w*l). In "sabhal" 'bh' only rounds the vowel thus (s*a*ul). In "aoibhneach," "aobhar," "cabhag," "cubhaidh," "seirbhis," "scriobhar," "toibheum," "uaibhreach," 'bh' still remains (v), or in some dialects and in some cases (β), see § 6.

§ 19. In "deimhin," "diomhair," "ionmhuinn," 'mh' is (ṽ); in "amhuil" (w̃); in "amhairc," "amhluadh," "samhach," "amhghar," "samhradh," "geamhradh," 'mh' in most dialects only nasalizes adjacent sounds and perhaps slightly rounds vowels thus (*ã*w̃*l̃*u*a*), (s*ã*w̃r̃ëq), see § 6 and § 8 and § 9.

§ 20. In "dioghaltach," "glaodhaidh," "chladhaich," "fiadhaich," "bodha," the medial 'gh' or 'dh' now usually only indicate division between what are or were two syllables, and in some dialects the long first is extinguishing the short second, "saoghal'

is now, only in some places, dissyllabic but usually monophthongic (sø:l), "laghach" still dissyllabic or only diphthongic in Argyll, is in Deeside monophthongic like "saoghal" (λø:x), "leighis" (λei/) shows that 'gh' can now only diphthongize the vowels in some dialects, while in others 'gh' unpronounced as a consonant still breaks the word into two syllables.

§ 21. In "rathad" (ra:ët), "bruthach" (pbru:ëx), dissyllabic compare with "bruach" (pbruëx), monosyllabic, "athair" (ahër̆), dissyllabic in Argyll, but purely monophthongic in Deeside as "brathair" and "mathair," which, both there and in parts of Argyll, are (pbra:r̆), (mã:r̆), we can note decay in value of 'th,' while 'i' in later words only "narrows" 'r,' see § 8 and § 4.

The value of all digraphs is no doubt very irregular, while "eadhon" is (eqën), "meadhon" is (meën) or merely me:n.

§ 22. The words "urrainn" (uɾiñ), "faodainn" (fətiɴ), "dealanach" (cjalënax), but in Deeside (cjalnax), "maduinn" (mãtiñ), sometimes (mãtɴ), second syllable without a vowel, "Domhnull" (tõ:λ), only in far West dissyllabic (tõ·ẽλ), illustrate the decay of the second short syllable and its final absorption in the first long one, see § 8.

§ 23. In the words "tarbh" (tharëv) or (tharu), "falbh" (falëv) or (falu), "balg" (palëk) or "bolg" (pölëk), "lorg" (λörëk), "ainm" (ẽ:nim), "earb" (erëp), "orm" (örëm), "trioblaid" (trɨpelïçj), "aimsir" (emi/ɨr̆), "dorchadas" (törëχëtës), syllables are added or inserted not apparent in the spelling, see § 9.

§ 24. While in "olc" (ölxk), "torc" (thörxk), and "tearc" (cçeɾxk) the voiceless (x), taking the place of the vowel glide, adds no syllable. These voiceless glides between 'r' and 't' appear thus "ort" (örst), "cuairt" (khuër'+/t) and "mun cuairt" (muŋguër'+/t), the latter illustrating the vocalizing effect of preceding nasal, and 'r' unvoiced by the voiceless (/) glide is with it pronounced simultaneously, see § 10.

Exceptions to some of the rules mentioned are the words "is" (ɨs) not (ɨ/), and "so" (/ə) not (sə), and the preposition "de" is in many dialects (të) not (cjë), and "iad" is usually (et) not (iat) or (iet). "De" and "do" prepositions and possessive pronouns "do" and "mo" are all pronounced with the same vowel (ë). The rudimentary difference between "de" and "do" prepositions appears in the forms of their respective prepositional pronouns in combination with "e"; with "de" being "deth"

or "dheth" (cje) or (je), with "do" being "da" or "dha" (t*a*) or (q*a*). Sometimes the i of "iad" appears as if at the end as (*e*cç) the proper pronunciation as if written "eaid."

The forms "deanadh" (cj$\tilde{e}$:n$\tilde{e}$q), "deanamh" (cj$\tilde{e}$:n$\tilde{e}\tilde{w}$) or (cj$\tilde{e}$:nū), acknowledged forms of the present participle of "dean," customary in different dialects respectively, also "ugh" sometimes "ubh," in one dialect (u:q), in another (u:), in another (u:w), in another (u:v), seem very suggestive; also the participial suffix "adh" in "cathadh" (kh*a*·ëq) in the West, is in Deeside (u) thus (kh*a*hu).

The remarkable word "oidhche" ($\tilde{o}\tilde{i}\tilde{j}$çe) in Deeside, an almost purely phonetic pronunciation, is in the West ($\tilde{e}\tilde{i}\tilde{j}$çe), while a Kerry Irishman gave me his pronunciation as ($\tilde{i}\tilde{j}$çë), by its nasality apparently points to a quondam 'n' which still exists in the adverbial locution "an nochd" (ën n$\tilde{o}\chi$k) and seems to show a process of degeneration both of consonant and vowel sounds.

Evidently Gaelic has undergone much phonetic decay, but it still retains with remarkable purity and length a very large number of vowel sounds, both front and back. It has an undoubted preference for whispered consonants, and as it uses the back open (q) for the modified (d) or (t) instead of (ð), and (h) for modified (th) instead of (θ), we may consider it has also a preference for back consonants, which is borne out by every "chd" being (χk) and by its using (q) and (j) as "euphonic" insertion between the vowel ending prepositions "de" or "do" and following nouns beginning with a vowel, and also as prefix before vowel-beginning verbs thus "foghnaidh na dh'fhoghnas ged b'ann de dh'aran 's de dh'im" (f$\tilde{o}$:ni në q$\tilde{o}$:nës ket p'$\tilde{e}\ddot{u}$N të q*a*rën stë $\tilde{j}\tilde{i}$:m).

The preference for whispered sounds is somewhat balanced by the evident favor shown to nasal sounds almost always strongly voiced.

A few of the initial lines of one of the most generally admired poems by a well-known Gaelic poet, A.D. 1724–1812: "Donnachadh Ban Mac an t saoir" (Mac Intyre) with ordinary spelling and phonetic rendering.

A Mhairi bhan òg 's tu 'n oigh th'air m'aire
Ri'm bheò bhi far am bithinn fhein;
O'n fhuair mi ort còir cho mòr 's bu mhath leam
Le posadh ceangailt o'n chléir;

Le cùmhnanta teann's le banntaibh daingeann
S' le snaim a dh'fhanas nach tréig:
'Se t' fhaotainn air làimh le gradh gach caraid
Rinn slainte mhaireann a'm chré.

a ṽãr̃i vãn ɔ:k stun ɔ:ij h*e*ṙ m*a*ṙe
ri m veɔ: vi f*a*r ëm bi:ɴ he:n;
o n huëṙ mi orst khö:ṙ χo mɔ̃:r s pu væ̃ lom
le pho:s*ë* kçëŋilcç *o*n χ̇le:ṙ;
le khũ*ɯ̃*nëntë cçẽ̃ũɴ slepẽ̃ũɴtiv t*a*iŋëɴ
sle sn*a*im *ë* q̃ãnës n*a*χ tre:k:
ʃe t*ø*t*i*ɴ *e*ṙ λãĩ̃v̄ le kgra kaχ khaṙ*i*cç
rə̃ĩɴ sl*a*:ncçë ṽã:ṙëɴ ëm γ̇re: .

APPENDIX II

NOTES

ON

THE ORTHOGRAPHY OF THE ORMULUM

BY

ARTHUR S. NAPIER, M.A., Ph.D.

NOTES

ON

THE ORTHOGRAPHY OF THE ORMULUM[1]

For the guttural and palatal spirants Orm retains the Old English ȝ (in the former case adding an *h*), while for the guttural stopped consonant, as in *god*, he employs a sign which is represented in the printed editions by *g*. But in the printed editions the sign *g* is not restricted to the guttural stopped consonant: it is used also in words like *egge* (=Modern English 'edge'), where the *gg* had the *dzh* sound. In other words, the printed editions of the Ormulum make no difference between *egge* (='edge') and *eggenn*[2] (= to 'egg on'), though the pronunciation of the consonants in the two words was, in Orm's time, the same as now, i.e. *dzh* in the former case and a stopped *g* in the latter. But on examining the MS. I found that, though the editors make no difference, Orm did. The letter with which he always denoted the guttural stop (as in *god*, *gladd*, *eggenn*, &c.) is perfectly distinct from the sign which he used to express the *dzh* sound (as in *egge* 'edge,' *seggen* 'to say,' &c.). The latter, which in the following remarks, as well as in the transcript of the facsimile, is denoted by ȝ, has the form of the continental ȝ —: cf. *biȝȝenn* in the facsimile, lines 2, 16, 18, 20, 41, 47, and *seȝȝenn*, line 6. The former, which I shall denote by ȝ, may be described as a sort of compromise between the Old English ȝ and the continental ȝ: it has, in common with this

[1] These notes are reprinted, with slight alterations, from the *Academy*, March 15, 1890.

[2] The earliest quotation for this word given in the New English Dictionary dates from about 1200. A still earlier instance may be found in the Lindisfarne Gospels, Mark xv. 11, where *concitaverunt* is glossed by *ge-eggedon*.

latter, the closed upper part, thus differing from the Old English ȝ; but it has, in common with the Old English ȝ, the straight horizontal top stroke, which projects to the left as well as to the right of the letter —: cf. ȝ*odd*, lines 4, 9, 10, 12, 38, &c., *biȝinnen*, line 13, &c. This straight horizontal top, especially that part of it which projects to the left, is its most characteristic feature, and serves to distinguish it from the g, from the round top of which a short sloping stroke extends to the right, there being no stroke whatever to the left. The absence of any stroke to the left of the top of the g at once distinguishes it from the ȝ. Except for the one or two isolated instances mentioned on page 4, Orm never confuses the two signs, but always uses them correctly, ȝ denoting the guttural stopped consonant, and g the *dzh* sound. I give a few instances—the pronunciation, *g* or *dzh*, is added in brackets, the number which follows denotes the number of times I have met with the word in question in the Ormulum MS.: *egge* 'edge' (*dzh*–4) is in each case written with gg; *eggenn* 'to egg on' (*g*–5), *eggingȝ* (*g*–1) are in every instance spelt with gg. The verb *biggenn* 'to buy' (*dzh*–18) is always written with gg, being thus invariably distinguished from *biȝȝenn* 'to dwell' (*g*–20). The verbs *leggenn* 'to lay' (*dzh*–2), and *seggenn* 'to say' (*dzh*–33) are in every instance written with gg, while the Scandinavian *triȝȝ* 'faithful' (*g*–3), *kaȝȝerrlezȝe* 'love' (*g*–2) are spelt with ȝȝ.

If any proof is needed that Orm's *seggenn*, &c. really had the *dzh* sound, it is afforded by the use of the sign g in the Romance word *gyn* (*Ormulum*, ed. Holt, I. 245, *þurrh enoterr gyn*, 'through wise art'). This *gyn* or *gin* appears in other early Middle English writings, meaning, as here, 'skill, art,' or 'a mechanical contrivance, a machine.' It also got to be used in a bad sense, 'cunning,' and 'a snare,' surviving in the latter meaning in the Modern English 'gin.' It comes from the Latin *ingenium*, through the medium of the Old French *engin*. Some writers have, it is true, regarded it as Scandinavian, and brought it into connexion with the Old Norse *ginna*, 'to deceive.' But the pronunciation of the Modern English word entirely precludes the possibility of a Scandinavian

origin. Moreover, the various Middle English meanings are more easily and naturally explained from the Romance *engin* than from the Norse *ginna*.

The Romance origin of *gyn* then being admitted, its initial consonant must, in Orm's time, have had the *dzh* sound; thence, as we have every reason for supposing that Orm did not use this sign for more than one sound, we may assume that, wherever it occurs, it had the value of *dzh*. The fact that in words, whether proper names or not, borrowed from Latin Orm always uses ȝ before back vowels and g before front vowels, serves as a further confirmation of this. He writes *quaþþriȝan*, *ȝalile*, and *auȝusstuss*, but *egippte* and *magy* (= *magi*).

The later language shows that, when *ng* was originally followed by *i* or *j*, the *g* underwent the same assibilation as the *gg*; instances are 'hinge,' 'singe,' &c., so that one would expect to find Orm in such cases writing *n*g and not *n*ȝ. Now, wherever *ng* is preceded in native English words by *e*, an *i* or *j* must have originally followed the *ng* (to this there are very few exceptions—the preterite *heng* 'hung' is one), so that wherever the combination *eng* occurs, we should expect to find it written *en*g, unless the *g* was immediately followed by some consonant which protected it from assibilation, as in *ennglisshe*, *lennȝre*, or in the case of Scandinavian words. Accordingly we find *bilenge* 'belonging to' (l. 2230) written with g. The other words in question are (*hehe*)*enngell*, 'angel'; *henngedd*, &c., from *henngenn*, 'to hang, crucify'; *þrenngdenn*, 'thronged': *wengess*, 'wings'; *strengenn*, 'to strengthen'; *genge*, 'a company'; *gengenn*, 'to avail, assist'—but they are always written with ȝ, never with g. In the case of (*hehe*)*ennȝell*, the explanation is simple enough. In all the cases except the nominative and accusative singular the *g* was protected from assibilation by *l* (*ennȝless*), and the influence of these forms protected the *g* in the nominative and accusative singular; but, in the case of the other six words, no similar explanation is possible, so that, unless we are prepared to adopt the unlikely assumption that in Orm's dialect assibilation only took place in the case of *gg*, but not in the case of *ng*, we are driven to the conclusion that all the six words are of Scandinavian origin.

In his article on the Scandinavian loan-words in the *Ormulum* (Paul and Braune's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, x. 1) Brate comes to the conclusion, on quite other grounds, that *hennȝedd*, *þrennȝdenn*, and *wenȝess*, are Scandinavian; but the remaining three he regards as native English, because of the lengthening of the root vowel before *ng*. But, if we suppose *strenȝenn*, *ȝenȝe*, *ȝenȝenn* to belong to an older stratum of loan-words borrowed previously to the lengthening of *e* before *ng*, that objection would lose its force.

The following is a list of the words in which I have found the sign g used[1]: *biggenn* 'to buy', *abiggenn* 'to atone for', *bilenge*, *egge* 'edge', *Egippte*, *gyn*, *leggenn*, *Magy*, *seggenn*, *wiþþseggenn*[2].

That in a few isolated cases Orm should have let the wrong sign slip through his fingers, writing g for ȝ and conversely, is but natural. Amongst the hundreds of instances of the word *ȝodd* which I examined, I only found a single example of the misspelling *godd* (line 2161). Line 3995 the MS. has *gluterrnesse* for *ȝluterrnesse*. Conversely in l. 8772 *eȝippte* is written instead of the usua *egippte*, of which I have noted twelve instances.

A glance at line 10 of the facsimile will show that Sweet's stat ment (*History of Engl. Sounds*, p. 160) that the *Ormulum* only h *þ*, requires modification. A list of some of the words in which *ð* found, is given by Holt, I. p. lxxx.

It will be also noticed that the *o* of the combination *eo* generally been erased, and that in most cases the *o* has been a added by another hand.

[1] The words with g in the Latin portion of the *MS.* (i. e. the portion between the Dedication and the Preface, which contains Latin texts) are, of course, left out of consideration, as Orm does not use the sign ȝ at all in this Latin part of the *MS.*, emp the continental g in all cases.

[2] Orm regularly writes ȝer with an initial ȝ. In three in (ll. 8439, 9182, 9188) the ȝ h altered to g.

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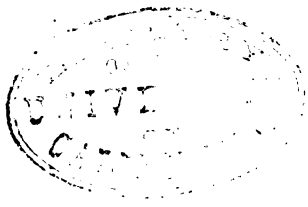
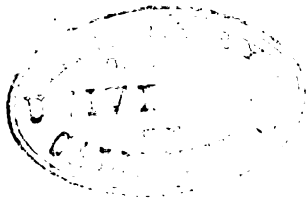
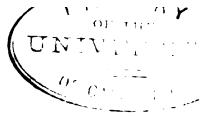
Ormulum MS.

Part







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1892. CASH RECEIVED.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
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For Arrears	4	4	0			
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TREASURER'S CASH ACCOUNT, 1892.

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MARCH 11, 1893.

(Signed) DANBY P. FRY, HENRY B. WHEATLEY, } AUDITORS.

XV.—THE ACCENTUAL ELEMENT IN EARLY LATIN VERSE, WITH A NEW THEORY OF THE SATURNIAN METRE.

By W. M. Lindsay, M.A., Jesus College, Oxford.

[*Read at the Meeting of the Philological Society held on Friday, March* 2, 1894.]

§ 1. *The Nature of the Latin Accent.*

We have two means of ascertaining whether the accent of a dead language was one of pitch or one of stress. We have the phenomena of the language itself on one hand, and we have the statements of native Grammarians, so far as they are trustworthy, on the other. Both these means of evidence point to the pitch-character of the ancient Greek Accent. The words of the language do not show that Syncope and Reduction of Unaccented vowels, which are the characteristic effects of a stress accent; the Greek Grammarians' accounts of the Accent of their own language point in the same direction. Modern Greek has, however, a stress-accentuation, so that the Greek Accent must have changed its nature in course of time, though at what precise period the change took place, it is difficult to say. No doubt the nature of the accent differed more or less in different parts of Greece; and the accent in one dialect may have allowed stress to predominate over tone at an earlier period than another.[1] Accent is taken into account in Greek Metre in the verse of Babrius, a contemporary probably of Augustus, and author of a verse-translation of Æsop's fables.

When we turn our attention to Latin, we are confronted with the difficulty that, while the Latin Grammarians often speak of their accent in terms properly applicable only to a pitch-accent,

[1] In the N. Greek dialects, for example, as in the N. Greek dialects of modern times, the stress-accent is stronger. (See Hatzidakis in *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, xxx. 388.)

all the features of their language point to its having been a stress-accent. The reduction of the accented vowel (e.g. *abigo*, etc., but Greek *ἀπάγω*, etc.), the Syncope of syllables following the Accent (e.g. *objurgo* from *objurigo*, *caldus* from *calidus*, etc., etc.), all indicate unmistakeably the presence of a stress-accent. And the difference of its accentuation from Greek, though not a single Grammarian definitely informs us of this difference, comes out clearly in the treatment of Greek loan-words, especially in the language of the less educated Romans. Greek *Σοφία* became *Sofía*, a stress-accent replacing the pitch-accent, with the result of lengthening the accented vowel; Greek *εἴδωλον* became *idōlum*. Instances like these show that the Romans had much the same difficulty as we have, in pronouncing Greek words with a short accented paenultima, or with an accented ante-paenultima and long penult. The difficulty would not be so great for a Roman as for us, if his stress-accent, like that of his modern descendant, the Italian, was not so strong as ours; nor would it be so much felt at an earlier period, when the distinctions of quantity were more vividly marked than in the later Empire. The Hungarian language, where the sense of quantity is equally vivid, accentuates the first syllable of every word, without detracting from the quantity of vowels in the following syllables. No doubt, too, the nature of the stress-accent would differ in various parts of Italy in ancient times, as it does to-day (see Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.* § 122, p. 71). In Praeneste, if we are to believe such indications as the spelling MGOLNIA for the name *Magolnia* on inscriptions, and perhaps the form *consa* for *ciconia*, a stork, Syncope was carried to greater lengths than in Latin, and the stress of the accent must have been stronger. But that the Latin language of all periods, at which we have definite knowledge of it, was a language of stress-accentuation, is proved by all the evidence at our disposal, and disproved by nothing except the silence of the Grammarians. The same tendency to Syncope, which before the literary period produced *undecim* out of **unodecem*, is seen working in the Early Literary time in words like *objurigo* (Plaut.), *objurgo* (Plaut. and Ter.), and in the Augustan Age in *calidus* and *caldus* (the form preferred by the Emperor Augustus, Quint. 1, 6, 19), while *virdis* for *viridis* asserted itself still later, and the same tendency still shows itself in modern Italian (*e.g.* Ital. gridare from Lat. *quiritare*). And hand in hand with Syncope goes the reduction and change of unaccented vowels.

How then are we to explain the absence of comment on the part of the Grammarians? We must, I think, take three things into consideration. First, that the study of Accentuation, and all the terminology used, came to the Romans from Greece. The word *accentus* itself was nothing but the Greek word *προσῳδία* in a Latin dress; and not only the terms employed, but the descriptions of the phenomena of accentuation are taken directly from Greek authorities. In the second place, the contrast between their accent and the Greek would not be felt so markedly by Roman Grammarians as it would by us, whose accent has so much stronger a stress than the Latin or modern Italian, a consideration which makes it less surprising that they did not remark on the essential difference between the two systems of accentuation. And thirdly, the Greek Accent itself had probably at the time of these Grammarians already entered on that process of change which ended in the stress accentuation of modern Greek. The Greek writers on accentuation would, no doubt, go on using the terminology of the earlier phoneticians without perceiving that their terms and descriptions were no longer so applicable to the actual phenomena as they had once been; and if the Greek contemporary theorists on Accent misused the terminology in this way, a Roman imitator might be excused for carrying the misuse a little further, in applying the same terminology to Latin Accentuation. Indeed the writers on Latin Grammar were seldom Romans by birth; they were usually Greeks, and would have the same difficulties in describing the Latin Accent as a Frenchman in describing the strong stress-accent of English. These considerations may explain how it is that only a few statements of the writers on Latin Grammar are rid of the terms 'high' and 'low' (instead of 'strong' and 'weak') accent, such as the remark of a fifth century Grammarian, that the accented syllable in a Latin word is the syllable which would be heard at a distance, when the others were inaudible (Pompeius, p. 127 K.: "finge tibi quasi vocem clamantis ad longe aliquem positum . ut puta finge tibi aliquem illo loco contra stare, et clama ad ipsum . cum coeperis clamare, naturalis ratio exigit ut unam syllabam plus dicas a reliquis illius verbi; et quam videris plus sonare a ceteris, ipsa habet accentum . 'optimus,' quae plus sonat? illa quae prior est . numquid hic sonat 'ti' et 'mus' quemadmodum 'op'? Ergo necesse est ut illa syllaba habeat accentum, quae plus sonat a reliquis, quando clamorem

fingimus." The same language is used by Servius (fourth century) *in Don.* p. 426, 10–20 K.). We may then believe the Latin Accent to have been in the main an accent of stress, like that of modern Italian, though like it (and the accent of the Romance languages generally), it may have been accompanied by a higher tone than the tone of the unstressed syllables.

§ 2. *Rules of Latin Accentuation.*

The law of Accentuation which prevailed in the Classical and subsequent periods is that known as the 'Paenultima Law,' a very simple one, namely, that the accent falls on the ante-paenultimate syllable, if the paenultima be short; on the paenultima itself, if long, e.g. *décŏres*, *decóres*, The accent never falls on the final syllable, except in the case of apocopated words like *illīc* for *illīc(e)*, *horunc* for *horunc(e)*. But there are traces in Latin, as Corssen proved, of an older Accentuation, by which the accent fell on the first syllable of every word. Cases of Syncope like *undecim* for *uno-decem*, and of Vowel-reduction like *infringo* from *in* and *frango*, *concīdo* from *cum* and *caedo*, *triennium* from *tri-* (*tres*) and *annus*, point unmistakeably to an earlier **úno-decem*, **cóncaido*, **triannium*, etc.; so that at some time or other the Indo-European Acccent law was replaced by a new law, namely, the accentuation of the first syllable. A change of the same kind seems to have taken place in the Teutonic languages (see Paul's *Grundriss Germ. Philol.* I. p. 339), and probably also in Celtic (Thurneysen in *Revue Celtique*, vol. vi.); and in some languages of the present day, such as Lettish, this uniform accentuation of the first syllable prevails. At what precise period the change, no doubt a gradual one, from this earlier system to the Paenultima Law began and completed itself, it is difficult to ascertain. But there is some evidence that it was still incomplete in one particular in the period of the Early Drama; for the metrical treatment of words like *facilius*, *mulierem* ($\breve{} \breve{} \breve{} \bar{}$) in the plays of Plautus and Terence indicates, as we shall see, that the pronunciation of such words in their time laid the accent on the first and not on the second syllable, and the syncope of the second syllable in *balneae* (in Plautus still *balineae*) points to the same thing. A line in which the metrical ictus falls on the second syllable occurs very rarely in their plays (see my

article in *Philologus*, LI. p. 364). And a word like *dimĭdius* (from *mĕdius*) must have been still accented on the first syllable about 250 B.C., for the change of unaccented *ĕ* to *ĭ* is not found on the oldest inscriptions. But though we cannot fix the time when Latin words passed from the old to the classical accentuation, when, for example, *sápientia* became *sapiéntia*, *témpestatibus* became *tempestátibus*, we can guess, partly from the analogy of other languages, partly from the inherent probabilities of the case, what the nature of that change was. A long word like *sapientia tempestatibus* must have had at all periods a secondary as well as a main accent; it could hardly be pronounced otherwise, as we can see from our own pronunciation of such words as 'chàracterístical' (with secondary accent on first, main accent on fourth syllable). So that *sápientia* would be more accurately written *sápièntia*. The change from the old accentuation to the new would be, in reality, nothing but a usurpation by the secondary accent of the prominence of the main occent; *sápièntia* would become *sàpiéntia*, *témpestàtibus* would become *tèmpestátibus*. A secondary accent (perhaps the *media prosodia* of Varro) is indicated for the first syllable of words like *armatura* by the Romance forms, which treat the vowel of the first syllable in the same way as they treat accented *a*. Italian Fiorentino beside Firenze may point to the secondary accent having been stronger in the first syllable of Lat. *Florentinus* than of Lat. *Florentia* (cf. Ital. seppelire, scellerato, etc., with doubling of the consonant which follows the vowel with secondary accent). (See Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm. d. Romanischen Sprachen*, I. p. 501.)

The Latin accentuation of the sentence, as distinguished from the accentuation of words by themselves, may be determined with a fair amount of accuracy, partly by the help of the remarks of the Latin Grammarians, partly from observing the phonetic changes of Latin words in the Roman tongues, where an accented word or syllable is not subject to the same laws of development as an unaccented, partly from the analogy of other languages. Examples of Sentence-enclitics are: (1) Enclitic Particles like *quĕ*, *vĕ*, *nĕ* (Interrogative). These were always written as appendages of the preceding word, e.g. *Caesarque*, *Ciceroque*, *atque* (weakened in pronunciation to **atc*, *ac*); (2) the various parts of the Substantive Verb. The unaccented nature of *erat*, *erit*, etc., is shown by Romance forms like Ital. era and Span. era (Lat. *erat*), O.Fr. ert (Lat. *erit*), for an accented *e* would have taken another

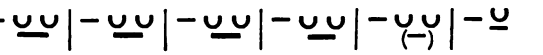
form, such as Ital. *iera, Span. *yera (cf. Ital. niega, Lat. *negat*). *Es*, *est* are written in the MSS. of Plautus, Virgil, etc., as appendages of a Perf. Part. Pass., *amatus* (*amatu's*), *amatust*, *amatumst* for *amatuses*, *amata est*, *amatum est*. It need hardly be said that the extent to which these words, and, indeed, all Sentence-enclitics, were suppressed, would depend on the caprice of the speaker, on the nuance of thought, on the style of composition, etc. No hard and fast rule can be laid down about them, just as no rule could be made for the use of ''s' for 'is,' ''re ' for 'are ' in English. A sentence, for example, of Cicero, ending with the words *licitum est*, is quoted by a Grammarian as an instance of a sentence ending with a monosyllable (Mar. Sacerd. p. 493 K.). (On the rules of Latin Accentuation, see my articles in the *Classical Review*, V. pp. 373 and 402.) Of Word-groups the Grammarians mention some, e.g. *res-publica*, *jus-jurandum*, etc., and the Romance languages point to others, e.g. *foris-facere* (O.Ital. forfare, Fr. forfaire), *ad-illam-horam* (Ital. allora, Fr. alors).

The theory of Bentley and Hermann that the accent was shifted a syllable nearer the beginning of a word when the final syllable was elided, so that in a line like Ter. *Andr.* init.: poeta cumprim(um) anim(um) ad scribend(um) appulit, the accent would fall on the first syllable of *scribend(um)*, is now generally abandoned. There is no evidence to prove it, and what evidence there is goes against it. But the versification of Plautus points to the retention of the accent of the simple word when an appended *-que*, *-ne* is elided, e.g. *prósperaq(ue)*, *surrúptasq(ue)*, and though Servius (ad *Æn.* X. 668, etc.) declares that *tanton*, *Pyrrhin*, etc., are properly perispomenon, because they stand for *tantō-ne*, *Pyrrhī-ne*, he tells us in a note on another passage (ad *Æn.* VI. 779) that *vidĕn* [i.e. *vidēs-n(e)*] was the actual pronunciation of his time.

§ 3. *The Accentual Element in Latin Poetry.*

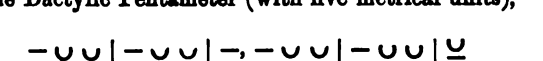
The Latin Accent, we have seen, was an accent of stress, and different from the Greek accent of tone or pitch, though its stress was not strong enough to overmaster the quantity of a vowel. An educated Roman pronounced *ōrātor* with the stress of the

voice on the second syllable,[1] but without impairing the long quantity of the initial *o*; the final *o* of *ponō* retained its length,[2] in spite of the fact that the stress of the voice fell on the first syllable; the first syllable of *pĭper* had the stress-accent along with the short quantity,[3] and so on. It was thus possible for the Romans to imitate the quantitative metres of the Greeks, in which the harmonious or metrical element of the line consisted of the regular arrangement of long and of short syllables,—the Dactylic metre, for instance, composed of Dactyls (— ∪ ∪), or on occasion Spondees (— —), as in the Dactylic Hexameter (with six metrical units),



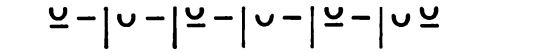
e.g. μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, Πηληιάδεω Ἀχιλῆος,

or as in the Dactylic Pentameter (with five metrical units),



e.g. οὔτε τι γὰρ νήφω οὔτε λίην μεθύω,

the Iambic metre, composed of Iambi (∪ —), varying with Spondees, or even with Tribrachs (∪ ∪ ∪), Anapaests (∪ ∪ —) and Dactyls, as in the Iambic Trimeter (with three metrical units),



e.g. δείσαντες ἢ στέρξαντες ὡς θέλοντος ἄν,

the Trochaic, composed of Trochees (— ∪), varying with Spondees, or even with Tribrachs, Anapaests and Dactyls, as in the Trochaic Tetrameter Catalectic (with four metrical units),

e.g. πολλάκις δ' ἀνατρέπουσι καὶ μάλ' εὖ βεβηκότας.

All these quantitative metres the Romans could imitate without being driven to that substitution of accented syllables for long

[1] *ōrator* was a mispronunciation of the time of Consentius (fifth century A.D. See Cons. p. 391 K.).

[2] *ponŏ*, however, came to be the universal pronunciation in course of time.

[3] *pīper* was another mispronunciation of Consentius' time (Cons. p. 391 K.).

syllables and of unaccented for short, which we see in English imitations of Greek dactyls:

Thís is the fórest priméval; the múrmuring pínes and the hémlocks.

But a stress-accent like the Latin could hardly be kept from asserting itself in Roman poetry; and, as a matter of fact, we find that the changes which the Greek metres underwent in the hands of these Roman imitators, are, in many cases, due to an attempt to reconcile the natural stress-accent of the words with their ictus or metrical beat.

The Dactylic Hexameters of Virgil and Ovid are hardly allowed any other ending than (1) ″ ∪ ∪, ″ ⏑, e.g. *moenia Romae*, or (2) ″ ∪, ∪ ″ ∪, e.g. *magnus Apollo*; the Dactylic Pentameters of Ovid are practically confined to the ending ″ ∪ ∪(,) ″ ∪, ∪ ⏑, e.g. *praecipitata forent, moenia magna forent*; and if we seek for the reason why these endings were preferred to Greek endings like those just quoted (Ἀχιλῆος (four syll.), and οὔτε λίην μεθύω), we shall hardly find a better one than the harmony of ictus and accent in the favoured endings (″ ∪ ∪, ″ ⏑ *moénia Rómae*; ″ ∪, ∪ ″ ⏑ *mágnus Apóllo*; ″ ∪ ∪(,) ″ ∪, ∪ ⏑ *praècipitáta fòrent, moénia mágna fòrent*), as contrasted with the conflict of ictus and accent in the rejected endings.

Similarly with the Roman imitations of the Iambic and Trochaic Metres of the Greek Dramatists. The Dipody Law of the Greek Iambic Metre prescribes that in the latter part, the (metrically) important part, of each Dipody of an Iambic line, a Spondee shall not be substituted for an Iambus, so that

ὅσα δὴ δέδηγ | μαι τὴν ἐμαν | τοῦ καρδιάν

could not be changed to ὅσα δὴ λῦπού μαι κ.τ.λ.; for the substitution of a Spondee for an Iambus at the end of a Dipody would spoil the iambic character of the line. Plautus found himself prevented by the large number of long syllables in the Latin language of his time from observing this rule, but while he admits spondees into these feet, he excludes those spondees which would bring the ictus and the accent into conflict.

vin cŏnmūtĕ ″ | *mus*? *tŭam ego dŭl* | *cam et tŭ meŭm*?

is legitimate, but

vin cŏnmūtĕm? | *vin tŭam ego*, etc.,

is avoided, as uniambic, because the conflict of the natural accent *conmútem* with the metrical ictus *-mutḗm* was felt to bring into unpleasing prominence the irregular formation of this important part of the line. Change the second word to a word in which there is not this conflict, say *mū́tŭer*, and the line becomes rhythmic again:

vin mū́tuer ? | *vin tuam ego*, etc.,

as it is with *cṓnmutḗmus*, etc.

In a Trochaic line the correspondingly important parts of the line, the parts which give the line its trochaic character, are the first parts of each Dipody. These, in the lines of the Greek Tragedians, may not show a Spondee for a Trochee. In the lines of Plautus they may indeed show a Spondee, but the clash of ictus and accent is avoided. A line like

vī́rginem hā́beo | *grā̋ndēm, dṓte* | *cā́ssam atque ī́nlo* | *cā́bi* | *lem*

satisfied the Roman ear, but not

virginem habeo | *dṓ̋tātam*, etc.,

where the natural accent of the word, *dōtā́tam*, would not harmonize with the ictus *dṓ̋tā-*.

In a Greek Anapaestic line the second foot of a Dipody may not substitute a Dactyl for an Anapaest unless the first foot be a Dactyl, *e.g.* κάππεσε κάτθανε | , but in the Anapaestic Cantica (or Choruses) of Plautus a Dactyl is allowed even when the first foot is something else, provided that this Dactyl irregularly substituted for an Anapaest has an accent not in conflict with the ictus. Thus we find Dipodies like _ ⏓, _ ⏑̋ ⏑ | *passim caerúle* | *os*, or ⏑ ⏑ ⏓, _ ⏑̋ ⏑ | *ubicumque est lépi* | *dum*, though *passim caerulus* | , with conflict of natural accent *caérulus* and metrical ictus *caerū́lus* is avoided. Similarly in the Bacchiac lines of Plautus the second foot of a Dipody, if it substitutes a Molossus (_ ⏓ ⏓) for a Bacchius (⏑ ⏓ ⏓), may not show the irregular long syllable with the stress-accent upon it, and in his Cretic lines, while a second hemistich like *Amph.* 200:

dī̋spērtī̋t(ī) ṓrdĭnḗs

is allowed to begin with a Molossus (⏓ _ ⏓), composed of the first three syllables of *dispertíti*, instead of a Cretic (⏓ ⏑ ⏓),

a change to *dīspĕrtīs ŏrdīnĕs* would not be allowed, where the accent falls on the irregular long syllable, the middle syllable of *dispértis*.

All these changes of the Greek schemes of metres are then so many instances of the Roman stress-accent asserting a claim to recognition. Another clear case of the kind is the treatment by the Latin Dramatists of Tribrach words and word-endings. While a word composed of three short syllables may be used in the Greek Drama without regard to correspondence of accent and ictus (*e g.* ὕδατος, ἀγαθόν may, equally with πατέρα, take the place of an iambus and the ictus ὑδάτος, ἀγάθον), a Roman Dramatist eschews *genĕra* and the like, evidently because the conflict of ictus (*genĕra*), with accent (*génera*), was in such words intolerable to the Roman ear.[1]

These examples of the regard paid to the accent of words by Roman poets might be considerably increased in number, and must not be supposed to comprise the whole evidence of the existence of an accentual element in Latin poetry. But taking them to be sufficient for our present purpose, we may proceed to enquire into the extent to which this accentual element prevailed.

The Latin Dactylic Hexameter, as we have seen, favoured endings like *moenia Romae, magnus Apollo*, which bring accent and ictus into exact correspondence. How far was this correspondence aimed at in the rest of the line? That an exact correspondence in each of the six feet would usually give the line an unpleasantly monotonous sound, we can see from that line of Ennius, which incurred the ridicule of Lucilius:

sparsis hastis longis campus splendet et horret,

though it can occasionally be used with effect, as in another line of Ennius, expressive of the measured pulsation of oars:

poste recumbite, vestraque pectora pellite tonsis

'lie back and let the oars strike into your chests.' The reason

[1] Prof. L. Müller in his *de Re Metrica*[1], p. 154, quotes from Seneca, *Med.* 450 (an Iambic Trimeter or Senarius):

fugĭmus *Iason fugimus . hoc non est novum.*

The combination of three short syllables in place of an iambus is not objected to in itself. Plautus begins iambic lines with *Et ita* (*Curc.* 639) and similar tribrachs, where there is no clash of accent and ictus.

of the monotony is not far to seek. Since the Latin accent attaches itself to the long paenultimate or antepaenultimate syllable of a word, its correspondence with the metrical beats of a dactylic line tends to make all or many of the feet of the line end with the ending of the word, and leaves the line without these Caesuras, or divisions of words between the metrical feet, which weld the line into a graceful whole. Virgil, accordingly, while insisting on the correspondence of ictus and accent in the last two feet, aims rather at Caesura in the earlier part of the line, e.g.

diver | *si cir* | *cumspici* | *unt . hoc* | *acrior* | *idem*,[1]

and avoids not merely lines in which the first two feet are marked off from the rest, as Ennius (*Ann.* 31 M.):

vī́res | vī́taque | *corpu' meum nunc deserit onne*,

but even those whose fourth foot is wholly contained in one word and ends with that word, *e.g.* Enn. (*A.* 42 M.):

quanquam multa manus ad | caĕli | *caerula templa*,

Enn. (*A.* 215 M.):

Brundisium puloro prae | cī́nctum | *praepete portu*,

or uses them designedly with archaic effect, e.g. *Aen.* I. 33:

tantae molis erat Ro | mānam | *condere gentem*.

But it is the Comedies of Plautus which supply the best material for deciding the question how the Greek metres were changed in their tranference to Roman soil. For while we have only fragments of the poetry of Ennius and the other early imitators of the Greek Dactylic metres, we have practically the whole of the works of Plautus, the first adapter (if we exclude Livius Andronicus, and Naevius, his older contemporaries) of the plays of the New Comedy, plays which, in their original Greek form,

[1] Almost identically the same beginning is used as the first half of an Iambic Senarius by Pacuvius (*Tragg.* 224 R.):

divorsi cir | *cumspicimus hor* | *ror percipit*,

but the older Dramatist is careful to keep ictus and accent in agreement (*divŏ́rsi cī́rcumspī́cimus*, *divórsi circumspícimus*).

were, no doubt, familiar to many of the educated Romans of the day. And another piece of good fortune has preserved to us the whole of the plays of Terence, a Comedian of some fifty years later, who, like Plautus, used in his plays the actual spoken language of his time, and is free from the suspicion which attaches to some extent to the Augustan poets, but especially to the poets of the Silver Age, of the use of artificial diction, of obsolete forms, quantities, and possibly accentuations of words. The Iambic and Trochaic metres, which Plautus and Terence employ in their dialogue scenes (*diverbia* or *deverbia*), are the metres which come nearest to the language of conversation and of prose literature,[1] so that by comparison of the lines of Terence with those of Plautus we can trace not only the development of the spoken language in the second century B.C., but also the course taken in adapting these Greek metres more and more to Roman requirements. And for our present purpose, the investigation of the accentual element in early Latin poetry, these writers are all important for this reason, that, since their diction is patently the diction of the ordinary life of the time, and their dialogue-scenes reproduce all the varied phases of everyday conversation, with its tones of banter and innuendo, of entreaty and refusal, of threatening, command, and deprecation, they afford us an opportunity of testing how far what is called the accentuation of the Sentence, as opposed to the accentuation of the single word, was regarded in Latin poetry. Lines like Plaut.

Stich. 185: *vĕni illo ad cēnam: sīc facĕ.*
promītte vēro; nĕ grauāre: est cōmmodŭm.
volo, inquam, fieri: nōn amīttam quīn eās (Iamb. Sen.),

Stich. 93: *nōn sedeo īsti* (MSS. *istic*); *vōs sedĕte: ego sĕdero īn subsĕllio* (Troch. Sept.),

Stich. 635: *Ēgone? Tūne. Mīhine? Tībine*, etc. (Troch.).

Merc. 947: *ŭt valuīsti? quīd, parĕntes meī valēnt? tam grātiast: Bĕne vocās, benīgne dīcis . crās apŭd te, nūnc domi,*

[1] Since the ictus falls on long syllables in all except trisyllabic feet in Iambic and Trochaic lines, and since the Latin Accent attaches itself to long (at least long paenultimate) syllables, there are clearly more chances in Latin than in Greek poetry of the ictus and accent lighting on the same syllable. But if we make the experiment of applying the Latin accentual laws to the Trimeters of the Greek Comedians, we find that the coincidence of accent and ictus is not at all so frequent as in the Senarii of Plautus and Terence. Some other influence is clearly at work in the latter.

have clearly the *ipsissima verba* of actual Roman conversation, and would be uttered by the actor with the same gesture and tone that would accompany them in everyday life. Did, then, this intonation impress itself on the metre too? Do the emphasized syllables receive the ictus or metrical beats of the line, and are the subordinate words and unaccented syllables relegated to the theses. An examination of the plays will, I believe, make it certain that this, so far as is consistent with the quantitative requirements of the line, is invariably done; in other words, that the lines of Plautus, while they are in essence quantitative, being Latin reproductions of the quantitative lines of Diphilus, Philemon, and other Greek Comedians, take all possible regard of the accent of the several words, and aim at reproducing in their metrical arrangement the intonation of ordinary discourse. The famous dictum of Ritschl (*Prolegg.* ch. xv.): cum quantitatis severitate summa accentus observationem quoad ejus fieri posset, conciliatam esse, has never been successfully impugned.[1] The more we learn about the metrical and prosodical usages of Plautus, and about the sentence-accentuation of the Romans, the more we are inclined to regard Ritschl's statement as too weak rather than too strong, and to believe that if we had full knowledge of the actual accentuation given to the sentence by a Roman of the time we should find it reproduced with great fidelity in these early comedies. Our knowledge of this subject is necessarily defective. The Grammarians of the Empire tell us, for example, that *unde*, the Relative, was an unaccented or subordinate or enclitic word in the Latin sentence, while *unde*, the Interrogative, had the accent; and their statement can hardly be doubted, if we consider the accentuation of the corresponding words in other languages, of our own 'when' for example in its use as Relative and as Indirect Interrogative in the sentence 'I shall see him when he comes back, but I don't know when he is coming'; they tell us also of a distinction between *quis*, the Indefinite Pronoun, as in *siquis*, *néquis*, and *quis* the Interrogative, the former being an enclitic or subordinate word, the latter an accented. But they do not add, what the analogy of other languages would lead us to expect, that these enclitics received an accent when they preceded other enclitic

[1] The objections of Prof. W. Meyer (*Abhandlungen d. Bayerischen Akademie*, xvii. p. 1, Munich, 1884) have been answered by Prof. Langen in the *Philologus*, vol. xlvi. See also my article in the *Journ. Phil.* XX. p. 135.

words, that, for example, *unde* Rel. and *quis* Indef. were uttered with a certain stress of their own in phrases like *ŭnd(e)-lubet*[1] (*Epid.* 144), *nequ'is sit arbiter* (the ending of an iambic Senarius, *Poen.* 178), where they precede the subordinate verbs *lubet* (cf. *quilubet*, *quólubet*), and *sit*. And while they tell us that Interrogatives were accented, they do not say whether the accent of the Interrogative or of the Noun was stronger in a question like *quis hic homo'st*?, which in Plautus always bears the ictus on the *quis* and not on the first syllable of *homo*. It is seldom that they condescend to such minutiae as the difference of meaning conveyed by the accentuations *siquando* and (the usual) *siquándo*, a difference pointed out by Donatus in his note on Terence, *Eun.* 437:

> *scin* sĭquando *illa mentionem Phaedriae*
> *facit*:

'siquando' et prima syllaba acui potest, et media, tamen variat sententiam, and, no doubt, corresponding to our 'ĭf ever,' as compared with 'if éver.' They are, as we have seen, silent about the secondary accent in long words like *tempestatibus*, *Florentinus*, and they are equally silent about the secondary accent which must have fallen on a subordinate word like *unde* Rel. in collocations like *und(e)-advĕnimus*, *und(e)-advĕni*. In the absence of complete information about the accentuation of the spoken Latin sentence, it is impossible to compile exact statistics of the number of lines in which this or that accented word or syllable has not the ictus, and so it is difficult to demonstrate by figures the wonderful extent to which agreement of ictus and sentence-accent prevails in Plautus and Terence; though, I believe, that anyone who takes the trouble of reading a play or two with his attention directed to this point will not be able long to retain any doubt on the matter.

The term 'subordinate' is preferable to 'enclitic' in speaking of Latin sentence-accentuation. Quintilian censures the rule of Hellenizing Grammarians of the Empire that disyllabic Latin prepositions are 'accented on the last syllable' before the noun. He points out that what really happens is that they are joined with the noun into a compound word, or word-group, which

[1] On this suppression of a final *ŭ* in *unde*, *nempe*, *atque*, etc., before a word beginning with a consonant, see Skutsch, *Forschungen* I.

takes the accentuation of any ordinary word: *circum-littora* for example having one (main) accent on the antepaenultimate syllable, like *circumlitio, circumductio, circumspicio.* Priscian (V. 67, p. 183 H.) objects similarly to the statement that *quis* the Indefinite Pronoun in *siquis, numquis,* etc., is an Enclitic like τις in εἴτις, and prefers to call *siquis* a compound with the natural accent of a compound word. This fusion of qualifying words with the words which they qualify, of dependent words with the words on which they depend, is the cardinal point of Latin sentence-accentuation.

Among the subordinate words of the Latin sentence were Conjunctions, like *et, sed, ut.* Ritschl, in his *Prolegomena* (p. ccliii. *sqq.*), called attention to the fact that they are carefully kept in the theses of the line, as in *Trin.* 2:

sequor . sed *finem fore quem dicam nescio*;

and in the first 500 lines of—let us say—the *Amphitruo* an instance of *ut* ('that, as') with the ictus can hardly be found, except in phrases like *útlubet* (v. 396), where it would have the main accent of the word, *út-vidétur* (v. 334), where it would have a secondary accent.

The strong stress of Interrogative, and the weak stress of Relative and Indefinite Pronouns is reflected in the versification of Plautus and Terence, in their treatment of such a word as *unde.* If we examine the instances of *unde* Relative and *unde* Interrogative in their plays,[1] we see that in the great majority the Relative stands *in thesi* and the Interrogative *in arsi.* Similarly *quis* Interrog., a word which naturally stands at the beginning of a sentence or line, will be found in this position far oftener in Trochaic lines, where the ictus falls on the first syllable, then in Iambic, where the ictus falls on the second syllable of the line. Prepositions were fused with a following Noun into a compound word, and would be entirely without stress in a group like *ad-caúsam,* as in a compound Verb like *ac-cúso*; but before an enclitic or unemphatic Pronoun they would doubtless take an accent *ád-me, ád-eum* like Greek πρός με, Engl. 'to him,' 'for him,' Early Irish for-m on me, fort on thee. This treatment of the Preposition before an unemphatic Pronoun is reflected in every page of Plautus and Terence, who hardly ever relegate

[1] The list will be found in Skutsch, *Forschungen* I. § 5.

it to the thesis unless the Pronoun is elided, e.g. *ad-m(e) ádvenis*, and it is probable enough that the elision of the Pronoun restored the Preposition in actual pronunciation to its unaccented state. A good example of the treatment of the group when the Pronoun has emphasis is seen in *Asin.* 772:

abs tĕd *accipiat, tibi propinet, tu bibas.*

The stressed and unstressed uses of the Latin Personal Pronoun have produced two series in the Romance languages, *e.g.* Italian me, te emphatic; mi, ti unemphatic. These unemphatic forms are joined to the verb, *e.g.* prestatemi il libro 'lend me the book.' If something analogous took place in Latin (and I see no reason for doubting it), an ictus like that of *servă-me* 'save me' in *Curc.* 628 (trochaic):

Phaĕdrome, ŏbsecrŏ, servă me, etc.,

cannot be quoted as an example of the conflict of ictus and accent. The accent of the Imperative standing alone would be *sérvā*, but the word-group *servā-me* would take the same accentuation as a word like *servámus, servátis, serváte.* Though it is rare for two iambic words to be allowed to stand together in a line of Plautus, presumably because this involved a double clash of accent and ictus, we find (*Amph.* 991) a line beginning with the words *patĕr vocátme*, where we may suppose the ictus to have fallen on a different syllable from the accent in the first word only (páter, but vocát-me). An example of the emphatic pronoun is *Men.* 1076: *tŭ erus es; tu servom quaere: tŭ salveto: tŭ vale.* The corresponding double series of Possessive Pronouns in Romance, *e.g.* Ital. mio and mo (e.g. ma-donna), point to an emphatic and unemphatic variety of the Latin Possessive, which I find reflected in the versification of the Comedians. If we contrast, for example, *Capt.* 261 (trochaic):

ut vos hic itidem illi (MSS. *illic*) *apud vos* mĕus *servatur filius*

and its emphatic *meus* on the one hand, with the subordinated Possessive in a line like *Bacch.* 251:

heu cŏr meum *et cerebrum, Nicobule, finditur,*

we shall not be inclined to agree with an opponent of Ritschl's

dictum, who finds in the *patĕr* of *Adelph.* 983 (trochaic) an instance of conflict between accent and ictus:

făciet, ŏ vir ŏptume, ŏ patĕr mi festivissume.

The emphatic Demonstrative is seen in phrases like *is ego sum, ego is sum*, which in Plautus always have the ictus on *is*, as contrasted with the ordinary unemphatic usage, e.g. *propter-eos, praeter-eos*, or in a line like *Poen.* 394 (trochaic):

oculus hŭjus, lippitudo mea, mel hŭjus, fel meum,

although the different metrical treatment of *illī* and *illĭc*, both of which were in the time of Plautus used either as the Adverb 'there,' or as Dative of the Pronoun 'to him,' has been obscured by the scribes of the MSS. of Plautus, who have usually changed *illi* Adv. to the classical *illic*, and *illic* Dat. to the 'doublet' reserved for this sense by the classical writers, *illi*, e.g. *Capt.* 278 (trochaic):

quod genus ĭlli est unum pollens atque honoratissumum

where the MSS. offer *illic*, the classical form, but where the metre requires *illi*. That Plautus used *horūnc, harūnc* but *hōrum, hārum* before a word beginning with a consonant has been established by Studemund (*Jahrb. Phil.* cxiii. p. 57), though this usage too is often obscured by the MSS. In *Pseud.* 69, for example: *harūnc volŭptatum*, the Ambrosian Palimpsest alone has preserved the true reading *harunc*, while the Palatine MSS. have altered it to the more familiar *harum*.

The Latin Grammarians have not given us a list of the subordinate or auxiliary Verbs in Latin. We have, however, many proofs, if proofs be needed, that the Substantive Verb belonged to this category, and its fusion with a preceding word is indicated, not only by the spellings of the best MSS. of Plautus, *amatust* (*amatus est*), *amatumst* (*amatum est*), *amatast* (*amata est*), *pulcrast* (*pulcra est*), *pulcrumst* (*pulcrum est*), etc., but by its metrical ictus in the line, e.g. *placitaĕ-sunt* (*Hec.* prol. 21), *salvaĕ-sunt* (*Pseud.* 1036), *paupĕr-sum* (*Aul.* 88). The usual place of the disyllabic forms of the Substantive Verb after a Participle or Adjective is at the end of a line, e.g. *Asin.* 320, *salvī-sumus*.

That *volo* in such a phrase as *volo scire* was a subordinate Verb, like 'will' in English, is seen not only from its invariable

scansion *volŏ scire*, but also from its almost invariable ictus *volo-scīre*, which surely reflects an accentuation *volo-scire*. The same Verb shows its subordinate character in *quantumvis* 'as much as you wish,' *quamvis* (like *quantumlibet* 'as much as you please,' *quamlibet*), and we can hardly be wrong in refusing to regard these common endings of Plautine lines, *factŭm volo*, *faciās volo*, as instances of the clash of accent and ictus. *Dare*, *habere*, and *facere* were in certain uses as much Auxiliary Verbs as our 'have,' 'do,' and line-endings like *coctŭm-dabo* (=*coquam*), *missăm-face* (=*dimitte*) must be judged in the same way as *factŭm-volo*, *faciās-volo*. They had in all probability the same subordinate character, when combined with a noun to express an action which might be expressed by a verb alone, e.g. *fidem dare* 'to promise,' *dono dare* 'to present,' *operam dare* 'to attend,' just as we throw the stress on the Noun 'noise' and not on the Verb 'make' in the phrase 'to make a noise,' and this subordination of the Verb would imply in Latin its fusion with the Noun into a word-complex, *fidém-do*, *donó-data* (*donŏ data* at the end of a line, Ter. *Eun.* 564), *operám dabam* (*operăm dabam* at the end of a line, *Heaut.* 110). If this was so, there will be a coincidence, and not a conflict, of accent and ictus in such iambic lines as Ter. *adelph.* 473:

fidĕm dans, *jurans se illam ducturum domum*

Phorm. 492: *nondum mihi credis . Hariolare . Sin* fidĕm do . *Fabulae!*

Andr. 243: *itane obstinate* operăm dat *ut me a Glycerio miserum abstrahat*?,

or in such trochaic lines as Plaut. *Mil.* 455:

dŏfidem, *si omittis isto me intro ituram, quo jubes.*

Among Subordinate Nouns, like our 'thing,' 'kind,' 'part,' in such phrases as 'something of that kind,' 'some parts of England,' we may reckon in Lat. *res* (cf. *quāre*, *quamōbrem*[1]),

[1] The common phrase *res divina* (in early Latin also *res dina*, like *ditem* for *divitem*, *obliscor* for *obliviscor*) 'a sacrifice,' as in an old inscription (*C.I.L.* XI. 4766) once written as one word REIDINAI (Gen.), like *respublica*, once as two words RES DEINA.

modus (cf. *quómodo, quemádmodum*), *locus* in the Adverbial word-groups *ubi-loci?, intereá-loci* (Donatus ad Ter. *Eun.* 255 (Iambic):

dum haec loquimur, ĭntereă loci *ad macellum ubi adventamus*),

dies, in *quotídie, postrídie* (for *posteri die*, like *crastini die*), and so on.

The normal ictus of the phrase *ēi-rēi operam-dabam* in Plautus is *eĭ rei operăm dabam*, and of the various cases of *mala-res* (the equivalent of *malum* 'punishment,' 'evil in store') is *măla res, malăe rēi, malăm rem, mală re*. *Mala crux* seems also to have been treated as a compound Noun in the phrase *i in malam crucem* 'go and be hanged,' for the phrase may be qualified by an Adjective, *i in maxumam malam crucem*. The accentuation *malám-crucem* is reflected by the ictus *malăm crucem*. Other cases of word-groups, composed of an Adjective preceding and a Noun following, are probably *bona-fides, mala-fides* (hence *bonăn fidĕ*, *Most.* 670, though forming two iambi, is allowed to end a line, because the accent fell not on the first but on the second syllable of *bonā*), *magnum malum* (cf. *magnopere*), *bonus vir*, the last two phrases showing normally in Plautus the ictus *magnŭm malum* (a common ending of a line), *bŏne vir, bŏnŭ' vir* (final *s* usually did not produce 'length by position' in the pronunciation of the time of Plautus). Also some Numerals with following Nouns like *trésviri, vigintíviri*, possibly *septèntriónes*, to which class we may perhaps refer expressions of time like *trigintā-dies, vigintī-dies* (cf. our 'fortnight,' 'twelvemonth'), or of value like *trigintā-minae, vigintī-minae* (cf. our 'sixpence,' 'twopence'). The normal ictus in the Dramatists is *trigintă dies, vigintĭ minae*, etc., although *triginta, viginti*, when not used in such collocations, show the ictus which we should expect, *trigĭnta, vigĭnti*.

These examples may suffice to show how the sentence-accent of Latin conversation asserts itself in the dialogue metre of the Early Drama, though it would not be difficult to double their number. Perhaps as strong a piece of evidence as any other is the fact that certain colloquial phrases, which evidently come direct from the streets of Rome into the lines of Plautus and Terence, show uniformly the same metrical accentuation, and that too, though there is often no necessity for this from the prosodical nature of the words. The phrase of everyday life *nil moror* 'I do not care' appears in all the plays of Plautus with the

ictus almost invariably on the first syllable, not on the second; and there is no reason to doubt that a Roman, of that time at least, would pronounce the word in this way with a single accent, and that on the important word of the phrase, the word *nil*. The common phrase 'I wish to know' *volo scire* might, from its prosodical nature, its arrangement of short and long syllables, take a metrical accentuation *volŏ sc.*, and we should expect to find iambic lines beginning *volŏ scire ĭgitur*, *volŏ scire aŭtem*, etc. But the almost invariable metrical accentuation in Plautus is *volŏ scīre*, with an ictus which in all probability conforms to the usual pronunciation *volŏ scire*, the subordinate Verb *volo* being fused with its Infinite into something like a compound word. The normal ictus *quĭd-istĭc*? or *quid istīc*? 'well! well!' *quĭd istuc*? or *quid istūc*? 'what's that?' agrees with what the Grammarians tell us of the accentuation of the Interrogative (*quis*, but Indef. *quis* unaccented), and of the oxytone nature of *istĭc*, *istūc* (for **istod-ce*). The phrase of endearment *voluptas mea* is always scanned by Plautus *volŭptās-mea*, with a shortening of the second syllable, that is only found when the next syllable has the natural accent, e.g. *volŭptātis*, *volŭptātem*; and the accentuation *voluptās-mea* agrees with the subordinate character of the Possessive Pronoun (cf. *patĕr-mi*, *fratĕr-mi*, *matĕr-mea*). The subordination of the Personal Pronoun is seen in *vae miseromihi*, a common expression of disappointment or despair, which bears in the lines of the Dramatists the ictus on the last syllable of *misero* and on the Interjection, *vaĕ miserŏ mihi*, and which would probably be accented *vaé-miseró-mihi*. Another exclamation, *eugae eugae*! 'bravo bravo,' bears invariably the ictus *eugae eŭgae*, and would no doubt have in ordinary utterance the accentation *eug(ae)-eúgae* (Greek εὖγε). Similarly *quĭd ita*? *quĭd agis*? *quĭd ais*? etc., seem to reflect *quid-ita*, *quid-agis*, *quid-ais*, and so on; *quis hic homost*? shows the same subordination of *homo* (*quis-hic-homost*) as *scĕlus-viri*! 'the wretch!' of *vir* (*scĕlŭ'-viri*).

As regards the other laws of Latin Accentuation, the laws of the accentuation of the single word, as opposed to the various modifications to which its accent is subject in a sentence, we find here too a wonderful amount of agreement between ictus and accent in the lines of Plautus. His greatest difficulty must, of course, have been with iambus-words like *fĕrō*, *fĕrūnt*, and it must have been increased by the large number of long final

syllables in the language at the beginning of the second century B.C., e.g. *-āt*, *-ēt*, *-īt* in 3 Sg. Act., *-ōr*, *-ār*, *-ēr* in 1 Sg. Pass. of Verbs, *-ōr* in Nom. Sg. of Nouns and Adjectives; for Plautus and his contemporaries still pronounced *coquāt*, *coquēt*, *coquār*, *coquēr*, etc., though, after his time, the difficulty of keeping the long vowel sound before a final *-t*,[1] *-r* changed the pronunciation to *coquăt*, *coquĕt*, *coquăr*, *coquĕr*. The Latin Accent, as we have seen (p.), is excluded from the final syllable, so that the word-accent was *fĕrō*, *fĕrūnt*, *cŏquāt*, etc. But the nature of the Iambic and Trochaic metres allows no opportunity for the ictus to fall on a short syllable immediately followed by a long syllable. The permissible ictus-forms in an Iambic line are (Iambus ∪ ″ –, Spondee – ″ –, Tribrach ∪ ″ ∪, Anapaest ∪ ∪ ″ –, Dactyl – ″ ∪, Proceleusmatic ∪ ∪ ″ ∪), in a Trochaic (Trochee ″ – ∪, Spondee ″ – –, Tribrach ″ ∪ ∪, Anapaest ″ ∪ –, Dactyl ″ – ∪, Proceleusmatic ″ ∪ ∪ ∪). There is no room for an ictus like ″ – to reproduce the accurate pronunciation of a disyllabic word like *fĕro*, with short accented first syllable and long final syllable.

This discrepancy furnishes the opponents of Ritschl's dictum with their strongest argument. How is it possible, they ask, to ascribe an accentual element to the lines of Plautus, when by the very nature of the metre used, the accent of those numerous iambic disyllables of common use would resist adaptation to the ictus or beat of the verse? Another argument, as frequently used as this one, is that an Iambic line must end with an Iambus (∪ ″ –), which implies an ictus on the final syllable of the line, whereas an accent on the final syllable of a word is contrary to the Latin practice; and these two arguments are regarded by many persons as conclusive. And yet to my mind the very fact that Plautus evidently takes the greatest possible pains to overcome these two difficulties in the way of reconciling ictus and accent, is one of the strongest proofs that he aimed at such reconciliation. Let us examine his methods of dealing with these Iambus-words?

(1) In the first place, he avails himself of the tendency of Latin pronunciation to shorten their final syllable, a tendency which asserted itself most strongly in those ending with a long

[1] Similarly our 'note' has a shorter vowel-sound than 'node.'

vowel followed by *-r*, *-t* (e.g. *amŏr*, *amăt*), and in many words which, ending with a long vowel, were closely joined with other words in ordinary rapid utterances, *e.g.* cavĕ-*faxis*, domĭ-*resto*, domŏ-*vēni*, dabŏ-*plāgam*, dedĭ-*plāgam*, citŏ-*curre*, modŏ-*vēni*, probĕ-*factus*, dato-*plagam* (O.Lat. *datōd*).[1]

(2) Or, secondly, he so places them in the sentence that their accent is diverted from the first syllable, whether to the final, e.g. *bonaéque*, *bonaéne*, *bonaéve*, *bonaé-sunt*, *malaé-res*, *malá-fide*, *fidém-dat*, or to a preceding word, e.g. *hóc-modo* (like *quómodo*), *aliquó-modo*, *coctúm-dabo*, *viginti-minae*.

(3) Thirdly, he elides their final vowel.

The usual place to which he assigns an Iambus-word with conflict of ictus and accent is before a pause in the sentence, e.g. *Trin.* 1–2:

> *Sequere hăc me, gnăta, ut mĭnus fŭngarĭs tuam.*
> Seqŭor. *sed fĭnem fŏre quem dĭcam nescio,*

where the disagreement would probably not be so marked. (Similarly before the last Dipody of an Iambic Senarius.) At the end of a line iambic words are preferred which would in ordinary utterance have no perceptible accent, e.g. *tuam* in the line just quoted, which would be as much an unaccented disyllable as the *-scio* of *néscio*, and the common endings already mentioned (*salvaé*) *sumus*, (*factúm*) *volo*, (*operám*) *dabam*, etc. Of trisyllables, tribrach-words, as has been mentioned, are never used with an ictus on their second syllable, e.g. *genĕra*; dactyl-words are occasionally allowed with an ictus of the kind by Plautus in the first foot of an iambic line, but this is never permitted by

[1] That this shortening of a final long syllable under the influence of a preceding short syllable (what is called the Law of the Brevis Brevians, *i.e.* brevis (syllaba) brevians (sequentem syllabam)) was not a mere metrical licence on the part of Plautus, but a more or less faithful reproduction of ordinary pronunciation is clear from the statement of Quintilian (1. 6. 21). He tells us that in unconventional talk the second syllable of *ave* (*have*) 'hail! good-day!' was shortened, though a few punctilious persons took pains to give it its proper long sound. *Cavĕ* was reduced not merely to *cavĕ* but to *cau-*, to judge from Cicero's story of Crassus, on his setting out for Parthia, mistaking the cry of a fig-seller *Cauneas! Cauneas!* (sc. *ficus vendo*) for *cave ne eas! cave ne eas!* as well as from the spelling *causis* for *cave sis* (Juvenal, 9. 120). A similar reduction of *havĕ* to *hau* may be inferred from Phaedrus' fable (*App.* 21) about the man who mistook for this salutation the caw of a crow. Some of these shortened forms forced their way into Augustan literature (*putā* Hor., *cavĕ* Ovid. *vidĕn* Virg., *modŏ*, *citŏ*, and always *benĕ*, *malĕ*, etc. We can understand why these last two Adverbs should have succumbed earlier and more thoroughly to the shortening tendency, if we consider their frequent use in phrases like *maleficio*, *beneficio*, etc.

Terence, who evidently felt an ictus like *pectŏra*, *perdĭta* to involve so violent a conflict between ictus and accent (*péctora*, *pérdita*) as to be shunned at all costs; molossus words are not infrequent with ictus on the first syllable, when their final syllable is elided, *e.g.* Ter. *Andr.* init.:

pŏsta quŭmprim(um) ănim(um) ad-scrĭbend(um) *ăppulit*,

this discrepancy of ictus and accent being regarded as less unpleasant than a double discrepancy like *scrĭbendŭm*. Of quadrisyllables, words of the form of the First Paeon (∪ ∪ ∪ –) or the Proceleusmatic (∪ ∪ ∪ ∪), e.g. *bălĭnĕāe*, *bălĭnĕă* from Gk. *βαλανεῖον*, which, as we have seen (p. 2), retained their early accentation of the first syllable (whence later *balneae*, *balnea*) have the ictus also on this syllable with very few exceptions in Plautus and even in Terence[1]; words of the type – ⏑ – ⏑, e.g. *Florentinus advenit*, are by the nature of the Iambic and Trochaic metre restricted to the ictus *Flŏrentĭnus ădvenĭt*, etc., which corresponds with their accentuation *Flòrentinus àdvenit*, and much the same is true of words of the type ∪ ∪ – ⏑, e.g. *sĕpelire*, *scĕleratos*, or *sĕpelire*, *scelerătos* (*sèpelire*, *scèlerátos*); choriambic words, e.g. *interea*, *consilium*, *dimidius*, have usually the ictus *ĭntĕrea*, *consĭlium*, *dimĭdius*, which corresponds to their accentuation under the Paenultima law, though the ictus *dĭmidius*, etc. (like the older accentuation of the first syllable, p. 2), is not at all infrequent.

These are the chief points in the case for the accentual element in the Iambic and Trochaic metres of Plautus and Terence. They constitute in my opinion too formidable an array of testimony to be disregarded. And anyone who, in spite of all this evidence, finds himself unable to believe that the question of accent was ever allowed to enter into the composition of the lines of the Roman Comedians is confronted with this further difficulty that the Romans themselves evidently read the lines of these authors as if ictus and accent were very much the same thing. We see this not only from the comments of Donatus on the pronunciation of words in some lines of Terence (e.g. *siquando*, see p. 4; *intereá-loci*, see p. 6), but from the

[1] But other combinations of four syllables of the kind are freely used with ictus on the second of the group, e.g. *Et ĕtiam* (*Epid.* 524), *An ăbiit?* (*Merc.* 981), where ictus and accent would not be in conflict.

express statement of Aulus Gellius (second century A.D.), who mentions an appeal to a line of Plautus, ending *aliorum ăffatim est*, for the accentuation *áffatim*, and to a line of Terence, ending *exădversum loco*, for the accentuation *exádversum* (the usual accentuation of his own time being *affátim*, *exadvérsum*), and quotes the testimony of a pupil of Valerius Probus, that that celebrated Grammarian (of Nero's time) read the line of Plautus with that pronunciation of the word.

At the same time I do not believe that anything is so likely to dispel one's doubts about the accentual element in the Comedians' dialogue metres as the perusal of one or two of their plays after a study of the rules of Latin accentuation, particularly sentence-accentuation.[1] We should be prepared to find a different state of things in the choric metres of Plautus, the bacchiac, cretic, anapaestic, etc., for the passages composed in these metres were not spoken but sung, and do not like the dialogue passages aim at a close reproduction of the tone and diction of ordinary conversation. The Cretic and Bacchiac metres, with their abundance of long syllables, especially favour forms like *cavē*, *mihī*, *modō* (*hŏc* volŏ́ scīre *tĕ Curc.* 134), which were not the forms employed in common speech; but their ictus are not more difficult to reconcile with the natural accents of Latin words than are the ictus of the Trochaic and Iambic Metres; and we find the accentuation of the Paenultima Law fairly conserved in these Cantica. Still it is a significant fact that Terence, after making trial of Bacchiacs and Cretics, gave up the attempt to adapt them to Latin. The Cantica, however, composed in the Anapaestic Metre, seem often to ride rough-shod over the accentuation, although it is possible that further research into the nature and laws of the passages so scanned, and in particular the discrimination of Dactylic from Anapaestic lines, may remove some of the harshness of what are usually regarded as Anapaestic lines.[2] A cardinal point of the metre is its readiness to substitute not only Dactyls for Anapaests, but dactylic words for anapaestic words, a substitution which is as natural in Greek as the substitution of a Spondee for a Dactyl, but

[1] It has been remarked that some of the lines of the Early Tragedians read almost like lines from a Christian (accentual) hymn, *e.g.* Ennius 163 R.:

O măgna tĕmpla caĕlitŭm, ‖ commĭxta stĕllis splĕndidĭs.

[2] It is difficult, for example, to believe that *usŭs sum in alto, dictŭs Prometheus* were actually so uttered by a Roman.

which involves in Latin the use of ictus-forms like *pectŏra*, *perdĭta*, not to speak of *properās*, *quid-agĕs*? It is no wonder that Terence refused even to make experiment of Anapaestic verse in any of his Comedies.

§ 4. *The Saturnian Metre.*

The earliest Latin imitations of the Greek metres differ in two respects from their Greek originals: (1) in the use of Alliteration; (2) in the regard for the natural accent of the words. This suggests that the native Latin metre, the Saturnian, which was used before, and for some time after, the adoption of the Greek quantitative poetry, was (1) Alliterative, (2) Accentual. The Alliteration was one of its main features will be evident to anyone who takes even a cursory glance at the Saturnian lines preserved to us (about 150 in all), but its accentual character (though almost implied by its alliterative side) has been recognized only recently, since the investigation into the metres of the different Indo-European nations has shown the isolated position of the Greeks in their use of an entirely quantitative metre. The Roman Metricians of the Empire, when they came to write adaptations of the Greek treatises on Metre, and found themselves compelled, after a description of the Hexameters of Virgil, the Pentameters of Ovid, the Sapphics and Alcaics of Horace, etc., to give some account of the native metre used at the time of the Punic Wars by Livius Andronicus and Naevius, were quite at a loss to fit it into the Greek metrical scheme. They tried to account for it as a composite of Iambic and Trochaic metre, an Iambic Dimeter Catalectic with a Trochaic Dimeter Brachycatalectic, though they were obliged to confess that hardly more than a single line could be suited to this Procrustean scheme. Their model line is the epigram of the Metelli on the poet Naevius:—

dăbŭnt mălŭm Mĕtĕllī ‖ Nāĕvĭŏ pŏētāē,

which has become the stock example of a Saturnian. It is strange that, although the Roman metricians frankly confessed their inability to suit the actual extant lines to quantitative rules, the Quantitative theory of the Saturnian metre should have found acceptance in modern times; for once we leave

this single example, *dabunt malum*, etc., we find line after line which resists a quantitative scansion,

e.g. *Runcŭs atquĕ Porpurĕus filii Terras,*
Isquĕ susŭm ad caelum sustulit suas res.

For a time it was supposed that these final syllables might have been long in Early Latin, just as *curăt*, *audīt*, *candŏr* had their final syllables long in the time of Plautus. But Comparative Philology has now taught us that they were short at all periods of the language, their I.-Eur. forms being *-ŏs*, *-qĕ*, *-ŏm*. The *-que* indeed of Latin *atque*, *isque* was so short a syllable that in ordinary rapid utterance the vowel was lost altogether, even before a word beginning with a consonant, *atque* becoming *ac* (for **atc*), *neque* becoming *nec*, etc., while *-um* of *susum*, etc., was in classical poetry invariably, and in anteclassical poetry usually elided, though Plautus and Ennius sometimes reckon it as a short syllable like the *-um* of *circum* in the classical compound *circŭmit* or *circŭit*. Final *-a* of the Nom. Sg. of A-Stems, and the Nom. Acc. Pl. Neut. of O-Stems may have been long at some remote period, but in the period of the earliest literature it is invariably short, and is scanned as a short syllable by Livius Andronicus, and Naevius themselves in their other poems in the Greek quantitative metres, so that, e.g. *vita*, can hardly be a spondee in a line of a Scipio epitaph, written c. 130 B.C.:

quoiei vita defecit, non honos honore.[1]

It is, however, the recent investigations into the versification of Plautus that have given the *coup de grâce* to the old theory of Saturnian Metre. Plautus never uses a tribrach word with metrical ictus on the second syllable. How then can we make the beginning of vv. 96, 101 iambic?

subigit omne Loucanam opsidesque abdoucit,
facile facteis superasses gloriam maiorum.

Plautus avoids the use of a spondee with metrical ictus on its final syllable in the even feet of an iambic line. How then can we scan: *consul censŏr aidilis.*

[1] Dr. Reichardt, the latest champion of the Quantitative theory, allows that in 127 lines 63 cases occur of a short final where a long syllable is required, as against 66 cases of a long final! (*Jahrb. Klass. Phil.* (Suppl.) xix.).

And in general, as we have seen, Plautus does all he can to bring metrical ictus into correspondence with the natural accent of the words. If this care is shown in imitations of Greek metre, a metre purely quantitative, can we believe that the native Latin poetry brought ictus and accent into conflict in the first half of, I would say, every line:

consŏl censŏr aidilis
annŏs gnatŭs viginti
quoiei vitä defecit
Gnaiŭŏd patrĕ prognatus, etc., etc.

Even the more plausible form of the Quantatitive theory, according to which Iambic might be at will replaced by Trochaic rhythm, and Trochaic by Iambic (e.g. *Rŭncus atque* being trochees, not iambi), fails to meet these objections, and its author[1] has now relinquished it for a (more or less thorough) accentual theory.

A host of arguments might be brought against the Quantitative theory, if it were necessary. The single fact, however, that every extant Saturnian line begins with an accented syllable, is almost enough to show that the metre is governed by Accent, and is not a composite of a quantitative Iambic and a quantitative Trochaic line. For how otherwise can we explain the fact that, while the iambic lines of the Dramatists begin again and again with trisyllables accented on the second syllable (*e.g.* Plautus in the first scene of the *Miles* has v. 1 *Curäte*, v. 4 *Praestrĭngat*, v. 29 *Conĭsus*, v. 39 *Facĕte*, v. 40 *Novĭsse*, v. 41 *Curämque*, v. 44 *Trigĭnta*, v. 57 *Uirtŭte*, v. 72 *Uidĕtur*, v. 74 *Latrŏnes*), we have not a single instance of such a beginning of a Saturnian line[2])? The natural order of the words 'aedile, consul, censor,' the order of the prose Scipio epitaph (I. 31 *aidiles cosol cesor*) is not retained in the Saturnian epitaph: *consol censor aidilis* (v. 94), an inversion which may reasonably be referred to the necessity of beginning the line with an accented syllable. And an examination of the lines in detail will show that

[1] Prof. Zander, of Lund, who gives me this information by letter.

[2] v. 57 *Plerique omnes* is an exception that proves the rule, for Plautus and Terence always throw the metrical ictus in this phrase on the first syllable of *plerique* and the first syllable of *omnes*, pointing to a pronunciation of the word-group, like *plèriqu(e)-ómnes*. v. 105 (on a Scipio epitaph) *Aetate quom parua* shows the common spelling *aetate* instead of the older form, here required by the metre, *aevitate*, by a similär graver's mistake as the substitution of *aeternus* for *aeviternus* on an iambic epitaph of Diocletian's time (Orell. 6017): divini vis est aeterni temporis.

each line not only begins with an accented syllable, but has three accents in the first half-line, two accents in the second, account being taken of secondary accents in a degree which, we can believe, corresponded to their prominence in actual pronunciation.[1]

This Accentual theory of the Saturnian Metre has the merit of suiting each and every extant Saturnian line.[2] But stated in this form, it seems to me hardly sufficient as a metrical scheme. No doubt the Saturnian poetry was stigmatized by Horace as *horridus ille numerus*, and *grave virus*; but could it have been so devoid of harmony as lines would be which answered only these two requirements, (1) of beginning with an accented syllable, (2) of showing three accents in the first half, two in the second half? A good many lines of prose could satisfy such a test, the opening sentence of Cicero's First Philippic, for example: Ántequam dè-república, ‖ pátres conscrípti, Dícam-ea quàe-dicénda ‖ hoc-témpore árbitror!!, and even with 'Alliteration's artful aid' we can hardly suppose such a metre to have been favoured by a poet like Naevius, who was familiar with the Greek style.

The counting of syllables, which is a feature of the poetry of various Indo-European peoples is an essential element in Romance metre. The commonest Romance line, the Décasyllabe as it is called in French, the Endecasillabo in Italian, gets its name from the number of syllables used, viz. ten with masculine

[1] A five-syllabled word always counts for two accents, *e.g.*

v. 104 *mágna sàpiéntia* ‖ *multásque uirtútes*,
90 *dédet Tèmpestátebus* ‖ *aíde méretod*,
56 *ònerárias onústae* ‖ *stábant inflústris*,

and a four-syllabled word (at any rate of the forms — ⏑̲ — ⏑̲ and ⏑̲ — ∪ ⏑̲) does the same at the beginning of the line, *e.g.*

v. 44 *ímmoldbat aúream* ‖ *uíctimam púleram*,
50 *súpérbiter contémptim* ‖ *cónterit legiónes*,
91 *Córnélius Lúcius* ‖ *Scípio Barbátus*.

A word at the beginning of a line or sentence would naturally have more prominence given to it than in the middle. For the double accentuation of quadrisyllables in other parts of the line than the beginning, the only strong instances are v. 129, *còmplúrimae*‖, v. 130, *primárium*‖, whose first syllables alliterate with neighbouring words, and would receive extra stress on that account, and the proper name *Scipiones*, v. 87.

[2] The last line of the epitaph on Naevius, quoted by Gellius from Varro, should probably be read: *lóquier língua Latína* ‖ *obliti-sunt Rómae*.

ending, eleven with feminine ending, *e.g.* Ariosto *Orl. Fur.* IV. 62:

di vera pudicizia è un paragone,

where the rhythmical factors are (1) the two accented syllables (the sixth, *-ci-*, and the tenth *-go-*), (2) the number of syllables (eleven, with elision of *-ia è* before the initial vowel *u-* of *un*). (On the Romance Metres see Stengel in Gröber's *Grundriss*, vol. ii.). I believe this counting of syllables to have been an element of the native Latin metre, the Saturnian. Seven syllables are the quota of the first half-line, six of the second, *e.g.*

dabunt malum Metelli ‖ *Naeuio poetae*;

and this number will be found to occur in the various lines, the laws of elision being nearer those of Plautus and Ennius than those observed by the classical poets, in that a final long vowel or diphthong or a final syllable ending in *-m* was not wholly elided, but was left in 'prosodical hiatus' (reckoned as a short syllable[1]); and that this treatment coresponded with the actual pronunciation we may argue from such forms as *prĕ-hendo* (from *prae hendo*), *circŭ(m)-it* (from *circum it*), *e.g.*

v. 25 *topper citĭ ăd aedis* ‖
40 *isque sustŭm ad caelum* ‖.

The monotony is varied by occasionally allowing an extra short syllable in positions where in current pronunciation it would be completely, or partially, suppressed, to count with a preceding short syllable as a single syllable, *e.g.*

v. 66 ‖ *căpĭtibus opertis*
99 ‖ *glori(a) atq(ue) ingĕnĭum*,

where *capitibus*, *ingenium* are allowed in place of trisyllables, just as Ennius (*Ann.* 267 R.) allows *capitibus* to take the place of a dactyl at the beginning of a hexameter line:

capitibu' nutantis pinos rectosque cupressos,

[1] Monosyllabic enclitics were an exception. Their treatment varies in Plautus, *e.g.* in *Cas.* 591:

cŭm hac, cŭm istac, cumque amica etiam mea,

cum stands in prosodical hiatus, though usually elided.

or as Horace has *consilium* (*C.* III. 4, 11), *principium* (*C.* III. 6, 6) in place of trisyllables.[1]

Further I find that the accents of the line are systematically arranged. The extant verses show us clearly two types, one (the A-type we may call it) x́x(,) x́x, x x́x ‖ x́xx, x x́x

dábunt málum Metélli ‖ Naéuio poétae,

the other (B-type), which is much less common, x́x(,) x́x, x́xx ‖ x x́xx, x́x

prím(a) incédit Céreris ‖ Prosérpina púer.

What the historical genesis of either type may have been is another matter, but it seems to me that what was present to the mind of Livius and Naevius in their actual use of them was an endeavour to secure (after the first two feet of the line, where the accent was fixed) a regular alternation of accentual rhythm, a 'rising' accent (e.g. *Metélli*) being followed by a 'falling' (e.g. *Naéuio*), and *vice versâ* (e.g. *Céreris* by *Prosérpina*).

The scarcity of our material does not allow us to discover precisely to what extent variations from these normal types were permitted. A variety of the A-type has in the second half-line ‖ x x́x x́, e.g. *adlocútus súmmi;* a variety of the B-type, which lacks one of the requisite number of syllables, but satisfies the requirements of alternation of accentual rhythm, has in the same part of the line ‖ x x́x, x́x, e.g. *fuisse uirum*. But that these two types were deliberately followed by the writers of Saturnian lines (more successfully, as is natural, by the poets, Livius and Naevius, than by the chance writers of metrical inscriptions) is, I think, put beyond a doubt by the actual extant lines. The theory might be tested, if the words were by any piece of good fortune discovered, which are wanting in certain fragmentary lines. For example, a fragmentary line of Naevius, quoted by Festus (472 Th.): *quod bruti nec-satis sardare queunt*, will, if my theory be right, lack four syllables at the beginning so accented x́x(,) x́x (perhaps

dictus Brútus, quod brúti ‖ néc-satis sardáre
quéunt).

[1] That this 'resolution' was recognized as a licence, a permissible departure from the regular number of syllables, is shown by the limits within which it is confined. Two such 'resolutions' are avoided in the same half-line, probably even in the same line.

Rules of Caesura are often given for the Saturnian verse, but improperly, for they are dependent on the three main rules of accentuation, number of syllables, and alternation of accentual rhythm, and are implied by them. The only caesura that really formed of itself an element of Saturnian metre was the break between the two half-lines; the others, viz. the occasional break between the first and second 'feet' of the first half-line (e.g. *dabunt malum*), and the usual breaks (1) between the second and third 'feet' of the first half-line (*malum Metelli*), (2) between the first and second 'feet' of the second half-line (*Naeuio poetae*), are merely the conditions under which a certain number and arrangement of accents, combined with a certain number of syllables, can be secured for the line. But Rhyme (in the final syllable or syllables of each half-line)[1] was an ornament much sought after, so that the regular structure of the verse seems occasionally to be sacrificed for the sake of securing it, *e.g.*

v. 47 *úrit, pŏpŭlátur vástat,* ‖ *re(m)-hóstium concinnat,*

instead of the usual rhythm: *úrit, vástat, pŏpŭlátur*, like v. 131 *Fúndit, fúgat, prósternit.* And there are possibly traces of an arrangement of lines, usually or occasionally, in distichs, any peculiarity of rhythm in the first line being 'echoed' by the rhythm of the second *e.g.*

vv. 18, 19 *námque núllum péius* ‖ *mácerat humánum*
quánde mâre saéuom ‖ *uis-et-oui sunt-mágnae,*

though the number of quotations by the Grammarians of anything but isolated lines is so small that we have not data enough to warrant a certain inference.

Naevius, who died at the end of the Second Punic War, was succeeded in the domain of Epic Poetry by Ennius, whose influence effected the replacement of the native metre by the Greek

[1] The final syllable was, of course, unaccented. Similarly rhyme in Commodian and S. Augustine is of unaccented finals, while in Romance poetry it is accented syllables which bear the rhyme.

quantitative Hexameter.[1] The Saturnian disappears altogether from our ken in the course of the second century B.C.; and in the plebeian epitaphs of the later Republic and Empire the common metres are the Iambic and Trochaic. (A frequent 'poor man's epitaph,' for example, as frequent as our 'Affliction sore long time he bore' is:

noli dolere, mater, eventum meum.
properavit aetas; hoc voluit fatus meus.

'Dear mother, do not weep for me.
Short was my course; 'twas fated so to be.')

But if the new theory of Prof. Stengel (Gröber's *Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie*, II. p. 19) be right, the Saturnian metre must have remained in popular usage down to the Romance times, though no trace of it has been left in literature or in epitaphs. (*Inscr. Neap.* 3829:

rogo te, mi viator, noli mi nocere

may be a Saturnian, but is too doubtful to quote.) Prof. Stengel, who refers the common metre of Spain, the fourteen-syllabled line, with accented seventh and fourteenth syllables, to the Latin Trochaic Septenarius (Tetrameter Catalectic), sees in the commonest Romance metre, the Décasyllabe of France, the Endecasillabo of Italy, a direct development of the Saturnian. This line he shows to have had at an earlier stage more than ten (or eleven) syllables, and to have had an accent on the sixth syllable, as well as at the end of the line; and this internal accent he ascribes to the accent at the end of the first half-line of the Saturnian, *e.g.*

dabunt malum Metélli
v. 11 *partim errant* nequínunt
v. 4 *argenteo* polúbro.

He supposes that the Paenultima law of accentuation had often the effect of weakening the accent at the beginning of the line,

[1] There seems to have been a later edition of the *Odyssea* and the *Bellum Poenicum* in hexameters, perhaps for the use of Roman school-boys, for some of the lines quoted by the grammarians have unmistakeably this form, *e.g.* Priscian's quotation (I. p. 419 K.) from the *Odyssea*:

cum socios nostros mandisset impius Cyclops.

drgénteo becoming *argénteo* with no perceptible secondary accent on the first syllable, so that the accentuation at the beginning of the line came to be regarded as unfixed:

pártim érrant
argénteo,

while the accent at the close of the half-line (and of the whole line) continued to assert itself:

partim errant nequinunt ||
argenteo polúbro ||.

However that may be, it is certain that the popular poetry of the Republic, as well as of the Empire, was markedly accentual. The few examples that have been preserved are mostly Trochaic Septenarii, being lampoons of soldiers on their general (on the day of a triumph such abuse was thought to avert the Nemesis that attends undue prosperity), *e.g.* the lampoon on Pompey (quoted by Sacerdos, p. 462, 1 K.), of accentual, somewhat halting, rhythm:

quém non púdet ét rúbet nón est hómo sed rópio,

or the more rhythmical one on Caesar (Suet. *Caes.* 80):

écce Caésar núnc triúmphat quí subégit Gállias.[1]

The recognition by the Christian writers of this accentual metre, and the process by which the 'poor man's poetry' became the poetry of the Church and the Nation, are matters which lie outside the province of this article. I will only mention that the recent investigations of the poetry of Commodian suggest that a better knowledge of the exact pronunciation and accentuation of the language of his time will explain the rhythmical structure of the hexameters of the 'Instructiones' and 'Carmen Apologeticum.'

[1] The call of the 'retiarius' gladiator may be a (loose) accentual Trochaic Tetrameter:

nón te péto, píscem péto, quíd me fúgis, Gálle?

APPENDIX.

Saturnian Verse—A List of all the (complete) Extant Lines.

A-Type ẋx(,) ẋx, xẋx ‖ ẋxx , xẋx (or ‖ xxẋx, ẋx)

B-Type ẋx(,) ẋx, ẋxx ‖ xẋxx, ẋx (or ‖ xẋx , ẋx)

(Lines of doubtful reading are enclosed in brackets. Where two short syllables replace a single syllable, the quantities are indicated. Departures from the MSS. are put in italics).

(*Liv. Andr.*)

1. Vírum mihi Caména ‖ ínsece versútum.
2. Méa pŭ̆ěra, quid-vérbi ‖ ex-tŭ̆ŏ-óre súpra.
3. Nèq(ue) tam té oblítus-sum, ‖ Laértie nóster.
4. Àrgénteo polúbro, ‖ aúreo eclútro.
5. Túque mihi narráto ‖ ómnia disértim.
6. Mátrem < próci > procítum ‖ plúrimi venérunt.
7. Quàndo díes advĕnĭet, ‖ quem-profáta Mórtast.
8. *Aút* in Pylum devĕnĭes ‖ aút ibi-omméntans.

[9. Túncque rémos jússit ‖ religáre strúppis.]

10. Ìbidémque vir-súmmus ‖ Pát*ricoles* adprímus.
11. Pártim érrant, nequínunt ‖ Graéciam redíre.
12. Àpud-nýmpham, Atlántis ‖ fíliam Călўpsónem.

[13. Ĭgĭtur démum Ŭlĭxí-[cor[1]] ‖ prae-pavóre fríxit.]

14. Utrum génu(a) amplóctens ‖ vírginem oráret.
15. Ĭbi mánens sedéto, ‖
16. Mé carpénto vehénte ‖ m*eam*-domum venísse.
17. Símul *dă̆*crŭmas dĕ-óre ‖ noégeo detérsit.
18. Námque núllum péjus ‖ mácerat humánum.
19. Quámde máre saévum, ‖ *vís*-et-cui sunt-mágnae ;
20. Tópper < éas > confríngent ‖ importúnae úndae.
21. Mèrcúrius cumqu(e)-éo ‖ fílius Latónas.

[22. Néx*erant* múlt(a) intér-se ‖ *néx*u nodórum.]

23. Nàm divína Monétas ‖ fília m*e*-dŏ̆cŭit.

[1] *cor* probably belongs to the context, and should be removed from this line.

24. Tópper fácit hómines || ut-príus fúerunt.
25. Tópper cíti ad-aédis || vénimus Circáï.
[26. Cárnis aútem vinúmque || quód-*b*ibant anclábant.]
27. Sáncta púer, Satúrni || fília, regína.

(*Naevius*)
28. Éorum séctam sequóntur || múlti mortáles.
29. Ùbi fóras cŭm-aúro || flico exíbant.
30. Múlti ălĭi e-Tróia || strénui víri.
31. Jámqu(e) eĭŭs-méntem fortúna || fécerat quiétem.
32. Ĭnerant sign(a) expréssa || quómodo Titáni,
33. Bĭcórpores Gigántes || mágniqu(e) Atlántes
34. Rúncus àtque Purpŭrĕus || fílii Térras.
35. Sĭluĭcŏlae homónes || bélliqu(e) inértes.
36. Blánde dócte percóntat || Aéneam quo-pácto.
37. Prím(a) incédit Céreris || Prosérpina púer,
38. Deínde póllens sagíttis || ínclutus Arquĭtĕnens,
39. Sánctus Délphis prognátus || Pýthius Apóllo.
40. Ĭsque súsum ad-caélum || sústulit suás-res.
[41. Àmúlius < ac-múltis > || gratulátur dívis.]
42. Póstquam ávem aspéxit || tẹmpŭlo Anchísa,
43. Sácr(a) in-ménsa Penátum || órdine ponúntur.
44. Ìmmolábat aúream || víctimam púlcram
[45. Símul àtrócia || *porri*cerent éxta.]
46. Tránsit Mĕlĭtam Románus, || ínsulam intĕgram
47. Ŭrit, pŏpŭlátur, vástat || rem-hóstium concínnat.
48. Vírum práetor advéneĭt, || aúspicat auspĭcĭum.
49. Cénsent éo ventúrum || óbviam Poénum.
50. Sùpérbiter contémtim || cónterit lĕgĭónes.
[51. Sèptimum-dĕcĭmum ánnum || flico sedéntes.]
[52. Ìdém-quoque pacíscunt, || moénia síquae.]
[53. Lùtátium *conci*lĭant, || captívos plúrimos][1]
54. Sĭcĭlĭénsis pacíscit || óbsides ut-réddant.
55. E'i vénit in-méntem || hóminum fortúnas.
56. Ònerárĭăe onústae || stábant in-flústris.

[1] Perhaps *plúrimos captívos*.

57. Plèriqu(e)-ómnes sŭbĭgúntur || súb-*t*uumju-dĭcĭum.
58. Rès-divínas edícit, || praédicit[1] cástus.
59. Sénex, frétus pĭĕtáte, || adlocútus súmmi
60. Régis frátrem Neptúnum, || regnatórem márum.
61. Súmme déum regnátor, || quíanam gĕnŭísti?
62. Séequ(e) íiperíre || mávolunt ibídem,
63. Quàm cum-stúpro redíre || ád-suospŏpŭláris.
64. Sìn íllos déserant || fortíssimos víros,
65. Mágnum stúprum pópulo || fíeri per-géntis.
66. Nóctu Tróiad exíbant || căpĭtibus opértis.
67. Fléntis ámbae, ăbĕúntes || lácrimis cum-múltis.
[68. Àtque príus páriet || lucústa lúcam]
69. Férunt púlcras cretérras, || aúreas lepístas.
70. Mágnae métus tumúltus || péctora possĭdit.
71. Nóvem Ióvis concórdes || fíliae soróres.
72. Pátrem súum suprémum || óptumum appéllat.
73. Scópas àtque verbénas || ságmina sumpsérunt.
74. Símul àlis-állúnde || rúmitant intér-se.
[75. Àpŭd-empŏrĭum in-cámpo || hóstium pro-moéne]
76. Símul dŭon(a) eórum || pórtant ad-návis;
77. Mĭli(a) áli(a) in-ísdem || ınserinúntur.

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78. Dábunt málum Metélli || Naévio poétae.
79. Ĭmmortáles mortáles || si-forét-fas flére,
80. Flérent dívae Caménae || Naévium poétam.
81. Ĭtaq(ue) póstquam est Orcho || tráditus thesaúro.
[82. Lŏquĭer língua Latína || oblití-sunt Rómae.]
83. Súmmas ópes qui régum || régias refrégit.
84. Òccursátrix artĭfícum, || pérdita spintúrnix.

(*Inscriptions*) 85. Hónc oíno ploírume || coséntiont R <ómai>
86. Dùönóro óptumo || fuíse víro,
87. Lúciom Scìpióne. || fílios Barbáti
88. Cónsol, cénsor, aidílis || híc-fuet apúd-vos

[1] Cf. Ter. *Andr.* 777, *provólvam . . pérvolvam.*

89. Héc cépit Córsica || Alériaqu(e)-úrbe
90. Dédet Tèmpestátebus || aíde méretod.
91. Còrnélius Lúcius || Scípio Barbátus,
92. Gnaívod pátre prognátus, || fórtis-vir săplénsque,
93. Quoìus-fórma virtútei || parísuma fúit,
94. Cónsol, cénsor, aidílis || quéi-fuit apúd-vos,
95. Taùrásia Cisaúna || Sámnio cépit,
96. Sŭblgit ómne Loucánam || ópsides-qu(e) abdoúcit
97. Qu(ei)-ăplce insígne Diális || fláminis gesístei,
98. Mórs perfécit tu(a)-ut-éssent || ómnia brévia,
99. Hónos, fáma, virtúsque, || glóri(a) atqu(e) ingenlum
100. Quìbŭs s(ei)-in-lónga llcŭíset || tib(e) útier víta
101. Făcîle fácteis sŭpĕráses || glóriam maiórum.
102. Quà-re lúbens t(e)-in-grèmlu, || Scípio, récipit
103. Térra, Públi, prognátum || Públio, Cornéli.
104. Mágna sàpiéntia || multásque virtútes
105. Aètáte quom-párva || pósidet hoc-sáxsum,
106. Quoìei víta defécit, || nón-honos,[1] honóre,
107. Is hic sítus quei núnquam || víctus-est virtútei,
108. Ánnos gnátus viginti || ís-l(oc)eis mandátus.
109. Nè-quairátis honóre || queí-minus-sit mandátus.
110. Quòd ré-sua difeídens || áspere afleícta
111. Párens tímens heic vóvit, || vóto-hoc solúto,
112. Dĕcŭma fácta poloúcta; || leíbereis lubéntes
113. Dónu dánunt Hércole; || máxsume méreto
114. Sémol t(e)-órant se vóti || crébro condémnes.
115. Dúctu aùspício || impérioqu(e) éjus
116. Àcháïa cápta, || Corínto deléto,
117. Rómam rĕdlleit triúmphans. || ob-hásc(e)-resben(e)-géstas,
118. Quòd in-béllo vóverat, || hanc-aédem et sígnu
119. Hèrculis-Victóris || imperátor dédicat.[2]
120. Hòc est-fáctum mŏnŭméntum || Maárco Caicílio

[1] Doubtful accentuation. But cf. Plaut. *Amph.* 379, *ego sum, nŏn tu, Sosia; Rud.* 136, *Veneri paravi . . nŏn mihi.*

[2] Or is this line an Iambic Senarius!

121. Hóspes, grátum-(e)st qu(om) apúd-mẽas || restitístei séedes.
122. Bèn(e)-rém-geras et vălĕas; || dórmias sĭnĕ-qúra.
123. Gònlégium [quod est] acíptum || aetátei agédai,
124. O'piparum ad-veítam quolúndam || festósque díes.
125. Quèi sŏuĕis-astútieis || opídque Volgáni
126. Gòndécorant saipísume || comvívia loidósque,
127. Qúquei húc dedérunt || imperatóribus súmmeis,
128. Utei sésed lubéntes || bén(e)iovent optántis.

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129. Uno còmplúrimae || conséntiunt géntes
130. Pópuli prĭmárium || fuísse vírum,
131. Fúndit, fúgat, prostérnit || máxumas lĕgĭónes.
132. Mágnum nŭmĕrum triúmphat, || hóstibus devíctis.
133. Duéllo mágno dĭrĭméndo || régibus sŭbĭgéndis.

(*Prophecies*, etc.) 134. Térra péstem tenéto || sálus hic-manéto
[135. Cáve in-mărĕ manáre || sŭŏ-flúmine sínas]
[136. Túm tŭ aúdax insíste || hóstium múris.]
[137. Mémor quàm per-tot-ánnos || óbsides úrbem.]
[138. Àpóllini vovéndos || cénseo lúdos.]
[139. Quĭ quotánnis cómiter || Apóllini fíant.]
[140. Hóc si récte fáxitis, || gaudébitis sémper.]
141. Quámvis nòvéntium || dúŏnum nĕgŭmáte.
[142. Néquid fraúdis stupríque || ferócia párat.]

The text and scansion of these lines I have discussed in two articles in the *American Journal of Philology* (xiv. p. 139 and p. 305), where the whole question of the Saturnian Metre is treated with fuller detail. The Saturnians of inscriptions must not be supposed to be any more conformable to the rules of the metre than the Dactylic and Iambic quantitative lines on inscriptions of the same kind. We may gauge the technical skill shown in the Saturnians in the Scipio Epitaphs (vv. 85–109) by the Elegiacs on another epitaph of the family (*C.I.L.* I. 38); the Saturnians of Mummius' Dedication (vv. 115–119) will be as

far removed from those of Naevius as the Dactylic Hexameters on another of his Dedicatory inscriptions (*C.I.L.* I. 542, *e.g.*

cogendei dissoluendei tu ut facilia faxseis)

are from the lines of Ennius; the inscription of the Faliscan cooks (vv. 123–128) seems to be as unmetrical as, e.g. *C.I.L.* I. 1027, in 'iambics,' where the metre is destroyed by certain additions, which I bracket, in each line:

hospes, resiste, et hoc ad grumum [*ad laevam*] *aspice,*
ubei continentur ossa hominis boni, [*misericordis, amantis, pauperis*].
rogo te, viator, monumento huic nil [*male feceris*].

The halting Saturnians of the prophecies, most of which are mere conjectural restorations of Livy's prose paraphrases, may be capped with equally bad hexameters from the *Sortes* in *C.I.L.* I. 1438 sqq., *e.g.*

I. 1438 *conrigi vix tandem quod curvom est factum crede.*
I. 1448 *laetus lubens petito quod dabitur . gaudebis semper.*

XVI.—CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF THE DEPONENT VERB IN IRISH.

By J. Strachan.

[*Read at the Meeting of the Philological Society held on Friday, June 1st*, 1894.]

The object of this paper is not to investigate the origin of the *r* deponent, which Old Irish shares with Latin, and its relation to the Indo-Germanic verbal system, or to discuss, except incidentally so far as they have any bearing on the subject proper, the theories that have been put forward concerning the origin of these forms.[1] Whether it will ever be possible to get beyond conflicting theories, and to arrive at any certain or even probable account of the genesis of the type, may be reasonably doubted. But, taking the deponent as it exists in the oldest records of the Irish tongue, it should not be an impossible task to trace, with more or less exactness, its history within the Irish language itself, to follow the old forms in their life and decay, and to search out the starting-point and follow the development of any new types.

The degree of precision with which such an investigation can be carried out must depend on the nature of the documents on which it is based. Where there is a continuous series of dated documents, each of which represents faithfully the language of its time, the course of the enquiry will run smoothly enough. In Irish, however, the student does not find himself in this fortunate position. For Old Irish we have trustworthy documents in the Glosses and in fragments of Irish preserved in the oldest manuscripts. In the later language we have metrical compositions like the *Saltair na Rann*, where the original forms were to a great extent protected by the metre. But with the mass of Middle Irish texts, some of them very ancient in their origin, preserved

[1] Cf. Windisch, *Ueber die Verbalformen mit dem charakter* r., etc., Abhandl. der Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Cl. x. 447 sq.; Zimmer, *Ueber das italo-keltische Passivum und Deponens*, Kuhn's Zeitschrift, xxx. 224 sq.; Thurneysen, KZ xxxi. 62 sq., Indo-German. Forsch. i. 460 sq.; Brugmann, *Grundriss*, ii. 1388 sq.

in manuscripts of the eleventh century and later, it is very different. In the transmission of such texts there was a tendency to replace old forms by modern ones. The probable extent of such corruption is not to be estimated *à priori* by the date of the manuscript. We shall find instances in which later manuscripts preserve the old forms better than earlier ones. And in the same manuscript different texts will be found to have suffered in a different degree. Thus, in the Book of Leinster, a manuscript of the twelfth century, the old deponential forms are well preserved in many of the old texts, but, for instance, in the famous *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, the Cattle-raid of Cooley, they have almost vanished. In such a case as this we must suppose that in the one instance the old forms were more or less faithfully copied, in the other the language has been approximated to the language of a later period that the old tale might delight new generations.

Such corruptions of necessity make the problem more complicated. Already in the Glosses the deponent verb has begun to pass into the active; and in a particular active form from a deponent verb found in one of these old texts, preserved in a manuscript of a much later date, it may be impossible to say whether the active form was original or whether it was introduced later. The remedy here lies in widening the field of observation; for by the examination of a number of texts of the same character individual peculiarities may to a great extent be eliminated.

Another difficulty is the difficulty of chronology. In some cases the date of the composition of a text may be accurately or approximately fixed from the internal evidence supplied by the subject-matter. In other instances it might seem to be fixed by the name of the author. Unfortunately we must be very careful in accepting such statements; there is, throughout Irish literature, too much of a tendency to fasten to the productions of later times the great names of the past. A third means of fixing approximately the date of composition is the language. But here again the development of the Irish language in its successive stages is a subject that has yet to be worked out. Until that is done we must rely in this matter, to a great extent, on general impressions, which accurate observation may prove to be false. The following pages may serve as a starting-point for the history of one particular form in Irish, the deponent verb. The results of such an adventure on a fresh field must of necessity contain much that will have to be modified or

corrected by further observation and discussion. Something will have been accomplished if the way has been made smoother for those who come after.

The main subject falls, naturally, into two parts. The first part contains a collection of materials for the history of the deponent verb; the second treats of the history of the deponent based on these materials; a third part will deal with some new Irish developments, whereby certain forms of the active verb have taken to themselves endings borrowed from the deponent inflexion. Part I., though it will consist chiefly of dry lists of forms, is a necessary preliminary to Part II. For the Old Irish of the Glosses the Grammatica Celtica furnishes extensive collections of material, though the further publication of Irish Glosses, particularly of the Milan Glosses, enables considerable additions to be made to the material gathered together by Zeuss and Ebel. For the Old Irish of the profane literature and for Middle Irish there are no collections of any extent; here the work had practically to be done from the beginning. To ransack even as much of this literature as is already generally accessible would be an endless and a profitless task. What has been done has been to take a number of representative texts and to examine them carefully. This may lead to the omission of some deponent forms that might have found their place here; but, on the other hand, the history of the deponent is not to be learned from a multitude of scattered forms huddled together from a variety of heterogeneous sources. Apart from the glosses the material has been got to a great extent from the two oldest Middle Irish manuscripts, the *Leabhar na hUidhre* (eleventh century) and the Book of Leinster (twelfth century). The former has been examined throughout; of the latter I have read through all that seemed to be of importance for this investigation. From these two sources have been selected such texts as appeared most illustrative. To these have been added texts from other sources, such as the *Sanas Cormaic* and the *Saltair na Rann*, two works which we shall find to be of the highest consequence, since between them lies the breaking up of the deponent inflexion.

In the arrangement of the material collected from these texts that order has been adopted which seemed to put the facts in the clearest light; it does not of necessity correspond to the order of the date of the original composition of the several texts. In the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to arrange

the oldest stratum of texts chronologically, and something besides has been sacrificed to convenience. The language of the Old Irish Glosses has been treated as a whole. Each of the other texts has, as a rule, been treated separately. This involves repetition, but that is a much less evil than would have resulted from the mixing up even of the material got from closely similar texts. We have seen the corruptions to which these documents have been exposed in the course of their transmission. But they did not all suffer in an equal degree. For example, to put together the forms of the deponent verbs found in the LU. and LL. versions of the *Táin* would be to convey an entirely false impression. Besides, it will be found that the presentation of such forms from a number of texts of various kinds and of various ages will be the most effectual way of illustrating their history.

I. MATERIALS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE DEPONENT VERB.

1. The Old Irish Glosses.[1]

The deponent verbs here arrange themselves naturally in two classes. The first class consists partly of primary verbs like *sechur*, Lat. *sequor*, **tluchor*, Lat. *loquor*; partly of denominative verbs such as **comalnur* 'I fill,' from *comlán* 'full'; cf. Latin denominatives in *-āre*. With this class goes a small number of verbs that show deponent forms only in certain parts, generally in the perfect. Only those parts of the verb have been given in which the deponent inflexion differs from the active. That it may be clear at a glance how far the active inflexion has

[1] The references are to the following editions:—
Acr. = Codex Augustini Carolisruhensis, ed. Stokes.
Bcr. = Codex Bedæ Carolisruhensis, ed. Stokes.
Pcr. = Codex Prisciani Carolisruhensis, ed. Stokes.
Wb. = Codex Paulinus Wirziburgensis, ed. Stokes.
Ph. = Glosses on Philargyrius' Scholia on the Bucolics, ed. Stokes (KZ. xxxiii. 62 sq., Trans. Phil. Soc. 1893).
Ml. = Codex Ambrosianus, ed. Ascoli.
Sg. = Codex Sangallensis, ed. Ascoli.
Tur. = Codex Taurinensis, ed. Zimmer.
Cod. Cam. = Codex Camaracensis, ed. Zimmer.
Bv. = Codex Bedae Vindobonensis, ed. Zimmer.
Incant. Sg. = Incantationes Sangallenses, ed. Zimmer.
Sp. = Carmina Monasterii S. Pauli, ed. Windisch.

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encroached upon the deponent, the deponent and the active forms have been arranged in parallel columns.

	Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
	águr,[1] timeo, *ad-águr*.	
Pres. ind. sg. 1.	*ní ágor*, non timeo, Sg. 112.*	
	nadnágursa, g. neminem me timere, Ml. 74b 19.	
sg. 3.	*ní agathar*, Wb. 1a 3.	
	nisnagathar, Wb. 6a 7.	
	inna agathar ní, annon timet aliquid, Ml. 87d 15.	
	niconagathar, Ml. 129a 12.	
	inti adagadar, qui timet, Ml. 53c 14.	
	nadnagathar, g. non timere (subj.?), Ml. 74b 21.	
	nadagether, qui non timet, Ml. 129a 2.	
pl. 3.	*ní agetar*, g. non verentur, Ml. 39b 14.	
subj. sg. 2.	*na digder*, Sp. III.a 2.[2]	
3.	*coruagathar*, ut timuerit, Ml. 66a 2.	
pl. 3.	*agatar*, Ml. 51d 11.	
pret. pl. 3.	*conaruaigsetar*, Ml. 35c 4.	
	adraichsetar, Ml. 80d 4.	
	adraigsetar, Ml. 124b 6 (bis).	
fut. sg. 1.	*adaichfersa*, g. timebo, Ml. 68c 17.	

[1] In some of the forms of this verb a transition is found to the *i* conjugation. The same variation is seen in other deponents, as *comalnur* (where it is employed to distinguish the passive from the deponent) and *lámur*. A similar phenomenon is seen in other cases. Thus from *rádim*, I say (=**rōdhejō*), come *radas*, Ml. 42c 4, 10; *níradat*, 31a 18. Perhaps this confusion was helped by cases like **frecraim*, *frecrat* (by the side of *gairim*, *garet*) = **frith-garim*, **frith-garet*, where on the loss of *a* the timbre of *r* was assimilated to that of the preceding consonant, this being expressed graphically by writing *a* after it; cf. Brugmann, Grundriss, i. § 640, note. So in the preterite of *immrádiu*, I think, *imm-ro-rādius* gave regularly *immrordus*, a form like *rocharus* from *caraim*.

[2] Cf. Thurneysen, Idg. Forsch. i. 460.

Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
3. *adaichfedar*, qui timebit, Ml. 46° 20.	
pl. 3. *ni aichfetar*, Ml. 80ᵇ 13.	
frith+alim, praestulor.	
pres. sg. 3. *frisalethar*, Sg. 207ᵃ 3; cf. Ml. 129ᵃ 2ᵇ	pres. sg. 1. *nifrithalim*, non expecto, Ml. 49ᵈ 3, 4.
pl. 1. *frissailemmarni*, g. praestulamur, Ml. 63° 7.	
pret. sg. 1. *frisrailsiur*, expectavi, Ml. 86ᵈ 8.	
fut. sg. 1. *frisailefarsa*, g. praestulabar (l.-bor), Ml. 38ᵃ 10.	
***airliur**, studeo; **con-airliur**, consulo.	
pres. ind. sg. 3. *airlethar*, Wb. 17ᵇ 22.	
conairlethar, g. consultat, Ml. 125ᵈ 2.	
pl. 1. *lase conairlemmarni*, g. dum consulimus, Ml. 18° 1.	
subj. sg. 3. *mani cdinairlither*, Wb. 5ᵇ 38.	
arndip maith n-airlethar, Wb. 28ᵇ 32.	
pret. sg. 3. *lase rairlestar*, g. consulendo, Ml. 125° 1.	
cluiniur, ro-cluiniur, audio; subjunctive *clóar*.[1]	
pres. ind. sg. 3. *niscluinethar*, non ea audit, Ml. 21ᵇ 2.	
rocluinethar, Wb. 12° 22.	
pl. 3. *racluinetar* (l.-*ethar*), g. audit, Ml. 114ᵃ 13.	

[1] This difference of stem for indicative and subjunctive has been pointed out by Thurneysen, KZ. xxxi. 80, for the language of the Glosses. The deponent *clun-* forms which I have noted in the early profane literature are indicatives. *Clo-* is found as a subjunctive, LU. 114ᵇ 23, *coclothar insluag* 'that the host may hear,' and in the new analogical forms, which have arisen from the 1 sg. *clóor*, *clór*, *daclóra rí* 'if the king hear,' LL. 46ᵃ 7, *ndecoclórat*, LL. 95ᵃ 18. Where the deponent inflexion has disappeared *clun-* also appears in the subjunctive, as *dianathcluine* 'if he hear,' LL. 271ᵇ 33. *Clóor* is best taken as =**clousōr*, **cleusōr*, the subjunctive of an *s* aor.; for the ending cf. *messur*.

	Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
	rodchluinethar, qui id audit, Wb. 12c 46, cf. 27b 27, 29a 18.	
	rodchluinethar, g. auditori, Ml. 129c 19.	
pl. 1.	*an rochluinemmar*, Ml. 112b 13.	
3.	*anrochlúinetar*, quod audiunt, Wb. 11b 6.	
subj. sg. 1.	*niconchloor*, non audiverim, Wb. 23b 41.	
	acht rocloor, dummodo audiam, Wb. 23d 2.	
	resiu rocloammar,[1] antequam audiamus, Ml. 112b 12 (bis).	
ipv. sg. 2.	*cluinte*, Ml. 136a 10.	
fut. sg. 3.	*rotchechladar*, qui te audiet, Wb. 28d 16.	
	rondcechladar, Ml. 53b 27.	

***comalnur**, impleo, fulfil (denominative from *comlán*, perfectus).

pres. ind. sg. 3.	*nodchomalnadar*, qui implet, Wb. 15b 14.	*commallaid*, Ml. 106a 2, cf. 94b 1.
		hore comalnas, Wb. 7b 15.
pl. 3.	*comalnatar*, qui implent, Wb. 20d 2.	*comallait*, Ml. 146a 1.
		ni comalnat, Wb. 20c 22.
	forsnahi comalnatar, Wb. 20d 1	*hore nadcomalnat*, Wb. 31b 31.
	intain nacomallatar, Ml. 94b 6.	*chomallaite*, Ml. 114b 7.
subj. sg. 3.	*maniscomalnadar*, Wb. 29a 16.	*mani comalla*, Ml. 94b 10.
	act rachomalnathar, Wb. 31b 11.	
	arinchomalnathar, Wb. 31c 14.	

[1] As a pass. *rocloatar*, Ml. 70a 2. Stokes translates *cochonerchloatar*, g. ut gratiæ agantur pro nobis, Wb. 14c 6, by 'that they may be heard (?)' but the word is probably to be put with *coerchlói*, g. feritatis eorum et truculentiæ crimen exagitat, Ml. 33d 16, *conirchloiter*, g. aguntur, Wb. 4a 14, cf. Ml. 18d 19, Sg. 17a 7. In our passage it seems to be a mechanical translation of *agantur*.

	Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
	corrupléir roscomallathar, Ml. 129b 2.[1]	
	nád chomalnathar, who shall not fulfil, Wb. 27c 14.	
pl. 1.	*cocomalnammar*, Wb. 31c 11.	
	diacomalnammar, Wb. 15d 27.	
	manoscomalnnamar, Cod. Cam. 38b.	
	diand comallamar, Ml. 46c 20.	
3.	*manicomolnatar*, Wb. 2c 10.	*machomalnit*, Wb. 28c 7.
ipv. sg. 2.	*noscomalnithe*, Wb. 30a 1.	
pret. sg. 1.		*arrocomallus*, Ml. 74d 5.
3.	*rachomalnastar*, Wb. 24a 37.	
	roscomaln[astar], Wb. 21b 9.	
	rondchomallastar, Ml. 122d 7.	
pl. 3.	*niruscomalas[atar]*, Ml. 105a 6.	*rochomalnisset*, Wb. 2c 14.
fut. pl. 3.		*acomallaibte*, Ml. 121b 8.

cuiriur, pono.

pres. sg. 1.	*docuiriur*, g. ascisco, Sg. 16b 8.	
3.	*adcuirethar*, redit, Sg. 73b 2.	
	docuirethar, g. asciscit, Sg. 61a 7.	
	docuirethar cétna persan sin persana aili chucas, i.e. asciscit, Sg. 191a 2.	
	honderbeirt biuth dochuirethar, g. usu invitante, Ml. 29b 1.	
	amal dundchuirethar,[2] Ml. 35d 22.	
	anduchuiredar, Bcr. 32c 10.	
	indi docuirethar, Bv. 4d 1.	

[1] For the mood cf. *coru[p]léir dungné* 'so that it be industriously that he does,' Ml. 129b 1.

[2] *niradi . . . . amal dundchuirethar inna beulu*, lit. 'he does not speak as happens to come into his mouth.' For this intransitive use cf. Bcr. 32c 10, *anduchuiredar bissext* 'when the bissext falls,' and the very fragmentary gloss, Bv. 4d 1. This usage is also found in the profane literature, *e.g.* LU. 92a 30, LL. 248a 24, 275b 7, 186a 49, 187a 56.

	Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
	andonaithchuiredar, redit iterum, g., .u. redeunte in vocalem, Sg. 18[b] 6.	
	amal duadchuridar, redit, Ml. 34[d] 7.	
	dostarcuirethar, g. interpellat, Wb. 4[b] 19.	
	neich fritcurethar cheill, qui colit, Ml. 41[d] 16.	
pl. 3.	*hicuiretar salt*, in quo ponunt saltum, Bcr. 32[b] 11.	
	adcuireddar, redeunt, Sg. 202[b] 3.	
	ni erchuiretar,[1] Sg. 6[b] 17.	
	immechuretar, transferunt, Wb. 5[a] 5.	
subj.[2] sg. 1.		1. *cofristucor*,[3] Ml. 118[c] 3.
2.	*niiscoirther*, Wb. 10[a] 21.	*cuiri huait*, g. tolle, Bcr. 32[a] 11.
3.	*arnach corathar*, Ml. 68[b] 9.	*condichret andruim*, ut tergum vertant, Ml. 44[a] 16.
ipv. sg. 2.	*cuirthe*, Ml. 56[c] 5.	
	frecuirthe cheill, g. recole, Bcr. 33[b] 2.	
pret. sg. 3.	*dorrochuirestar*, g. arcessivit, Sg. 184[a] 2.	
	dorochuirestar, g. exciverat, Ml. 16[c] 6.	

[1] 'Non annullino,' Ascoli. It seems to stand for **ess-ro-churetar*.

[2] *dichret* seems to stand for **dē-cerānto*, for **dē-corānto*, or **dē-corejānto*, might have been expected to give **dichrat*. This subj. stem *cerā-* would be like *belā-*, *menā-* (KZ. xxxi. 78), only here the indicative has a causative formation, **coreiō*. In *-cor*, *-corathar*, *to-chorad*, Ml. 44[a] 19, *cor-* may have been substituted for *cer-* under the influence of the indicative forms. In Ml. 72[d] 1 *dunathfoichret* 'they will return,' stands for *do-n-ath-fo-cicerrat*, from *do-ath-fo-cherdaim*. Cf. *lase donaithfocherr* .i. deus, Ml. 34[d] 8, where it seems to mean 'when he (God) will bring back,' unless we suppose that the glossator has misunderstood his text. *Cerd-* appears intransitive in W. *cerdded* ambulare. *Cer-d-* may be looked upon as an extension of *cer-* of *cuiriur*. In Ml. 78[c] 8 *cerdaim* seems to take the place of the usual *cuiriur*, *friafoichiurr ceill* g. incolam.

[3] Read *cofristacor* 'that I may cast back upon them,' cf. *fristacuirther*, Sg. 21[b] 4.

	Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
	nirothuchurestar, g. non exciverat, Ml. 18[d] 6.	
	dorochuiristar, g. adsciverit, Ml. 25[c] 13.	
	dia[toc]arastar,[1] Ml. 39[a] 3.	
	ducorastar dia deilb mordraige . . . forsinni Dauid, Ml. 52.	
pl. 1.	*dorochuirsemmar*, g. ascivimus, Sg. 6[b] 18.	
fut. sg. 1.	*docuirifar*, g. citabo, Ml. 3[a] 1.	

dimeccim, dispicio.[2]

pres. ind. sg. 1.		*demecimm*, g. detero, Sg. 39[b] 1.
2.	*dommeiccither*, g. inhonoras, Wb. 1[d] 13.	
pl. 3.	*amal dundatmecetarsu*, ut te dispiciunt, Ml. 106[c] 11.	
subj. sg. 3.	*arnadimicedar*, g. ne inhonoret, Ml. 122[d] 2.	
	orudimicedar, Ml. 129[a] 14.	
pret. sg. 3.	*ni rodimicestar*, Ml. 119[a] 10.	

***esur**, fut. of *ed-* 'eat.' The presential tenses are supplied by *ithim*.

sg. 3.	*ciaestir*, etsi edit, Wb. 6[b] 24.	
	ciniestar, etsi non edit, Wb. 6[b] 23.	

remiaisndider,[3] g. praefatur, Ml. 64[c] 9.

fetar, scio.[4]

sg. 1.	*rofetar*, Wb. 9[b] 17, etc.	

[1] The MS. has according to Mr. Stokes *dia corastar*. Ascoli's correction is required by the sense, 'Saul came upon him.'

[2] The remaining forms in the Glosses are *andummecitis*, dum me dispiciebant, Ml. 34[c] 6, *dimiccither* 'he is reprobated,' Wb. 8[b] 16. The noun is *dimiccem* 'contempt.' The first part of the word is *di-*, the rest is obscure to me.

[3] The forms of the verb *asindiut*, narro, are regularly active. The deponent form may here, perhaps, be ascribed to the influence of the Latin word. Or did the glossator think that he was translating a passive?

[4] *Fetar*, an *s* aorist from √*veid* (cf. Thurneysen, KZ. xxvii. 174), supplies the present indicative; the pres. subjunctive comes from **finn-* = Skr. *vindāmi*

	Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
	cenidfitarsa, Ml. 55d 21.	
3.	*rofitir*, Wb. 7c 15, etc.; cf. Ml. 27d 7.	
subj. sg. 3.	*toneich rudfinnadar*, Ml. 46c 24.	
pl. 3.	*amal nad finnatar*, Ml. 99b 10.	
s. fut. sg. 1.	*rofessursa*, Wb. 9a 21.	
3.	*nifiastar*, Wb. 12d 18.	
	rufiastar, Ml. 111c 13.	
	rofestar, Wb. 12d 27.	
pl. 3.	*rofessatar*, Ml. 69b 1.	
s. subj. sg. 2.	*ofeser*, Wb. 29a 22.	
	ofeiser, Sg. 209b 30.	
3.	*confestar*, Wb. 12c 38, etc.	
pl. 3.[1]	*cofessatar*, Wb. 26d 33.	

***fociallur.**

pres. ind. sg. 3. *fuciallathar*, g. procurat, Ml. 114b 3.[2]

arofochladar, Sg. 209b 26. Cf. ZE. 981 note, where the verb is explained as a denominative from *focul*.[2]

folluur,[3] g. volo.

Sg. 146b 11.

pret. pl. 3. *orufoluassat*, g. convolasse, Ml. 67c 16.

***folnur**, rego.

pres. ind. sg. 2. *follaithersu*, g. regis, Ml. 82d 5.

sg. 3. *fallnaithor*, g. regi, *i.e.* qui regit, Ml. 90a 9.

ipv. sg. 2. *follaide*, g. rege, Ml. 46b 18.

pret. sg. 3. *irrufollnastar*, Wb. 13b 29.

'I find,' which also supplies the secondary present, *rodfinnad*, Sg. 209b 25, and the imperative *finnad*, Wb. 29a 17; in Mid. Ir. the 2 sg. ipv. is regularly *finnta*. In the passive *rofinnatar*, Wb. 29a 28. For *finnâ-* as subj. stem cf. also *cofinnamár*, LU. 112b 32. As *fetar* is regularly deponent both in Old and in Middle Irish, I have noted only such forms as seemed of interest.

[1] Cf. *fochiallastar* .i. *rotinóil* 'he collected,' LU. 132 l. 16.

[2] Cf. *ni focclamne*, LL. 62a 14.

[3] The pres. sec. *fuluinn*, g. avolare is found Ml. 140b 8.

	Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
fut. sg. 2.		*folnaibe*, g. reges, Ml. 18ª 4.
pl. 2.		*folnebthe*, regnabitis, Wb. 25ᵇ 25.

***gainiur**,[1] nascor, **aithgainiur*, renascor.

pres. ind. sg. 3. *nicongainidar*, Acr. 61.
innahi huaṅgainedar, Sg. 139ᵇ 4.
intan ... gainethar, Ml. 44ª 11.
pl. 1. *adgainemmarni*, Ml. 66ᵇ 6.
3. *huaṅgainetar*, Sg. 39ª 26.
perf. sg. 1. *corogenarsa*, Ml. 44ᶜ 11.
3.[2] *rogenair*, Ml. 24ᵈ 4; cf. 25ᵇ 5, Sg. 31ª 6, Wb. 11ª 17.

ad-gládur, alloquor, *imm-ad-gládur*.

pres. ind. sg. 1. *adgládur*, g. appello, Sg. 146ᵇ 9.
3. *adgladathar*, g. adloquitur, Ml. 74ª 8; cf. Ml. 83ª 9, 115ᵈ 1, 120ᵇ 8, 145ᶜ 14.
adgládathar (rel.), Sg. 211ᵇ 11.
adngl[ad]adar, g. dum convenit, Ml. 53ᶜ 17.
pl. 3. *immusaccaldat*, g. motuo se adlocuntur, Ml. 131ᶜ 19.
subj. sg. 3. *adgladadar*, g. inducitur convenire, Ml. 115ª 6.
pl. 1. *act immandrladmar*,[3] ut mutuo nos adloquamur, Wb. 29ᵈ 10.

***labrur**, loquor.

pres. ind. sg. 2. *intan nolabrither*, Sg. 159ª 2.

[1] Corresponding to an indicative *gan-* we should expect in the subjunctive *gen-* (cf. Thurneysen, KZ. xxxi. 78). I have noted no instances of the subjunctive, but the indicative in Mid. Irish is *genithir*, or with change to the active inflexion *genid*. Now *gen-* cannot be equated with *gan-* of the Glosses, and the probability is that *gen-* here comes from the subjunctive stem.

[2] A peculiar 3 pl. *rogénartar* is found, Wb. 4ᶜ 12, cf. ZE. 1091, where *rogénatar* has become *rogénartar* under the influence of the sg. *rogénar*.

[3] = *imm-an-ad-ro-gládmar*.

	Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
3.	*ni labrathar*, Sg. 199[b] 6.	*labraid*, Ml. 115[a] 2 (bis).
	inti labrathar, Wb. 12[c] 19; cf. 14[c] 29, 7[d] 2.	
pl. 1.	*labramarni*, Ml. 31[b] 23.	*lase labraimme*, Ml. 31[b] 15.
3.	*nilabratar*, Wb. 12[b] 22.	
	frislabratar, g. oblocuntur, Ml. 55[a] 10.	
	intan labratar, Sg. 162[a] 3.	
subj. sg. 1.	*labrar*, Wb. 12[c] 36.	
3.[1]	*conicsom nadlabrathar*, Sg. 199[b] 5.	
pl. 1.		*labraimme*,[2] Ml. 31[b] 16.
3.	*cenuslabratar*, Wb. 12[d] 28.	
	nabad immalle labritir,[3] Wb. 13[a] 5.	
pret. sg. 3.	*rodlabrastar*, Ml. 126[c] 10.	
	rolabrastar, ib.	
fut. pl. 1.	*ni labrafammar*, Wb. 12[c] 4.	

laimiur, rolaimiur,[4] audeo.

ind. pres. sg. 1.	*rulaimur*, Wb. 17[c] 21.
	rolaumur, g. audere, Wb. 17[a] 8.
	rolomur, g. mihi audenti, Ml. 21[b] 5.

[1] In a couple of instances it is not clear to me whether *labrathar* is an indicative or a subjunctive. Wb. 13[a] 4 *mabeith nech and tra labrathar* might be interpreted 'if there be anyone who speaks,' cf. *massu thol atomaig* 'if it be desire that drives me,' Wb. 10[d] 26, or 'who shall speak'; cf. *mad fleteg dogneid*, Wb. 11[d] 16. In Ml. 35[d] 22 *condib sainemail nanni labrathar* we seem to have a subjunctive 'so that what he shall say (ὅτι ἂν εἴπῃ) may be excellent.' In Sg. 199[b] 7 *is inderb in* prima *nodlabrathar*, l. tertia, 'it is uncertain whether it is the first person who speaks it or the third,' we seem rather to have an indicative.

[2] The form of the sentence is in favour of taking the verb as a subjunctive—*corbu dureir nachaili labraimme* 'that it should be at the will of any other that we should speak.'

[3] For the mood cf. *bad hed dogneithsi*, Wb. 12[d] 7, also Wb. 13[a] 6, 29.

[4] With this verb Ascoli puts *foldmur*, suscipio, tento, *confolmaissiur*, Ml. 50[d] 8, *fomldmastar* (MS. *fomldmas* corr. Stokes), Wb. 17[d] 4, *arfolmastar* (for *arfolmas*, Stokes), Wb. 21[a] 2. In Sg. 147[b] 4 *is ecentech ingnim arafolmathar*, where Ascoli takes the verb as a passive, it seems rather to be active, 'the action which it undertakes is indefinite.' But the inflexion of the verbs is different, and we have perhaps rather in **foldmur* a derivative from *lám* 'hand,' ἐπιχειρέω.

Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
3. *rolaimethar*,[1] g. audet, Wb. 5[a] 15.	
pl. 1. *rolaimemmar*, g. audemus, Wb. 15[c] 19.	
niconlaimemmarni, Wb. 17[b] 8.	
subj. sg. 1. *rollámar*, g. ausim, Sg. 171[b] 1.	
pl. 3. *na laimetar*, g. non audeant, Ml. 60[d] 6.	

midiur, iudico.[2]

pres. ind. sg. 1.	*midiursa*, Wb. 9[a] 2.
2. *forsammitter*, de quo iudicas, Wb. 6[b] 22; cf. 1[c] 10.	
3. *midithir*, g. diiudicat, Ml. 30[c] 8.	
nimidedar, non cogitat, Sg. 63[a] 14.	
ishe cotammidethar, Ml. 17[b] 2 (=*cot-dam-*).	
conmidethar, g. principatur,[3] Ml. 121[c] 18.	
dummidethar, g. adpendit, Ml. 82[a] 3.	
ni irmadadar, Wb. 28[a] 21.[4]	
pl. 3. *innahi immeruimdetar*,[5] qui peccant, Ml. 46[b] 23.	

[1] Ascoli corrects *nalaimeda*, Wb. 17[c] 19, to *ralaimedar*.

[2] The Idg. root *med-* appears in Irish as in other Idg. languages (e.g. Gr. μέδομαι, μεδέων, μήδομαι) as *med-*, *mid-* = Idg. *mēd-*. *Med-* is found in the *s* forms, *mid-* in the perfect forms. When the accent shifts back to a preceding syllable *mēd-* becomes *mad-* (*gnímm* deed, but *fógnam*), thus *ramídar* but *condmmadar*, *rumídar* but *dorúmadir*. In Tur. 17 *immarumedair* is peculiar; if it be not a blunder it might be explained as an analogical transformation of **immerumadair* after the *mess-* forms.

[3] From **con-midiur* comes apparently *nad coimmestar*, non potuerit, Ml. 127[a] 19; cf. *coimmdiu*, dominus. In W. *meddu*, posse, we have the grade *med-*.

[4] The meaning of the gloss is not clear. Stokes translates doubtfully 'he does not understand.' The compound *armidiur* is found LL. 290[a] 14 *dianermastá*, where it seems to mean 'if it were tried'; cf. *conarmadatar degcomairli*, Ml. 54[d] 11.

[5] From *imme-ro-midiur*. On this compound see Windisch Idg. Forsch. III. 73.

	Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
	ni irmadatar, Wb. 5[b] 2.[1]	
subj. sg. 3.	*comidithir*, ut iudicet, Ml. 35[c] 30.	
pl. 3 (as ipv.).[2]	*na aimdetar*,[3] g. non conantur (l. conentur), Ml. 56[a] 23.	
perf. sg. 1.	*ramidar*, eum iudicavi, Wb. 9[b] 5.	
	conammadarsa, adjudicavi, Wb. 26[b] 21.	
	rumidair, g. duxit, Ml. 72[b] 21.	
	imrumadir, peccavit, Wb. 13[b] 31.	
	immarumediar (leg. *-air*), Tur. 17.	
	itheside dorumadirsi, g. quæ fuerat emensus, Ml. 16[c] 11.	
pl. 3.[4]	*connarmadatar degcomairli*, Ml. 54[d] 17.	
	anduruimdetar, Ml. 87[c] 4.	
s. fut. sg. 1.	*dummessursa*, g. metibor, Ml. 78[a] 11.	
3.	*miastar*, qui iudicabit, Wb. 1[d] 9.	
	ammiastar, g. examinans, Ml. 56[c] 10.	
	intan immeromastar, Ml. 51[a] 18.	
pl. 1.	*messimirni*, Wb. 9[c] 10.	
	nosmessammar, Wb. 9[c] 10.	
pl. 3.		*imroimset*, g. delinquent, Ml. 54[a] 23.
		imruimset, g. peccabunt, Ml. 54[a] 27.
s. subj. sg. 1.	*inmesor*, g. si nanciam, Sg. 179[a] 1.	

[1] Stokes translates here by 'attain'; cf. *conérrmadair* (*in gai*) 'so that the spear hit,' LU. 73[b] 20 = **és-ro-midair*.

[2] The ipv. is otherwise expressed, Wb. *nachibmided*, g. nemo vos iudicet, Wb. 27[a] 24.

[3] From *ad-midiur*; cf. *ammus* 'an attempt' = **admessus*; cf. also *dammidethar* 'he tries,' LU. 111[b] 45 = **to-ad-mid-*.

[4] So Ascoli for *conaconnarmadatar*.

Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
amal nummesur, g. iudicaturus, Ml. 94[b] 8.	
2. *na imroimser*, Wb. 20[c] 4.	
3.[1] *mestar*, g. iudicandi, Ml. 127[d] 12.	
lase dumestar, Ml. 68[d] 1.	
arna imromastar, Wb. 11[a] 16.	
admachdur,[2] g. miror, Sg. 6[a] 4.	
-moiniur, subj. *-menar*.	
pres. ind. sg. 1. *domoiniur*, puto, Wb. 14[a] 10.	
domuinursa, Sg. 209[b] 10.	
2. *domointerso*, g. existimas, Wb. 1[c] 13.	
3. *doaithminedar*, g. commonentem, Ml. 136[c] 11.	
taidmenadar, comminiscitur, Wb. 9[c] 30.	
taidminedarsom, Sg. 22[b] 10.	
ni taithminedar, Sg. 13[b] 4.	
dunaithmenadar (rel.), Ml. 52.	
foraithminedar, memorat, Ml. 17[b] 23.	
fodaraithmine[*dar*], qui eius meminit, Ml. 25[c] 5.	
ised scél foraithminedar, Ml. 55[c] 1.	
arasmuinethar féid,[1] honestat eam, Ml. 36[a] 18.	
ardamunethar feid, qui ea veneratur, Ml. 124[c] 16.	
farmuinethar, g. fascinat, Phil. 10.	

[1] Here I should be inclined to put = *nad coimmestar*, g. nequierit, Ml. 127[a] 19, which Ascoli derives from *coniccim*. But *coniccim*, except in the perfect, seems in the Glosses to be regularly active; cf. Ascoli, Lex., C. That *coimmestar* might go in meaning with *med-* is shown by *commus*, power = **commessus*.

[2] The full gloss runs *admachdursa* .i. *ismachdad limm*. The latter is the idiomatic Irish translation; the former is evidently a word coined for the occasion to express *miror*.

	Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
pl. 3.	*dodmainetar*, qui putant hoc, Sg. 5[a] 6.	
	dummunetarsom, Ml. 113[d] 11.	
	dammetarsom, Ml. 35[b] 10.	
	indi dommimetar, Ml. 39[d] 26.	
	dommimetar, Ml. 49[b] 7.	
	fordobmoinetar, invident vobis, Wb. 19[d] 27.	
subj.[1] sg. 2.	*fomentar*,[2] Wb. 28[c] 9, 30[c] 2.	
3.	*dummenathar*, g. suspicari, Ml. 49[a] 15.	
	na tomnathar (as ipv.), Wb. 17[a] 13.	
	arnatomn(a)thar, Ml. 30[c] 5.	
	arnachdermanadar, ne obliviscatur, Ml. 32[d] 5.	
pl. 1.	*dumenammar*, g. opinari, Ml. 78[b] 24.	
	andumenmarni, Ml. 15[d] 5.	
	arnatomnammarni, Ml. 15[d] 5.	
	condermanammarni, ut obliviscamur, Ml. 21[c] 3.	
pl. 3.	*indi forsithmenatar*, Ml. 34[a] 23.	
	intomnatar, g. putent, Ml. 18[a] 5.	
	cofummenatar, g. ad cavendum, Ml. 43[a] 16.	
	aformenatar, g. invidentes, Ml. 17[b] 16.	
ipv. sg. 2.	*nachandermainte*, Ml. 32[d] 5.	
perf. sg. 1.	*domenarsa*, putavi, Wb. 3[c] 26, 27.	
	durumenar, Ml. 49[b] 13, 130[d] 4.	

[1] In Wb. 31[c] 10 *coarmentar féid* is found glossing ut revereatur, but with the form of the passive; cf. *arammentar féid*, g. suscipi, Ml. 61[a] 11. Has the glossator misunderstood his text, or does *armentar* stand to *armenathar* as *dumenmar* to *dumenammar*? Considering how carefully the distinction between deponent and passive forms (e.g. *forsithminedar* 7 *forsithmenter*, Ml. 17[b] 23, the former alternative seems the more probable.

[2] *-mentar* here is interesting as being the regular phonetic development of =**menāter*. In other cases where *-ter* might have to give *-tar*, it has been preserved by the influence of other verbs, where it regularly remained because of the slender nature of the original vowel in the preceding syllable.

	Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
	ni otormenarsa, Ml. 42[a] 10.	
	tomménsa dia, putavi me deum (l.-*ménarsa*), Ml. 130[d] 5.	
3.	*niruforaithmenair*, Ml. 24[c] 8.	
	dorumenairsom, putavit, Ml. 61[d] 2.	
	dorumenarsom,[1] Ml. 32[d] 10.	
	diarumuinestar,[2] Wb. 4[c] 38.	
pl. 1.	*ni torménmarni*, Ml. 115[b] 1.	
	ni dermenmarni, g. obliti non sumus, Ml. 64[a] 3.	
3.	*dorumenatar*, Ml. 35[b] 18.	*foruraithminset*, Ml. 135[a] 1.
	ni tormenatar, Ml. 90[c] 5.	*arrumuinset f[é]id*, Ml. 90[a] 1.
	nadtormenatar, Ml. 95[b] 3.	
fut. sg. 1.	*aratmuinfersa féid*, nam te venerabor, Ml. 63[a] 3.	
2.		*ciafut dundamroimnefese*, quousque me oblivisceris, Ml. 32[d] 5.
pl. 3.	*arrammuinfetar feid*, Ml. 61[a] 16.	
	duroimnibetar, obliviscentur, Ml. 77[a] 12.	

molur, laudo.

pres. ind. sg. 1.	*hore nondobmolorsa*, quia vos laudo, Wb. 14[c] 18.
3.	*nodmoladar fesin*, g. qui sé ipsum commendat, Wb. 17[b] 21.

[1] Ascoli translates *dorumenar som dia diadermut* by 'obliò Iddio per la smemoraggine [trascuranza] sua,' but in the text David does not say that he has forgotten God, but asks how long God will forget him. The gloss would seem then rather to mean 'he thought that God had forgotten him,' which in Mod. Ir. might be expressed by the same idiom, *shaoil sé dia do bheith dá dhearmhad*.

[2] I have placed this form here with some hesitation. Stokes translates the gloss *innahi diarumuinestar som trocairi* by 'those unto whom he taught mercy,' taking the verb from *múinim* 'teach,' but the context seems to require 'those to whom he intended mercy'; *rumuinestar* would be a new formation, a dep. s. pret.

	Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
pl. 3.	*cid arindmolatar*, Ml. 145d 4.	*ni molat*, Ml. 130b 6.
subj. sg. 3.	*condidmoladar*, Wb. 16d 1.	
	moladar, g. commendet, Bcr. 41d 1.	
pl. 3.		*co molait*, Ml. 51c 10.
pret. sg. 3.	*rommolastar*, Ml. 126b 16.	
fut. sg. 1.	*nomolfar*, Wb. 9a 22.	

atmuilniur.[1]

g. iterum dico, Wb. 18c 12.

***condīrgur** (=*com-dī-reg-*), dirigo, corrigo, **tremedirgur*, transfero.

pres. ind. sg. 3. *condirgedar*, Ml. 34a 23.

acondirgedar, g. diregens, Ml. 46a 12.

trimedirgedar, g. transfert, Ml. 54a 22.

diatremdirgedar, Sg. 190a 5.

pret. sg. 3. *arrudérgestar*, Wb. 4c 13.

fut. sg. 3. *condirgebadar*, g. correcturum, Ml. 130c 15.

samlur, imitor (*samail*, similis) *ind-samlur*,[2] aemulor, *di-samlur*, dissimulo, *di-ind-samlur*, id.

pres. ind. sg. 1. *is friss na samlur*, Wb. 3c 6.

3. *disamlathar*, g. dissimulat, Ml. 21b 2.

insamlathar, Wb. 9a 15.

insamlathar, Sg. 30a 14.

ni de intamladar, Ml. 27d 12.

pl. 1. *inintsamlammarni*, g. án aemulamur, Wb. 11b 16.

coni intamlammar, g. neque emulamur, Ml. 97c 1.

[1] This verb seems as yet to have been found only in this passage. It could be analysed into *ath-d-muilniur* 'I say it again.' Does *-mulniur* come from **molenōr*, cognate with *molur*? For the two meanings cf. Gr. *alvéω*.

[2] Before the accent the *s* remained unaspirated and *ind-s-* became *ins-*. After the accent *s* became *sh*, which caused the change of *d* to *t*.

	Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
subj. sg. 1.	*ciinsamlar*, g. ṣi imiter, Sg. 1[b] 1.	
2.	*insamailter*, g. noli emulari, Ml. 56[b] 38.	*ni intamlae*, Ml. 56[c] 13.
pret. pl. 3.	*arinrusamlasatar*, Sg. 112[b] 4.	
fut. sg. 3.		*ni deintamlafa*, g. non disimulabit, Ml. 69[d] 8.
pl. 1.	*nonsamlafammar*, Wb. 17[b] 12.	

***sechur**, sequor.

pres. ind. sg. 3.	*andocoisgedar*, g. sequente, Sg. 15[b] 4.	
	dudchoisgedar, (nox) quae sequitur, Ml. 62[c] 6[b].	
	otochosgedar, g. consequens, Ml. 103[d] 25.	
pl. 3.	*sechitir*, Wb. 31[b] 20.[1]	
	ni sechetar, Ml. 19[b] 11.	
	dudchoisgetar, Ml. 17[c] 12.	
subj. sg. 3.	*airesechethar*, Cod. Cam. 37[c].	
	madocoisgedar, Sg. 16[b] 2.	
pl. 1.	*arasechemmar*, Wb. 2[d] 4.	
pret. sg. 2.	*oruthochaisgessersu*, g. consecutus es, Ml. 43[c] 9.	
3.	*rosechestar*, Sg. 208[b] 15.	
	duruchoisgestar, g. persecutus, Ml. 64[c] 8; cf. 98[b] 7, 99[b] 11.	
fut. sg. 3.	*fomthochaisgebadarsa*, g. subsequetur (mihi), Ml. 45[d] 5.	

dofuislim, labor.

pres. ind. sg. 1.		*dofuislim*, g. labo, Sg. 146[b] 1.
subj. sg. 2.	*hotuislider*, g. quo laberis, Ml. 2[d] 6.	
3.	*dofuisledar*, g. elabi, Ml. 30[c] 10.	

[1] *sechitir goa* 'they follow lies.' For the construction cf. Ml. 89[c] 5, *seichfedsom dufirinnisiu* 'he would follow thy truth,' LL. 348[a] 50 *seiched firinni nosseichfe* 'let him follow truth that will follow him.' The strange form *numseichethre*, sequatur me, Cod. Cam. 37[c], should probably be corrected to *numseichethse*, as ZE. suggests.

	Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
	dufuisledor, g. relabatur, Bcr. 34c 1.	
fut. sg. 3.		*nicontuislifea*, Ml. 27b 18.
	-sissiur,[1] ἵσταμαι.	
pres. ind. sg. 1.	*anarasissiursa*, g. innitens, Ml. 41c 2.	
	duair[i]siur, innitor, Ml. 79a 9.	
	huare donairissiur, Ml. 79a 10.	
2.	*andunerissidersu*, g. te adstante, Ml. 38c 25.	
3.	*lase arasissedar*, g. cum innititur, Sg. 213b 2.	
	his indi forsanairissedar ingnim, Sg. 139b 1.	
	oterissedar, constat, Ml. 145c 4.	
	amal nadtairissidar, ut non consistit (subj. ?), Ml. 104b 4.	
	fosissedar, qui profitetur, Acr. 69.	
pl. sg. 3.	*arasissetar*, g. innituntur, Ml. 39b 11.	
	fristairissetar, g. obstantes, Ml. 47c 3.	
	fosissetar, confitentur, Ml. 132a 1; cf. Tur. 43.	
subj. sg. 2.	*fosisidersu*, Ml. 66c 1.	
3.	*lase arasissedar*, g. cum fuerit innisa, Ml. 51b 13.	
	mani airissedar, Ml. 131b 4.	
	co arsissethar (ms. *-etar*), g. ut nitatur, Ml. 120d 19.	
pl. 3.	*arasissetar*, g. niti, Ml. 77b 3.	
	conitairissetar, ut non consistant, Ml. 104b 4.	

[1] When the accent falls on the verb itself the initial *s* of *sissiur* is preserved, if the accent be thrown back on a preceding particle, the *s* vanishes if the particle immediately preceding originally ended in a vowel. A further instance illustrating this rule is *noarisinn*, Ml. 44d 26.

	Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
	fristairissetar, g. qui obsistere non verentur, Ml. 39b 13.	
	fosissetar, g. fateri possunt, Sg. 140a 2.	
pret. sg. 1.	*arroissiursa*, g. nisus sum, Ml. 88a 9.	
3.	*arroissestar*, g. innisum, Ml. 18d 16.	
	afuroissestar, g. confessus, Ml. 46d 15.	
	nitarrastair, Acr. 72.	
fut. sg. 1.	*fosisefar*, confitebor, Ml. 58c 17.	
	-tluchur.	
pres. ind. sg. 1.	*atluchur*, g. gratias ago, Wb. 3b 19.	*duthluchimse*, g. efflagito, Ml. 71c 20.
	duthluchur, efflagito, Pcr. 57a 5.	
	amal dunthlaichiursa, Ml. 44c 20.	
	amal duntluchur, Ml. 74d 3.	
2.	*cid aratodlai[g]ther*, g. quare postulas, Ml. 32a 5.	
3.	*atluchedar buidi*, Ml. 128c 3.	
	dutluichethar, g. exigit, Ml. 36a 28.	
	duthluchedar, Ml. 38d 1.	
pl. 1.		*oldaas duntlucham*, Wb. 21d 9.
3.	*duthluchetar*, exigunt, Ml. 85d 5.	
subj. sg. 1.	*coduthlucher*, g. ut efflagitem, Ml. 49d 10.	
	ciafiu todlaigersa, g. quam iusta postulem, Ml. 38c 22.	
pret. sg. 3.	*rotodlaigestar*, Ml. 124d 9.[1]	
fut. pl. 1.		*atluchfam*, Wb. 17a 1.

[1] *duthluich* in the same gloss should probably be emended to *duthluiched—huare asmbert cia duthluich[ed] nadetatais* 'because he said though he did ask they would not get.'

	Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
	dufo-thraccar,[1] opto, volo.	
perf. sg. 1.	*dianduthraccarsa*, quibus opto, Wb. 14[b] 5.	
3.	*ciadudfutharcair*, Ml. 52.	
pl. 3.	*dufuthractar*, g. volunt, Wb. 26[b] 1; cf. Ml. 49[a] 17.	
	doduthractar, Wb. 26[b] 1.	
s. fut. sg. 2.		*ni dúthrais*, Carm. Ml. 17.
pl. 3.		*huare dunfutharset*, Ml. 54[a] 28.
s. subj. sg. 1.		*doduthris*, Wb. 20[b] 9.
		dofuthriset, Wb. 32[a] 9.
pl. 3.	*ci dutairsetarsom*, Ml. 56[c] 7.	

In the following verbs deponential forms are found in only one part of the verbal system.

ad-cíu 'I see,' and other compounds of **-ciim* 'see' (= **cesiō* √*kes*). Here the subjunctive mood is deponent.[2]

pres. subj. sg. 1.	*ma frisaccar*,[3] si sperem, Ml. 49[d] 3.
2.[4]	*addéicider*, g. (cum) respicies, Ml. 43[a] 19.
	sechidú denecaithersu, g. quaquam versus respexeris, Ml. 73[c] 11.
	diandadercaithersu, g. si eos aspicias, Ml. 102[b] 10.
3.	*odidaccadar*, Wb. 16[d] 6.
	coniaccadar, g. quin videat, Ml. 53[a] 6.

[1] A perfect form with a present or perfect meaning.

[2] Except, of course, in the 2 pl., where the Irish verb has no special deponent forms, *ma adced* 'if ye shall see,' Wb. 11[b] 22.

[3] The orthotonic form is found in a poem from the St. Paul Codex (Windisch. Ir. Text, I. 316), *rop ith 7 mlicht adcear* 'may it be corn and milk that I shall see,' I. l. 4, similarly l. 6.

[4] In an imperative sense an active form is found, *decce lat*, Wb. 10[c] 20, *deiccsiu*, Wb. 31[b] 19, and often in the profane literature.

arnaccathar, Ml. 68^{b} 9.

pl. 1. *manidecammar*, Sg. 26^{b} 9.

3. *frisnaccatar*, g. sperandi,[1] Ml. 124^{a} 3.

coniccim 'possum.' The perfect is deponent.

sg. 1. *cotaneccarsa*, id potui, Wb. 14^{3} 40.

3. *conanacuir*, Ml. 119^{d} 7.

niconchoimnucuir, Wb. 19^{c} 10; cf. Ml. 116^{c} 5, 97^{b} 4, 97^{d} 4, 5, 10, etc.

forcomnucuir,[2] Wb. 22^{b} 8; cf. Sg. 148^{a} 6, Ml. 131^{b} 14, etc.

tecomnucuir, Wb. 10^{a} 4; cf. Cod. Cam. 38^{a}.

fodamaim, *patior*, perfect dep. so from *ad-damaim*, concedo.

sg. 1. *fosrodamarsa*, Ml. 39^{a} 13; cf. 58^{d} 13, 132^{a} 12, 95^{d} 13, 14, Wb. 19^{d} 10.

adrodamar, Acr. 99.

2. *adrodamarsu*, Acr. 29 (MS. *adromarsu*).

dúsinnárdamarsu, Acr. 46.

3. *forodamair*, Ml. 54^{a} 25; cf. 54^{b} 28.

siassair, sedit, √*sed-*; cf. Zimmer, KZ. xxx. 151, Thurneysen, KZ. xxxi. 97.

im[*m*]*asiassair*, g. obsidit, Ml. 43^{b} 1.

Isolated deponent forms are *coinedar*, plorat, Ml. 74^{b} 1 (active forms are common, *e.g.* Ml. 73^{b} 12, 86^{d} 1), *immethecrathar* 'covers,' Ml. 65^{a} 1; cf. p. 68, note.

[1] There is here a double gloss, *cofrisaccat* and *frisnaccatar*. The former I take for an indicative 'so that they expect,' the latter for a subjunctive 'that they may expect'; cf. Ml. 45^{d} 17, where *cid frisnaccat* glosses *sperandi*. For other examples of the present indicative, see Ml. 53^{b} 23, 62^{d} 7, 69^{b} 3, 134^{a} 5, 144^{a} 2; Pcr. 54^{b} 1, 57^{a} 7.

[2] *rodastar*, Wb. 7^{a} 14, is obscure.

In the following forms isolated deponential forms are found in the 3 sg. of the preterite:

rodligestar, Ml. 36[a] 29, *dligim* 'I owe,' like derivative verbs in *-igim*.

arrunsastar,[1] Ml. 50[b] 8 } *arneithim*, sustineo, expecto.
adronsestar, Wb. 4[c] 35 }

arrunsillestar, Ml. 63[a] 15.

In sg. 1 *forderisiur*, g. lustravi, Ml. 133[b] 8; cf. *forderet*, g. illustrat, Ml. 78[b] 8.

The second class of deponents consists of denominative verbs in *-agiur*, *-igiur*. The origin of the formation is uncertain; cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss* II. § 780. In Irish the formation has become closely associated with adjectives in *-ach* and *-ech*, *-ag-* as a rule appearing by *-ach*, *-ig-* by *-ech*. But such verbs are also found with no corresponding adjectives by their side. From cases like **lethnaigur*, **bresminigur*, where the *n* belongs to the stem from which the verb is derived, *-nag*, *naig-*, *-nig-* has spread as a suffix, e.g. *bruthnaigim*, **freptanaigur*, **mrechtnigur*, and *bertnaigim* (cf. Windisch Wörterbuch) by *bertaigim*. Many words of this class in the Glosses are evidently learned words, invented to translate the Latin.

Deponent Forms.		Active Forms.	
adamrugur, admiror (*adamre*).			
pres. ind. sg. 1.	*noadamrugur*, Wb. 16[c] 3.	pret. pl. 3.	*adruamraigset*, g. sunt admirati, Ml. 88[a] 18.
3.	*adamrigethar*, Wb. 5[c] 16.		
	innahi adamrigedar, g. quæ miratur, Ml. 64[c] 19.		
pl. 3.	*adamraigetar*, g. mirantur, Ml. 124[a] 6.		
subj. sg. 2.	*adnamraigther*, gl. noli mirari, Ml. 56[b] 39.		

[1] But *lase arroneith*, Ml. 50[b] 9. From *ind-neithim* comes a deponential imperative *indnite*, Wb. 10[a] 21. Otherwise the forms are active.

Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
pl. 3. *co adamraigthar* (l.-*etar*, Ascoli), g. ut mirentur, Ml. 39b 8. *adnamraigetar*, g. debeant mirari, Ml. 39b 10.	

***adbartaigur**,[1] aversor (cf. *adbartaig* .i. ab adversario, Cormac's Glossary, YBL.).

pres. ind. sg. 2.	*adbartaigther*, g. aversaris, Ml. 44b 31.	subj. sg. 3.	*co adbartaigid*, g. ut avertur, Ml. 36a 11.
3.	*ní adbartaigedar*, g. non aversatur, Ml. 36a 18.	pret. pl. 3.	*roadbartaigset*, Ml. 26b 20.
pret. sg. 1.	*roadbartaigsiur*, g. aversatus sum, Ml. 115a 13, 117c 5.	fut. sg. 2.	*annunadbartaigfesiu*, g. te aversato, Ml. 48a 12.
3.	*niroadbartaigestar*, g. non fuerat aversatus, Ml. 55d 1.		
fut. sg. 1.	*adbartaigfersa*, g. aversabor, Ml. 37c 12.		

***adéitchur**, detestor (*adéteg*).

pres. ind. sg. 3.	*adeitchethar*, Ml. 50d 9; cf. 122b 12, 129c 10.
ipv. sg. 2.	*aditchidesiu*, g. detestare, Ml. 103a 7b.

***adribaigur**, resulto.[2]

pres. ind. sg. 3.	*adribaigedar*, g. resultat, Ml. 146b 3.

***aidlicnigur**, egeo (*aidlicen*, egens).

pres. ind. sg. 3.	*an nadnaidlicnigedar*, g. nullo egens adiutore, Ml. 130a 2.

[1] The treatment of *db* under the accent indicates that this is a learned word, probably coined to express *aversor*. Is it a compound of *bertaigim*, vibro?

[2] On this verb cf. Ascoli, Lexicon Palæo-hibernicum, ceviii.

	Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
	nad adilgnigedar, non eget, Pcr. 56[a] 2.	
pl. 1.	*ni adilgnigmar*, Wb. 15[a] 2.	
3.	*aidlignitir* (l. *aidlignigitir*, Asc.), Sg. 4[b] 10.	
	ni aidlicnigetar, non egent, Sg. 200[a] 2.	

***ainmnigur**, nomino (*ainm*).

pret. sg. 3.	*rondnainmnigestar*, nominavit, Ml. 17[b] 9; cf. 26[b] 8, 37[b] 22.	

airigur, percipio (*airech*; cf. Asc. Lex. xxvi.).

pres. ind. sg. 1.	*ní conairigursa*, non percipio, Wb. 16[a] 28.	
pret. sg. 1.	*hóre nánrairigsiur*, Wb. 3[c] 26.	
	nád rairgsiur, Wb. 3[c] 27.	

***ardrigur**, appareo (*airdrech*, ostentum).

pres. ind. pl. 3.	*ardrigitir*, g. apparent, Bv. 1[a] 4.	pres. ind. sg. 3.	*ardrigid*, g. apparet, Bcr. 33[d] 7.
pret. sg. 3.	*roardrigestar*, g. apparuit, Wb. 28[c] 12.		

***beoigur**, vivifico (*béo*).

pres. ind. sg. 3.	*beoigidir*, Wb. 13[d] 7.	
	nombeoigedar, Wb. 19[a] 20.	

***bindigur**, concors sum (*bind*).

pres. ind. pl. 3.	*donaib hí bindigeddar*, eis quæ concordant, Sg. 10[a] 9.	

Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.

***boltigur**, olefacio (*bolaod*, odor).

pres. ind. pl. 3. *niboltigetarside bolad*, non sentiunt odorem, Wb. 14d 34. | subj. pl. 1. *boltigme*, g. olfacere, Acr. 57.

***bresminigur**, frangor (*breisim* .i. *gáir*, *-men-* stem).

pres. subj. sg. 3. *bresminigedar*, g. frangari, Ml. 108d 6.

bruthnaigim, ferveo (*bruth*, fervor).

pres. ind. sg. 3. *cianudbruthnaigedar*, quamquam fervet, Ml. 121a 15. | pres. ind. sg. 1. *bruthnaigim*, g. furo, Sg. 54b 7.

cairigur, vitupero (*caire*, g. nota).

pres. ind. sg. 1. *nochairigur*, Wb. 11d 1.

2. *lasse nocairigther*, Wb. 1c 10.

3. *cairigedar*, Wb. 25b 9.

subj. sg. 2. *diacairigther*, Wb. 1c 10.

***cathaigur**, pugno (*cath*, pugna).

subj. sg. 3. *friscathaigedar*, g. repellare, Ml. 90a 6. | pres. ind. pl. 3. *a cathaigte*, g. confligentes, Ml. 65b 8.

pret. sg. 1. *rocathichsiur*, Wb. 24a 3.

***ceistaigur**, disputo (*ceist*, quæstio).

pret. sg. 2. *arrucestaigser*, cum disputasti, Ml. 2d 3.

***cichnaigur**, strido.

pret. sg. 3. *cichnaigistir*,[1] g. striderat, Sg. 152b 2.

***cluichigur**, ludo (*cluiche*, ludus).

pres. ind. sg. 3. *acluichigegedar* (l. *cluichigedar*), Ml. 122a 10.

[1] Formed by analogy as the absolute form of the 3 sg. of the pret., as were formed later, e.g. to the pres. sec. *foad* 'he slept,' an absolute *foaid*, and to the 3 pl. pret. *rogabsat*, an absolute *gabsit*. The verb seems based on a noun borrowed from a British dialect with the common analogical change of *p* to *c*; cf. O.W. *pipennou*, g. arterias, Mod.W., Bret., and Corn. *pib*, Corn. *piba* 'to pipe.'

	Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
	dondi cluchigedar, g. ludenti, Ml. 122[a] 12.	
pl. 3.	*intan cluichigetar*, Ml. 129[c] 20.	

***cobrigur**, auxilior (*cobair*).

pres. ind. sg. 3.	*acobrigegedar* (l. *cobrigedar*, Ml. 122[a] 10.	

***comadasaigur**, apto (*comadas*, aptus).

pres. ind. sg. 3.	*comadasaigidir*, g. aptat, Ml. 53[c] 8.	
	comadassaigidir, g. accomodat, Ml. 80[d] 6.	

***comaicsigur**, approprio (*comocus*).

subj. sg. 3.	*comaicsigedar*, g. adpropriare, Ml. 107[b] 9.	fut. sg. 3.	*comaicsigfid*, Ml. 53[b] 17.

***comdemnigur**,[1] dominor.

subj. sg. 3.	*comdemnigedar*, gl. dominari, Ml. 17[b] 1.	

***cosmailigur**, comparo (*cosmail*).

pres. ind. pl. 1.	*acosmiligmmer*, cum comparamus, Sg. 211[a] 14.	
3.	*cenodchosmailigetar*, quamquam similes sunt, Sg. 212[b] 2.	
pret. sg. 3.	*roscosmailigestar*, comparavit eas, Ml. 55[d] 8.	

***cruthaigur**, formo (*cruth*).

pres. ind. sg. 3.	*cruthaigedar*, g. plasmantis, *i.e.* qui plasmat, Ml. 140[b] 5.	

[1] Cf. *coimdemnacht*, g. dominatum, Ml. 35[a] 4, gen. *-achtæ*, 17[b] 6. Cf. *demin* 'certain,' *demnigim* 'I make certain,' Or have we a derivative, as Siegfried held, from an Irish stem cognate with Lat. *dominus*? Cf. Johansson, IF. iii. 228.

Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
pret. pl. 1. *rochruthaigsemmar*, Sg. 9ª 22.	
***cuimnigur**, reminiscor (*cuimne*, memoria; *cuimnech*, memor).	
pres. ind. sg. 3. *cuimnigedar*, g. reminiscentis, *i.e.* qui reminiscitur, Wb. 16ᵇ 24.	
***culigur**, profano (*col*).	
pret. sg. 3. *arruculigestar*, g. prof[an]ante, Ml. 63ª 14.	
cumachtaigim, potior (*cumachtach*, potens).	
pres. ind. sg. 2. *cia diacumachtaigther*, quo potiris, Sg. 209ᵇ 30.	pres. ind. sg. 1. *cumachtaigim*, g. potior, Sg. 39ᵇ 2; cf. 54ª 7.
	fut. pl. 3. *honacumachtaigfet*, g. quo non sint potituri, Ml. 28ª 12.
cumgigim, ango (*cumce*).	
pret. sg. 3. *racumgaigestarsom*, g. se angiavit, Ml. 133ª 9.	pres. ind. sg. 1. *cumcigim*, Sg. 16ᵇ 9.
***cutrummaigur**, exæquo (*cutrumme*).	
subj. sg. 3. *cochutrummaigidir*, g. ut exæquet, Ml. 25ᶜ 12.	
pret. sg. 3. *rocutrummaigestar*, exæquavit, Ml. 55ᵈ 3.	
daingnigim, munio (*daingen*, firmus).	
pret. sg. 3. *rodaingnigestar*, Ml. 51ᵈ 8.	pres. ind. sg. 1. *daingnigim*, g. moenio, Sg. 19ª 6.
	subj. sg. 2. *conumdaingnigese*, g. ut (me) communias, Ml. 49ᵈ 13.
	fut. sg. 2. *lasse nundundaingnichfe*, g. cum nós munieris, Ml. 78ᶜ 6.

Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
***dánaigur**, dono (*dán*, donum, ars).	
pres. ind. sg. 3. *intí naddanaiged ar*], Ml. 17c 7.	fut. sg. 3. *connachadánaigfea* 'so that he will not give it,' Ml. 96a 7. *addanigfea*, g. remuneraturum esse, Ml. 112c 4.
subj. sg. 2. *mani danaigthersu*, nisi des, Ml. 40b 2.	
pret. sg. 3. *rondánaigestar*, quæ dedit, Ml. 96b 9; cf. 97d 17, Wb. 21b 9.	
dechrigim, differo, disto (*dechur*, differentia).	
pres. ind. pl. 1. *dechrigmirni*, g. distamus, Ml. 117b 9.	pres. ind. sg. 1. *dechrigim*, g. discisco, Sg. 177b 1.
3. *andechrigeddar*, g. distantia, Sg. 46a 9.	pl. 3. *ni dechriget*, Pcr. 62a 2. *andechraigte*, g. distantia, Ml. 119d 11.
ni dechrigetar, g. non absistunt, Sg. 155b 4. *nidechraigetar*, Ml. 113a 2; cf. Ml. 115b 2.[1]	fut. pl. 3. *nidechrai[g]fet*, non discedent, Ml. 90b 6.
subj. sg. 3. *mani dechrigedar* 'unless it be different,' Wb. 12c 46.	
***deligur**, distinguo, separo.	
pres. sg. 3. *nodadeligedar* (sonus), Sg. 6a 19. *náddeligedar*, Sg. 28a 15.	
***demnigur**, firmo (*demin*).	
	pres. ind. sg. 3. *demnigid*, Sg. 158b 3.
pret. sg. 3. *radeimnigestar*, Wb. 32c 20.	pl. 1. *demnigmini*, Ml. 35b 1.
	3. *demnigte*, gl. quæ commoniunt, Ml. 75a 8; cf. 16a 15.

[1] According to Mr. Stokes the MS. has *nosdechrigetar*.

Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
dephthigim, dissideo (*debuith*, dissensio; *debthach*, contentiosus).	
pret. pl. 3. *rodebthaichsetar*, g. dissiderant, Ml. 19c 16.	pres. ind. sg. 1. *nidephthigim*, g. non dissideo, Ml. 21a 2. pl. 3. *debthaigte*, qui dissident, Ml. 103d 17.
***desimrechtaigur**, pro exemplo pono (*desimrecht*, exemplum).	
pres. sg. 3. *desimrechtaigedar*, Sg. 11b 4.	
***dísruthaigur**, derivo (*di*+*sruth*, flumen).	
pres. ind. sg. 3. *disruthaigedar*, derivat, Sg. 198b 3.	
***diummussaigur**, superbio (*diummus*, superbia; *diummsach*, superbus).	
subj. sg. 3. *arnadiummussaigedar*, g. ne turgescat, Ml. 68c 7.	
***dixnugur**,[1] sum.	
pres. ind. sg. 2. *ciahénundixnigthersiu*, g. qui sis, Ml. 75c 9.	
3. *naddixnigedar*, non est, Wb. 9c 14; cf. Ml. 20c 6, 51c 16, 55c 10, Sg. 22b 3, etc.	
pl. 3. *dixnigetar*, Wb. 12b 7.	
subj. sg. 3. *indixnigedar*, g. inesse, Ml. 19b 14.	
***dochenelaigur**, degènero (*dochenél*, degener).	
pret. sg. 1. *arrondoichenelaigsiursa*, g. degenerans, *i.e.* cum degeneravi, Ml. 44b 36.	

[1] Cf. *digas*, editus, Ml. 32a 16, 41c 9, 106d 12, *air-dixa*, producta? Mr. Stokes suggests that **dixnigur* may be for **dí-aicnigur*, from *aicsiu*, gen. *aicsen* 'vision,' literally *appareo*.

Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.

***dogailsigur**, maereo (*dogailse*, maeror).

pres. ind. pl. 3. *condogailsegetar*, Ml. 87[b] 17.

***dumaigur**, exaggero (*duma*, agger).

pret. sg. 3. *rodumaigestar*, g. exaggeravit, Ml. 55[d] 3; cf. 80[b] 3, 83[d] 1.

***echtrannaigur**, me extraneum reddo (*echtrann*).

pret. pl. 3. *roechtrannaigsetar*, Ml. 66[d] 2.

***écmailtigur**, insolesco (*écmailt*, insolens; *écmailte*, insolentia).

pres. ind. sg. 3. *écmailtigidir*, g. insolescit, Ml. 28[a] 9.

***écndaigur**, obtrecto (*écndach*, detrectatio).

pres. ind. pl. 3. *ecndigitir*, g. detrahunt, Ml. 126[d] 16.

***com-écnigur**, cogo (*écen*).

pres. ind. sg. 3. *ni coméicnigedar*, non cogit, Sg. 61[a] 9.

pres. ind. pl. 3. *coméicnisset* (l. *nigset*, Asc.), Tur. 2[d] 18.

***engraccigur**, locum obtineo (cf. *in-engraicc*, loco, Sg. 30[b] 16).

pres. ind. sg. 1. *engraicigidir mo ainm*, Sg. 200[b] 10; cf. 193[b] 5.

nengracigedar, Sg. 197[b] 2.

pl. 3. *nodaengraicigetar* (rel.), Sg. 198[b] 8.

huare nengraicigetar, Sg. 200[b] 5.

***erbirigur**, causor (cf. *airbhire* 'reproach,' 'blame,' O'Reilly).

subj. sg. 3. *erbirigithir*, g. causetur, Ml. 35[b] 6.

pres. ind. sg. 3. *erbirigidid* (l. *erbirigid*), g. causatur, Ml. 90[a] 7.

pret. pl. 1. *roerbirigsem*, g. causati sumus, Ml. 35[a] 5.

	Deponent Forms.		Active Forms.
	***erdarcaigur**, *celebro* (*erdairc*, illustris).		
pres. ind. sg. 3.	*erdarcaigidir*, g. celebrat, Ml. 28^{b}15.	fut. sg. 1.	*noterdarcugub*, g. celebrabo té, Ml. 55^{a} 5.
		3.	*erdarcaigfes*, Ml. 89^{b} 4.
	***erladaigur**, obedio (*airlithe*, obediens).		
pres. ind. sg. 3.	*erladaigidir*, g. obsequitur, Ml. 64^{d} 5.		
	amal nerladaigedar, g. tamquam obsequitur, Ml. 64^{d} 3.		
subj. sg. 1.	*coerladaig:ar*,[1] g. ad pariendum, Ml. 106^{c} 6.		
pret. pl. 3.	*roirladigsetar*, Wb. 7^{c} 16.		
	***étaigur**, æmulor (*ét*).		
pres. ind. pl. 3.	*nobéttigetar*, g. æmulantur vobis, Wb. 19^{d} 27.		
subj. sg. 2.	*nonétaigther*, g. noli emulari, Ml. 56^{b} 17, 39.		
	nietaigthersu, Ml. 56^{b} 31.		
	***etarcnaigur**, noto (*etargne*, intellectus).		
pres. ind. sg. 3.	*nometarcnigedar*, significat me, Sg. 200^{b} 10.		
subj. sg. 3.	*reminetarcnigedar*, g. prænotare, Ml. 18^{c} 12.		
pret. sg. 3.	*roetarcnaigestar*, g. notavit, Ml. 32^{b} 5.		
	***étuailngigur**, g. indignor (*étualang*).		
pres. ind. sg. 3.	*innahi etuailngigedar*, g. quæ indignatur, Ml. 69^{d} 7.		

[1] Ascoli remarks 'non è effettivamente se non *-gear*.' The regular ending in these verbs would be *-ger*.

Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
pret. sg. 3. *arruétuailngistar* (l. *gigestar*) *dia*, g. deo indignante, Ml. 62[b] 22.	

***failtigur**, lætor (*failte*, lætitia).

subj. sg. 1. *nufailtiger*, g. letari, Ml. 46[b] 16.	pres. ind. pl. 1. *failtigmi*, g. lætamur, Ml. 129[d] 7.
pl. 3. *conifailtigetar*, g. non lætentur, Ml. 55[b] 6.	

***fássaigur**, vasto, *érássaigur*=**es-ro-fhássaigur*; irritum facio (*fás*, *fásach*).

pres. ind. sg. 3. *nosesrassaigedar*,[1] Ml. 51[b] 27.	subj. pl. 3. *naherassiget*, ne irrita faciant, Wb. 30[b] 10.
pret. sg. 3. *rofassaigestar*, g. exhausit, Ml. 118[b] 7.	

***feidligur**, perduro, maneo (*feidil*).

pres. ind. sg. 3. *ni fedligedar*, Wb. 2[c] 3.	pres. ind. pl. 3. *tremfeidliget*, Ml. 21[d] 4.
subj. pl. 1. *cofedligmer*, Wb. 6[d] 11.	*feidligte*, Ml. 21[d] 4.
pret. pl. 1. *rufeidligsemmar*, Ml. 105[a] 4.	pret. pl. 3. *rofeidligset*, Ml. 105[a] 4.
	fut. sg. 3. *afeidligfid*, Ml. 128[a] 7.
	pl. 3. *ni tremfeidligfet*, Ml. 21[d] 4.

***fercaigur**, irascor (*ferg*, *fergach*).

pres. ind. sg. 3. *ni fercaigedar*, non irascitur, Ml. 24[b] 18.	
ipv. sg. 2. *fercaigthesi*, irascere, Ml. 20[b] 13.	

***fíachaigur**, debeo (*fíach*, debitum; *fíachach*, debens).

subj. sg. 3. *cia dia fiachaigedar*, g. ad quem debeat, Ml. 44[b] 3.	

[1] We should have expected rather *nosérassaigedar*.

Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.

***findbadaigur**, beatifico (*findbadach*,[1] beatus, Ml. 114[b] 7; cf. 56[b] 44).

pres. ind. pl. 3. *indi nodamfindbadaigetarsa*, g. iecientes me, Ml. 39[d] 10.

***fírianaigur**, iustifico (*fírian*, iustus).

pres. ind. sg. 3. *nodonfirianigedar*, Wb. 19[a] 14.
firianigedar, Wb. 19[b] 1.
pret. sg. 3. *rafirianigestar*, Wb. 19[b] 13.
rondfirianaigestar, Ml. 19[d] 16.

***focridigur**, accingo.

subj. sg. 2. *fotchridigthersu*, g. præcingere, Ml. 101[c] 3.
3. *focridigedar*, g. accingat, Ml. 35[c] 32.
ipv. sg. 2. *fochridigthe*, g. acingere, Ml. 27[c] 5.

***fogrigur**, sono (*fogur*, sonus).

pres. ind. sg. 3. *fogrigedar*, g. sonans, Wb. 12[b] 27, 28.
pres. ind. pl. 3. *fograigte*, Ml. 42[c] 2.

***foilsigur**, manifesto (*foilse*, *foilsech*).

pres. ind. sg. 3. *foilsigidir*, Ml. 24[c] 13, 53[b] 27.
nundfoilsigedar, Ml. 42[b] 18.
foilsigedar, quod manifestat, Ml. 74[d] 13, 85[b] 11.
pl. 3. *nondafailsigetar*, eos, Sg. 71[b] 7; cf. 198[a] 24.
pres. ind. pl. 3. *foilsigdde*, Sg. 200[b] 6.
pret. pl. 3. *arufáilsigset*, g. publicantes, Ml. 74[a] 4.

[1] *Findbadach* = *find-bithach* from *find* 'white' and *bith* 'world'; cf. W. *gwynfyd* 'happiness,' and, for the meaning of *find*, *is find anbethu*, g. beati quorum remissæ sunt iniquitates, Wb. 2[c] 2.

Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
ipv. sg. 2. *foilsigthe*, g. revela, Ml. 56c 2.	
pret. sg. 3. *rosfailsigestar*, id manifestavit, Wb. 31a 9, cf. Ml. 51d 14, 103d 11, 109b 2, 145b 4.	fut. sg. 3. *foilsigfid*, Ml. 69d 8.
pl. 3. *conidrofoilsigsetar*, id manifestarunt, Wb. 21c 22.	

***follaigur**, negligo (*follach*, negligens, pl. *follig*, Wb. 6a 22).

pres. ind. pl. 3. *follaigedar*, Ml. 129a 2b.

***foirbthigur**, perficio, proficio (*foirbthe*, perfectus).

pres. ind. sg. 3. *foirbthigedar*, Wb. 4d 6.

subj. sg. 1. *rofoirbthiger*, g. consummavero, Wb. 7a 9.

pret. sg. 2. *rofoirbthichser*, g. proficisti, Ml. 50c 13; cf. 43d 17.

***fortachtaigur**, auxilior (*fortacht*, auxilium).

pres. ind. sg. 3. *nodafortachtaigedar*, Ml. 25c 5.

***frepthanaigur**, medicor (*frepad*,[1] g. *freptha*).

pret. sg. 1. *arrufreptanaigthiisiur*, (l. *-frepthanaigisiur*), g. medicatus, Ml. 103a 6.

***gaimigur**, hiemo (*gaim*, hiems).

fut. sg. 1. *gaimigfer*, Wb. 14a 9.

***gnáthaigur**, assuesco (*gnáth*, *gnáthach*, solitus).

pret. pl. 3. *rognathaigsetar*, g. adsueti sunt, Ml. 34b 2.

[1] =**frith-bati-*; cf. *frisbensom*, g. medetur, Ml. 125c 4; cf. *epaid*, Zimmer, *Keltische Studien*, i. 122 sq.

Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.

***gréschaigur**, continuo (*gréssach*, continuus).

subj. sg. 3. *gréschaigidir*, g. continuet, Ml. 85[a] 5.

pres. ind. pl. 3. *greschaigte*, g. frequentium, Ml. 88[b] 3.

fut. sg. 1. *græschaigfeasa*, g. continuabo, Ml. 122[b] 10.

***guaigur**,[1] mentior (*góe*, falsum).

pres. ind. sg. 3. *anguaigedar*, g. mentiente, Ml. 31[b] 1.

pl. 3. *guaigitir*, mentiuntur, Ml. 31[b] 1.

***ilaigur**, multiplico (*il*, multus).

pres. ind. sg. 3. *ní hilaigedar*, non multiplicat, Sg. 166[a] 2.

cid ara nílaigedar, cur multiplicat, Sg. 90[b] 7.

fut. sg. 2. *ilaigfe*, g. multiplicasti, *i.e.* multiplicabis, Ml. 81[c] 5.

***imdaigur**,[2] redundo, affluo (*immda*, abundans).

pres. ind. sg. 3. *imdaigidir*, g. redundat, Ml. 71[c] 10; cf. 121[b] 14, 68[b] 11.

pl. 3. *imdaigitir*, g. reddundant, Ml. 70[b] 5; cf. 39[d] 2.

imdaigetar, g. affluentia, Ml. 39[d] 5.

subj. sg. 2. *nonimdaigi*, g. polleas, Ml. 88[b] 6.

fut. sg. 3. *imdaigfid*, g. uberabitur, Ml. 81[c] 11.

***inbothigur**, nubo (*inbotha*, nuptias, Tur. 48).

subj. pl. 3. *dianinbothigetar*, Wb. 29[a] 1.

***inlínaigur**, inretio (*in*+*lín*, rete).

subj. pl. 3. *inlínaigetar*, g. inretiere, Ml. 32[a] 14.

[1] In the pass. *niruguigter gnimai dæ*, g. mentiri nesciam, Ml. 51[c] 14.

[2] In *an imdaig dia*, g. deo inminente, Ml. 66[d] 18, Ascoli takes *imdaig* to be 3 sg. pret. (cum deus prævaluit) but in these verbs the 3 sg. pret. is regularly deponent. Should we correct to *imdaigid*, *-id* last before *d*?

	Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.

***inraiccaigur**, dignor (*inricc*, dignus).

subj. sg. 2. *mani inraiccaigther*, g. sí dedigneris, Ml. 103ᵃ 8.

ísligur, humilio (*ísel*, humilis).

pres. ind. sg. 1. *nomisligur*, Wb. 17ᵈ 22.

***lethnaigur**, dilato (*lethan*, latus).

pret. sg. 2. *rolethnaigser*, g. delectasti, Ml. 50ᵃ 14.

***lobraigur**, ægroto, languesco, infirmo (*lobur*, infirmus; *lobre*, infirmitas).

pres. ind. sg. 3. *lobraigedar*, g. cum egrotat, Ml. 43ᵈ 21; cf. 96ᵇ 12.

pl. 3. *lobraigetar*, g. egrescentium, Ml. 131ᶜ 6.

subj. sg. 3. *arna lobraigedar*, g. ne languescat, Ml. 71ᵇ 6.

londaigim, indignor (*lond*).

pres. ind. sg. 3. *indi londaigedar*, g. indignantis, Ml. 64ᵇ 5; cf. 102ᵇ 11. | *londaigim*, g. aspernor, Pcr. 62ᵇ 3.

pret. sg. 3. *rolondaigestar*, g. indignatione commovit, Ml. 29ᵃ 2.

***fomámaigur**, subigo[1] (*fo*+*mám*).

subj. sg. 3. *fommamaigedar*, g. subigerit, Ml. 113ᶜ 6.

pret. sg. 3. *fosroammamigestar* (l. *forro-*, Stokes), Ml. 67ᵇ 24.

[1] Another compound with *doir* 'enslaved' is found Ml. 93ᵈ 9, *rondoirmaigsem* (corr. *-mamaigsem*, Asc.), 101ᵃ 8, *rondoirammaigestar* according to Mr. Stokes (l. *rondoirmammaigestar*, Asc.).

	Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.

asmecnugur, eradico (*es*+*meccon*).

pres. ind. sg. 1. *coasmecnugursa*,[1] g. ut eradicem, Ml. 2ª 8.

***mescaigur**, inebrio (*mesc*, *mesce*).

fut. sg. 2. *mescaigfider*, g. inebriasti, *i.e.* inebriabis, Ml. 81ᶜ 4.

***mencigur**, increbesco (*menicc*).

pret. sg. 3. *romincigestar*, g. increbuit, Ml. 36ª 40.

pres. ind. pl. 3. *mencigite*, g. frequentium, Ml. 88ᵇ 2.

***mindchigur**, emendico (*mindech*, g. tenuis).

pres. ind. pl. 3. *mindchigitir*, g. emendicant, Ml. 36ᶜ 18.

***miscsigur**, odi (*miscuis*, odium; *miscsech*, exosus).

pret. sg. 3. *romiscsigestar*, Wb. 4ᶜ 16.

***móithaigur**, emollio (*móith*, mollis).

subj. sg. 3. *comoithaigidir*, g. ut emolliat, Ml. 131ª 9.

***mothaigur**, stupeo (*moth*, stupor, Ml. 68ᵇ 9).

pres. ind. sg. 3. *mothaigedar*, g. stupentis, Ml. 26ᵇ 9.

subj. sg. 3. *comothaigid*, g. ut stupeat, Ml. 25ᶜ 6.

***mrechtnigur**, vario (*mrecht*, varius).

pret. sg. 3. *ciarud mrechtnigestar*, g. variavit, Ml. 123ᵇ 12.

***oenaigur**, unifico (*oen*, unus).

pres. ind. sg. 3. *fobith ṅoenaigedar*, Sg. 172ª 4.

[1] Confusion between *-ur* and *-ar* is found in the glosses in the *s* fut. and subj. But I have no examples of *-ur* in the pres. subj. as in later Irish. The form here is, then, probably indicative, 'so that I do root out.'

Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.

***ordaigur**, ordino (*ord*, ordo).

pret. sg. 3. *rodordigestar*, Wb. 6[a] 3; cf. 6[a] 4.

***réidigur** (*réid*, planus).

pres. ind. sg. 3. *niredigedar*, g. nihil commodat, Ml. 24[d] 22.

***sainigur**, diversus sum (*sáin*, diversus).

pres. ind. sg. 3. *sainigedar*, Sg. 41[b] 9.

***sáithraigur**, laboro (*sáithar*, labor).

pret. sg. 3. *rusaithraigestar*, Ml. 92[c] 5. pres. ind. pl. 3. *huare saithraigte*, Ml. 123[c] 8.

***sárigur**, violo (*sár*).

pret. sg. 3. *rusarigestar*, Ml. 71[b] 14. pret. pl. 3. *rósárichset*, Wb. 1[d] 4.

***scíthigur**, defetiscor (*scith*).

fut. sg. 1. *niconscithigfar*, g. non defetiscar, Acr. 58.

***sémigur**, attenuo (*séim*).

subj. sg. 3. *cosemigidir*, g. ut attenuet, Ml. 44[d] 9.

***senaigur**, inveterasco (*sen*).

subj. sg. 3. *masenaigidir*, g. si inveteraverit, Sg. 151[a] 1.

***sílaigur**, sero (*síl*, semen).

subj. sg. 1. *nosilaiger*,[1] g. exserere, Ml. 23[c] 28. pres. ind. sg. 3. *lase nosilaigid*, g. adserendo, Ml. 115[b] 11.

***sochenélaigur**, nobilito (*sochenél*).

subj. sg. 3. *cosochenelaigidir*, g. ut nubilitet, Ml. 138[c] 4.

***sonartnaigur**, valeo, convalesco (*sonairt*).

pres. ind. sg. 3. *nisonartnaigedar*, non valet, Ml. 14[c] 4.

[1] A literal translation of Lat. *sero* 'sow.'

	Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
subj. sg. 3.	*arnasonartnaigedar*, g. ne convalescat, Ml. 28d 9.	
pret. sg. 3.	*arrrosonartnaigestar*, g. convalescens, Ml. 49b 4.	

***subaigur**, gaudeo (*suba*, gaudium; *subach*, lætus).

pres. ind. sg. 3.	*subaigidir*, g. exultat, Ml. 122a 11.	ind. pl. 3.	*subaigit*, g. gaudent, Ml. 61c 18.

***suidigur**, pono (*suide*, sedes, sessio).

pres. ind. sg. 3.	*osuidigedar*, g. pinguit, Sg. 49a 9.	fut. sg. 3.	*suidigfith*, ponet, Ml. 46c 20.
	fondasuidigedar, ea supponit, Sg. 161b 5.		
pl. 3.	*suidigitir*, ponunt, Ml. 94c 3.		
pret. sg. 1.	*rusuidigsiursa*, g. statui, Ml. 59b 2.		
2.	*rosudigsersu*, statuisti, Ml. 121a 12.		
3.	*rosuidigestar*, posuit, Wb. 12a 30; cf. Ml. 46c 20, 63c 10, 130a 7.		
pl. 3.	*forrusuidigsetar*, g. supposuerunt, Wb. 7b 5.		

***suthaigur**, fructuosum facio (*suth*, fetus; *suthach*, fructuosus).

pret. sg. 2.	*rosuthchaigser*, g. foetasti, Ml. 81b 9.		

***taitnigiur** (*taitnech*).

pret. sg. 2.	*rotaitnigsersu*, g. placatus es, Ml. 105c 7.		

***tessaigur**, tepefacio (*tess*).

pres. ind. sg. 3.	*nade:tesaigedar*,[1] g. quos nullos tepefacit, Ml. 94b 21.		

[1] Cf. Ascoli's note on the passage. According to Mr. Stokes the MS. looks like *nadeltesaigedar*, a scribal error for *nadatesaigedar*.

	Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
pret. sg. 3.	*conrutessaigestar*, g. concaluit mé, Ml. 59[a] 16.	

***toirthigur** (*toirthech*, fructuosus).

pres. ind. sg. 3.	*amal . . . toirthigedar*, ut fructum fert, Wb. 26[c] 3.	

***toltanaigur**, placere (*toltanach*, g. bene placitus).

pret. sg. 3.	*rotoltanaigestar*, g. quod Caessari . . . placitum, Sg. 7[b] 10.	

torisnigiur, fido (*torisnich*, g. fidentes, Wb. 14[b] 27, cf. Ml. 58[c] 18).

pres. ind. sg. 1.	*nothorisnigiur*, g. fidentem, Ml. 126[d] 19.	pl. 3.	*taraisnigte*, g. fidere, Ml. 39[b] 9.
pret. sg. 3.	*rotorasnaigestar*, g. confidendo, Ml. 106[b] 8.		

***trebrigur**, continuo.

pres. ind. sg. 3.	*trebrigedar*, Sg. 7[a] 4.	
ipv. sg. 2.	*trebrigthe*, g. perpetuá, Ml. 88[d] 10.	

trénaigim, (*trén*, fortis).

pres. ind. sg. 3.	*immetrenaigedar*, Ml. 62[c] 5.	ind. sg. 1.	*imtrénigim*, g. mando, Sg. 146[b] 4.

***tuailngigur**, dignor (*tualaing*).

pres. ind. sg. 3.	*nuntuailngigedar*, g. nos . . . dignatur, Ml. 146[b] 2.	
pret. sg. 3.	*ní rothuailngigestar*, g. non est dignatus, Ml. 16[b] 12.	

***uaibrigur**, fallo, frustra habeo (*uaibrech*, fallax, inanis).

pret. sg. 3.	*runuaibrigestar*, g. quos profanaverat, Ml. 73[b] 10.	

Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.

***uatigur**, raresco (*uate*, singularis).

pres. ind. pl. 3. *huatigitir*, g. rarescunt, Ml. 33ᵃ 15.

***úraigur**, vireo (*úr*, viridis).

subj. sg. 3. *nuraigedar*, g. virere, Ml. 15ᵇ 14.

***utmallaigur**, nuto, vacillo (*utmall*, mobilis, instabilis).

subj. pl. 3. *dús innadnutmaligetar*, g. utrum non nutent, Acr. 45.

utmallaigetar, g. vacillare, Acr. 82.

The following verbs in *-aigim* show no deponent forms, with the exception of the 2 ipv. in *-the*, which is the only ending that these verbs have in this form. Many of them are found only in the 1 sg. pres. ind., a form in which the active ending is predominant in the Glosses.

***acarbaigim**, aspero (*acarb*, asper), *acarbaigte*, g. aspernantia (l. asperantia), Ml. 87ᵇ 14; **áctegim**, g. acesco, Pcr. 57ᵃ 3; ***ailigim**, alterno (*aile*), *ailigid*, Sg. 166ᵃ 2; ***airigim** (*airech*, primas), *noairiget*, g. primi ussi sunt, Ml. 125ᵈ 4; ***aithirgigim**, me pœnitet (*aithirge*) *lase n-aithirgigte*, g. penitendo, Ml. 105ᵈ 11; **álgenaigim**, lento (*álgen*), Sg. 145ᵃ 1, cf. Pcr. 56ᵇ 3, *álgenigid*, Wb. 4ᵃ 2; ***arsadaigim**, veterasco (*arsaid*), *arsadaigfith*, veterescet, Ml. 69ᵇ 4; **athrigim**, g. patrisso (*athir*), Sg. 11ᵇ 7; **baithaigim**, g. futio (*baith*), Sg. 56ᵇ 5, cf. 56ᵇ 6; ***bertaigim**, vibro, *robertaigset*, g. vibraverunt, Ml. 26ᵈ 5; **cuiligim**, g. prosto (*cuilech*, g. prostibulum), Sg. 53ᵃ 18; ***dásachtaigim**, furo (*dásacht*, *dásachtach*), *dasachtaigte*, g. furientium, Acr. 50; ***deugaigim**, poto (*deug*), *deugaigfit*, g. potabunt, Ml. 30ᶜ 18; ***díanagim**, celero (*dían*), *dianaigthe*, g. celera, Ml. 49ᵈ 9; ***dilmainaigim**, vaco (*dílmain*, g. expeditum, Ml. 81ᵇ 7, *is dílmain*, licet), *rondilmainaigset*, g. vacasse, Ml. 76ᵃ 8; ***elithrigim**, exulo (*ailithrech*, peregrinator religiosus), *elithrigmi*, g. exulamus, Ml. 46ᶜ 22; ***étrummaigim**, levo (*étromm*), *roétrummaigset*, Ml. 113ᶜ 8, *étrummaigfid*, g. sub-

levabit, Ml. 89c 9; **failligim**, g. sarpo, Sg. 183b 1; **fescrigim**.[1] vesperasco (*fescor*, vesper), g. obsero, Sg. 146b 7; ***feuchraigim** (*feuchuir*), *rofeuchraigset*, g. efferati sunt, Ml. 114a 6; ***cofínbuanaigim**, vindemio (*fín*+*búain*, messis), *cofínbuanaigit*, g. vindimiant, Ml. 102a 12; **fliuchaigim**, g. lippio (*fliuch*, madidus), Sg. 10b 3; **foirmtigim**, invideo (*foirmtech*, invidus), *nád foirmtigimse*, g. non invideo, Acr. 33; **gaigim**, g. quirito (*gái*, hasta), Sg. 144b 2, Pcr. 56b 2; **gortigim**, g. sallo (*goirt*, g. acidus), Sg. 187a 6; ***inilligim**, tutor (*inill*, tutus), *inilligfid*, g. tutabitur, Ml. 128c 8; ***intledaigim**, insidior (*intlide*, insidiosus; *intle*, insidiæ), *intledaigte*, g. insidientium, Ml. 39c 25; **intonnaigim**, g. inundo (*in*+*tonn*, unda), Sg. 144a 2; ***lainnigim**, avidus sum (*lainn*, acer, avidus), *lainnigte*, qui inhiant, Ml. 71d 4; ***madaigim**, frustror (*madach*, cassus), *rusmadaigset fesin*, g. ipsos frustrata sunt, Ml. 48a 1, *ni rumadaigset*, 48a 2; **ménaigim**, hio (*mén*, hiatus, rictus), *menaigte*, g. inchiare, Ml. 71d 4; ***mesraigim**, tempero, *mani mesraigea*, Ml. 46c 15; **múnigim**, g. mingo (*mún*, urina), Sg. 174a 2; ***nuallaigim** (*nuall*), *nu*[*a*]*llaigem*, g. ploremus, Ml. 114d 3; ***ollaigim**, amplico (*oll*, magnus), *ollaigthe*, g. amplicá, Ml. 70c 7; **réchtaigim**, g. lego (*recht*, lex), Sg. 60b 16; **conasarcagim**, g. condilector (*serc*, amor), Wb. 3d 9; ***sétaigim**, vior (*sét*, via), *innani sétaigte*, g. viantium, Ml. 82d 4; ***slánaigim**, *slán* (salvus), *sldnaigthe*, g. osanna, Ml. 25b 2; **sulbi**[**rigim**], eloquens sum (*sulbair*, eloquens), Wb. 12d 10; ***tírmaigim**, sicco (*tirim*, siccus), *cothirmaigid*, g. ut exsiccet, Ml. 44d 8; *tosngachtaigimse*, g. pendo, Ml. 79a 9, cf. 78c 3; **trebairigim**, g. sapio (*trebair*, sapiens, callidus), Sg. 146b 16, cf. Pcr. 57b 6; **ualligim**, g. arrogo (*uallach*, superbus), Sg. 22b 2; ***forúaisligim** (*úasal*, altus), *ni foruaisligemni*, g. non superextendimus nos, Wb. 17b 17.

[1] The glossator connects *obsero* with *sera*; cf. Sg. 183b 3. In Pcr. 57b 2 *obsero* is rightly explained by *frisdúnaim*.

2. The Irish Hymns.[1]

Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
cluiniur.	
subj. sg. 3. *rodamchloathar*,[2] vii. 61.	
cuiriur.	
to-cuiriur,[3] vii. 42.	
pret. pl. 3. *fordacorsatar*, v. 66.	
fetar.	
sg. 3. *fitir*, vi. 7.	
***gainiur.**	
perf. sg. 3. *génair*, ii. 1, 68.	
adgládur.	
pret. sg. 3. *adgládastar*, ii. 48.	
labrur.	
subj. sg. 3. *rodomlabrathar*, vii. 59.	
moiniur.	
pres. ind. pl. 3. *admunemmar*, iii. 1; cf. v. 98, 99.	
perf. sg. 3. *roménair*, ii. 67.	

[1] Stokes, *Goidelica*,[2] 121 sq.; *Tripartite Life of Patrick*, cxi., cxii., 48, 404, 426; Windisch, *Irische Texts*, i. 1 sq.; Zimmer, *Keltische Studien*, i. 5 sq., ii. 160 sq.; *Zeitschr. f. deutsches Alterthum*, xxxv. 72; Thurneysen, *Rev. Celt.* vi. 326 sq. These are traditionally ascribed to several authors, from St. Patrick's time down to the eighth century. For one of them, Fiacc's hymn (ii.), Thurneysen has shown (*l.c.*) that its language is later than the language of the glosses. He points to *asbert* for *asrubart*, *dobert* for *doratad*, and the absolute forms of the preterite *gabais*, etc. Such an absolute *leicsi* is found in a later addition to the Milan glosses; the formation is common in Tirechan's notes in the Book of Armagh; it probably arose from the suffixation of a pronoun, e.g. *áli-s* from (*ro-*)*áli*. Another new formation in this hymn is the absolute secondary present *foaid* 'he used to sleep' to *foad*. This is clearly a new analogical formation, like the absolute *gabsit* to *rogabsat*. The language of the other hymns is of the same kind; they may be put, for the most part at least, in the latter part of the eighth or in the ninth century. St. Patrick's hymn (vii.) is, however, probably considerably older; if Stokes (*Trip. Life*, ci.) be right, it falls before the Milan glosses. The verbal forms in it are too few to furnish a sufficient basis for comparison. In the Liber Hymnorum is added the *Amra Choluimb Chille*, but this is a document of a different sort, written in a purposely obscure and affected style, and evidently not nearly so old as it professes to be; cf. the forms *clunes* 5, *sexus* 57, *cuillsius* 102, *cluidsius* 119, etc., *desestar* 120 (=O. Ir. *dessid*), *congein* 128, *atgaill* 123, *dorumeoin* 108, *dringthier* 68.

[2] Rawl. B. 512 (Goidelica, 153) has the corruption *rodomcluinedar*.

[3] This form is preserved in Rawl. L. Hy. has *to-cuirius*. Apart from other considerations the sense requires a present.

Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.

-tluchur.

ipv. sg. 2. *atlaigthe*, ii. 49.
pret. sg. 3. *dotlu[ch]estar*, v. 47.

dúthraccar.

s. fut. sg. 3. *midúthrastar*,[1] vii. 39.

The dep. subj. of *-ciu* is found in *nomdercædar*, vii. 60; the pret. *sia[ss]air*, v. 1. Deponent, 3 sg. s. pret. *sénastar*, v. 45 (but *sénais*, v. 39); *rodglinnestar*, v. 45, *noconmillestar*, v. 46; *aridralastar*,[2] ii. 47; cf. v. 75.

Isolated deponent forms are *timadar*[3] (l. *temadar*) 'may he protect,' i. 2; *ronfeladar* 'may he cover us,' i. 1; *rontolomar*[4] 'may we please him,' i. 35; *rodomscrútadar*, vii. 48, Rawl. (*immimrorda*, L. Hy.).

From *-ag-*, *-ig-* verbs.

Deponent, *nochosnagur*, v. 105; *cathaigestar*, iii. 3.
Active, *samaiges*, ii. 55; *tathich*, v. 57.

3. Cormac's Glossary.[5]

In the first class of verbs the deponent forms are well preserved.

[1] R. has the pres. *midúthracair*.

[2] In ii. 47 Stokes translates 'set him in motion'; in v. 75 doubtfully by 'wrought' (connecting it with *láaim* 'throw,' 'put'?). The nearest parallel I have noted is *conarlastar úade na dorsaide*, Windisch, Wb. 374[a].

[3] A deponent ipv. is found in Cormac's Glossary *emhde* (=*eimide*, Laws, iv. 32. 23); cf. *temathar* .i. *dítnither*, H. 3. 18, p. 651 (Stokes).

[4] Cf. *ratholathar* 'pleased,' LL. 171[a] 3.

[5] The *Leabhar Breace* version of this work (Br.), with the fragment from the Book of Leinster (L.), has been published by Stokes in his Three Irish Glossaries. In the Transactions of the Philological Society, 1891-2-3, 149 sq., he has published the fragment contained in Laud 610, Bodleian Library (B.), with readings from the complete copy in the Yellow Book of Lecan (Y), and a fragment in Harl. 5280, British Museum. Through the kindness of Mr. Stokes I have been enabled to use his transcript of the Book of Lecan for the earlier part of the Glossary not included in the latter publication. The old forms have been much better preserved in Y. than in Br., as a few examples will show:—*doimurg*, Y.; *timairgeas*, Br. s.v. *anforbracht*; *timchell*, Y.; *timchelles*, Br. s.v. *Coire Brecain*; *doe*, Y.; *doit*, Br. s.v. *deach*. With regard to the date of the work, it is traditionally ascribed to the King-bishop Cormac of Cashel †903. Stokes, Three Irish Glossaries xviii., thinks that the greater part of it was written, "if not in the time of Cormac, at least within a century or so after his death." In his edition of the Bodleian fragment he now holds that its language proves that it was written not much before the eleventh

Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
cluiniur.	
ipv. sg. 2. *cluinnte*, s.v. *auchaide*, Y.	
cuiriur.	
pres. ind. sg. 3. *docuiredar*, *docuirethar*.[1] [2]	
pret. sg. 3. *docorustair*, happened, s.v. *prull*.	
fetar.	
s. subj. sg. 3. *cinifiastar*, s.v. *parn*.	
ipv. sg. 2. *fintæ*, s.v. *orc*.	
finnta, s.v. *emhde*.	
***gainiur.**	
pres. ind. sg. 3. *genither* 'is born,' s.v. *Buanand*, *gein ṅgainethar*, L. (*geness*, Br.) 'a creature which is born,' s.v. *turigin*, *genethur*, Y. (*genes* no *genit*[*h*]*er*, Br.), s.v. *diuthach*.	
pl. 3. *geniter*, s.v. *Emuin*.	
perf. s.g. *roghenair*, s.v. *Cormac*.	
ad-gládur.	
pres. ind. sg. 3. *nitaicelladar* 'does not address thee,' B. (*nitaicelfe* 'will not address thee,' Br.), s.v. *prull*.	
ipv. sg. 2. *atomglaitese*, B. (*nomacellsi*, Br.) 'address me,' ib., *nahacaldai*, B. ib.	

century. Zimmer, *Nennius Vindicatus* 89; cf. *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum* 118–120, holds the view that the work was written by Cormac and "erfuhr unter einem Nachfolger Cormac's (Brian) zwischen 1001 und 1014 eine Neuausgabe, in der es abgesehen von gelegentlichen Zusätzen auf uns gekommen ist." I hope it will become clear in the course of this investigation that the original work cannot have been composed later than, at the latest, in the first half of the tenth century, and that any new edition from which our MSS. may have come, must have preserved very faithfully the old forms. Modernization of the language is certainly found in the *Leabhar Breacc* version, and, beside the modern form, the old form is often given as a variant, e.g. *airises no arsisedar*, Br. s.v. *cuisnit*: *arsisedar*, Y.; *concnaid no concna*, Br. s.v. *imbas forosnai*: *concna* cett., but how far back this text goes I do not see any means of determining. In other respects, too, Br. differs from the other text. It is to be noted that in the Irish interpretations of Latin phrases we find late forms, as s.v. *apstal* .i. *ab posdulo* .i. *ad dominum posdulo* .i. *tóchurimm*, where, corresponding to the language of the bulk of the work, we should expect *dochuiriur*. Here we can hardly avoid the conclusion that we have to deal with later additions.

[1] *docuiredar* (*docuirethar*, Br.) *cachai ituaimm aroli*, s.v. *Coire Brecain*; *docuiredar iaram forsin choire* 'lights upon the cauldron,' ib. Y.; *bóle docuirethar for aigid duine* 'a swelling which comes on the face of a man,' s.v. *ferb*, Br.; Y. has *docuirethar induine fora gruadaibh* 'which a man gets upon his cheeks'; *tocuirethar*, LL.; *docuirethar*, Y., springs (with ellipsis of *bedg*, of which we shall have more examples), s.v. *taurthat*.

[2] s.v. *cartit*, Y. has *aracuiretar*, but as *coss* is nom. a pass. is required, *foracurt*[*h*]*ar*, Stokes after Br.

	Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
pret. sg. 3.	*cein cotnaiclestar*, s.v. *lethech.*	
	adgladastar, s.v. *prull.*	

midiur.

pres. ind. sg. 1.	*fortomidiur* (in quotation), s.v. *laith.*	
	admidiur (in quotation), s.v. *mann.*	
perf. sg. 3.	*romidair, romidir*, s.v. *anair.*	
	dorumidir, s.v. *laith.*	
s. fut. sg. 2.	*mesir* (in quotation), s.v. *segamla.*	

sissiur.

pres. ind. sg. 3.	*arsisedar*, Y. (*airises*, Br.) 'rests on,' s.v. *aursa.*	
	arsisedar, Y. (*airises no arsisedar*, Br.), s.v. *cuisnit.*[1]	
	arsisedar, s.v. *defuach*, Y.	

-tluchur.

pres. ind. sg. 1.	*atlocor*, s.v. *arco, dotluchor*, Y. (*tothlugur*, Br.), ib.	

In addition to these may be mentioned a form, *muinethar*,[2] found in quotation. s.v. *fasach* I take *sechid* from *sechim* 'say': *sechid fo seinbreith forsin caingin frecnairc* 'he speaks according to an old judgment in the present case.'

Deponent perfect forms are found in *docoemnacair* 'happened,' s.v. *orc* and *immoscoemarcair* 'asked them,' s.v. *prull.*

From verbs originally deponent active forms are found in *nilabra reil* (*labrur*) 'he does not speak clearly,' s.v. *brinda*, and in *ammolas* 'when he praises' (*molur*), s.v. *fili*, Y. (*amolad*, Br.). From both of these verbs, as we have seen, active forms are found in the Milan Glosses.

From *-ag-*, *-ig-* verbs.

Deponent forms are found in *galuigedar*[3] 'boils,' Y., s.v.

[1] In the same gloss Br. has for the sg. *forsanairisethar in dálaige*, Y., the pl. *forsanairisetar in dálaigi*. The sg. suits the latter part of the gloss better.

[2] s.v. *ebron:ebrón imamuinethar meirg* .i. *imatimcella meirg* 7 *immanith* 'which rust surrounds and eats.' Br. has the obviously inferior reading *ebrón imamuintear* (.i. *imatimchella*) *meirg* 7 *ima*[*n*]*ith*. Mr. Stokes, taking *imatimchella* as the translation of *immamuinethar*, suggests that *muinethar* means 'goes' √*men Urkeltischer Sprachschatz* 208; cf. *diutomna*, g. *diati*, LU. 67ª 25. If this be so we may compare with *muinethar* in form *fuinethar* in the artificial language of the Dialogue of the Two Sages, *ifuinethar gó* .i. *ifescrigend gó* 'in which lying sets,' LL. 186ᵇ 43. But whether *imatimchella* is intended to be the exact explanation of *immamuinethar* is rendered doubtful by *immelous luinethar* .i. *immatimchella suilse* 'which light surrounds,' s.v. *loes.*

[3] *fo cosmailess ngaluigedar coire mbis for tein* 'as a cauldron boils that is on the fire.'

Coire Brecain, *nemthigedar* 'that dignifies' (in quot.), s.v. *nith*, *connoenaigedar*,[1] s.v. Turigen, Y., *rorathaigestar*, s.v. *lethech*.

Active forms in *roainmnigset*, s.v. *ness*, *cumachtaigsium*, Y. (*cumachtaigsim*, Br.), s.v. *diancecht*, *deochraigas*, Y., s.v. *anair*, *rosuidigset*, s.v. *Emuin*, *dosuidigset*, Y. (*rosuidestar*, Br.), s.v. *gall*, *tirmaiges*, Y., s.v. *croicend*, *urdarcaigim*, s.v. *celebrad*.

4. Old Heroic Texts.

Audacht Morainn[2] (LL. 293[a]–294[b] 3).

Deponent Forms. Active Forms.

***búriur**, roar.

pres. ind. sg. 3. *búredar*, 294[b] 2.

***ciallur.**

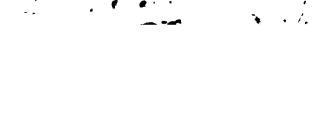
pres. ind. sg. 3. *arusciallad*ar,[4] 293[b] 43.

[1] Br. has the passive form *conoenaigter*, but an original deponent form is more likely to have been corrupted than an original passive. L. and Br. have a different text.

[2] Most of these texts are taken from the *Leabhar na h-Uidhri* (LU.) and the Book of Leinster (LL.): one or two come from the Yellow Book of Lecan (Lc.), which, though of later date, contains ancient texts carefully copied, in which the old forms are well preserved. I should have liked to draw upon Lc. to a greater extent, but the long delay in the publication of the facsimile has made that impossible. The probable antiquity of some of these tales has been discussed by Zimmer, KZ. xxviii. 426–444, Zeitschrift f. deutsches Alterthum, xxxii. 229–239, xxxiii. 129 sq., xxxv. 1 sq., and by Pflugk-Hartung, Rev. Celt. xiii. 170 sq., with very different conclusions. It is vain to attempt to fix the date at which these texts assumed practically their present form until the language in which they are composed has been fully investigated, of course with due consideration of any historical or archæological evidence. The fact that the deponent flourishes here will help to fix an inferior limit. The *Táin Bó Cuailnge*, *Togal Bruidne Dá Derga*, *Tochmarc Etáine*, *Serglige Conculaind*, and *Fled Bricrend* have been analysed by Zimmer, KZ. xxviii. Zimmer's composition theory has been acutely criticised for the *Togal Bruidne Dá Derga*, by Nettlau, Rev. Celt. xii., xiii., and for the *Táin*, Rev. Celt. xiv., xv. In the following lists the addition of (v.) signifies that the form is found in verse; of (r.) that it occurs in one of those difficult rhythmical declamations which are so indicated on the side of the MS.

[3] Of this ancient and difficult text I have a good version from the Yellow Book of Lecan (Y.) and H. 2. 7, T.C.D. (H.) (the Y. text I copied in haste and in a very bad light, and some parts of it I had no time to decipher, but it is the same as H. 2. 7); another version from R.I.A. 23, N. 27 (A.) (written apparently in 1713, with a copious interlinear gloss) and R.I.A. 23, N. 10 (B.) (the two texts are almost identical), and abbreviated copies from LL. 346 (L[2].), and R.I.A. 23, N. 27 (A[2].), written in 1714. The language of the text is very ancient; among other things we still find initial *ml* for later *bl*, as the alliteration shows—*is tre fir flatha messrada móra for fedaib ata manna millsi mlassaigter:* here L. has *blassaigter*, L[2]. *blaissetar*, but Y. has *mblaissetar*, similarly H., *mblasethar*, B., *mblaisighther*, A.

[4] The meaning is not clear to me. H. has *arisciallatar*, A[2]. *aris ciallathar*; the word does not appear in A., B., or L[2].



Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.

con-óim, preserve.

subj. sg. 3. *conoadar*, 293[b] 2 (*conofasom*, H., Y.).

fut. sg. 3. *cotnofadar*, Y., H.; *cotnofathar*, B.; *cotnofaither*, A.; *cotnóba*, L. 293[a] 2.

cotnofadar, Y.; *codanodfhathar*, A[1]. ; *cotnóba*, L. 294[b] 11; *cotnoaba*, 294[b] 21 (not in other texts).

cuiriur.

pres. ind. sg. 3. *docuredar*, L[2]. 346[b] 5, Y., H.

subj. sg. 3. *coradar*, 294[a] 1; *nicorathar*, Y., H.; *ni cuirethar*, A.[1]

fetar.

s. subj. sg. 3. *fiastar*, A., B.

follnur.

pres. ind. sg. 3. *follnadar*, 294[b] 8; *follnathar*, Y., H.

***folamur.**

subj. sg. 2. *arafolmaider*,[2] (?), 293[a] 44.

midiur.

pres. ind. sg. 1. *atamidiur*, 294[b] 15.[3]

s. fut. sg. 3. *admestar*, 239[a] 24,[4] etc.

From *-ciu* subj. *iarmamdecedar*, Y., H. (=*iarmodecai*, L. 293[b] 42, similarly A., A[2], B.).

Active forms of deponent verbs are found in *nosseichfe*[5] 'will follow,' L[2]. 346[a] 50, and *cluines*, Y.,[6] H.

Verbs in *-ag-*, *-ig-*.

cotomécnigedar 'compels me,' 294[b] 16 (*cotamsignighther*, A[2].), *fossaigedar*, 293[b] 22 (*fosaiges*, Y., H.), *maithighder*, Y., *mathigdir*, H. (leg. *mathigedar*=*mathiges*, L. 294[a] 21), *huasligethar*, B. (*huaisligther*, A.), *tathigedar*, H.

[1] Under the influence of the indicative, cf. p. 9, note.

[2] So *arafolmither*, B., *arabfolmuighter fasach* with the gloss 7 *follamhnaigh no follamhnaighther an fiss óghsa*, A.; *adfollnathar* with different text Y., H.

[3] The same phrase is found in A., A[2]., B., but in a different connection.

[4] *admestar dúle dúlemon* 'he shall judge the creatures of the Creator.' The glossator seems to have misunderstood the passage; he interprets *mestair duile a dhuilæmhuin* 'the creature shall judge its Creator.' In l. 26 L. has wrongly the nom. *talam*, so A. *admestar asa toirthuibh talamh*, but B. *atmestar asa lantorath talmain*.

[5] This text shows other later forms. It is curious how *sechur* has vanished in the profane literature.

[6] *Fobuan bithsuthain sirfirflatheman suithe cluines comad mo chosc iarmotha sunn* in passage corresponding to *cluined mo chosc iarmothd sund*, L. 293[a] 47.

Táin Bó Fráich (LL. 248ª—252ᵇ).

Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
águr.	
pres. ind. sg. 1. *altagur*, 249ᵇ 41.	
cluiniur.	
pres. ind. sg. 3. *rochluinethar*, 250ᵇ 37.	
cuiriur.	
pres. ind. sg. 3. *docuirethar*, 250ª 47.	
pret. sg. 3. *docoratar*(happened), 248ª 24.	
co corastar, 250ᵇ 49.	
adgládur.	
pres. ind. sg. 3. *adgladar*,[1] 249ª 52.	
pl. 3.	*immosnacaillet*, 250ª 6.
subj. pl. 1.	*conacaldam*, 252ª 4.
-cíu.	
subj. pl. 1. *conaccamar*, 250ª 14; cf. 19.	
3. *condaccatar*, 251ª 17.	

Verbs in *-ag-*, *-ig-*.

Deponent—*roairigestar*, 250ª 27, *nadánairigmer*, 249ᵇ 12.

Scél Muicce Maic Datho[2] (LL. 111ᵇ—114ª).

adgládur.

subj. sg. 1. *corotacilliur*, 112ᵇ 47.

esur.

subj. sg. 2. *cenconessara*,[3] 112ª 23.

labrur.

subj. sg. 3. *cenco labradar* (v.), 112ª 26.

Deponent perf. *ní damair* (v.) 'did not grant,' 114ª 32.

[1] It would be easy to correct to *adgladadar*, but the same form is found elsewhere, e g. *adngladar*, Ml. 53ᶜ 17, and the question might be raised whether we have not dissimilation. On the other hand *adgladadar* is found, Ml. 115ª 6, LU. 120ª 14.

[2] This ancient tale has been edited by Windisch, *Irische Texte*, i. 93 *sq.*, with variants from H. 3, 18, T.C.D. and Harleian, 5280 Brit. Mus.

[3] On such subjunctive forms see Zimmer, KZ. xxviii. 342 sq.

Verbs in *-ag-*.

Deponent *nombertaigedar* 'he shakes himself,' 112[a] 43, *rodmbertaigedar*,[1] 113[b] 11, *rombertaigestar*, 113[b] 7.

Active *rofhuachtnaig*, 112[b] 13.

Longes Mac n-Usnig (LL. 259[b]–261[b]).[2]

DEPONENT FORMS. ACTIVE FORMS.

ad-águr.

pres. ind. sg. 3. *adnaigethar*[3] (v.), 259[b] 25.

beccim.

pret. sg. 3. *beccestar* (v.), 259[b] 32, 33.

***buriur.**

pres. ind. sg. 3. *búrithar* (*burethar*, Lc.), 259[b] 37.

cluiniur.

pres. ind. sg. 3. *cluinethar*[4] (v.), 259[b] 24.

ipv. sg. 2. *cluintise* (v.), 259[b] 49.

***derdrur**, roar.

pres. ind. sg. 3. *derdrethar* (v.), 259[b] 23.

pret. sg. 3. *roderdrestar*, 259[b] 43.

***gainiur.**

perf. sg. 3. *rogenair*, 259[b] 45.

samlur.

pres ind. sg. 1. *samlamdr*[5] (v.), 259[b] 34.

Verbs in *-ag-*.

Deponent *crechtnaigedar* (v.), 259[b] 26.

[1] Better *nodbertaigedar*, Harl.

[2] Edited by Windisch, *Irische Texte*, i. 59 *sq.* with variants from the Yellow Book of Lecan, and Egerton, 1782 Brit. Mus.

[3] *mór n-uath adnaigethar mo chride crechtnaigedar cruaid* 'great horror which my heart fears that the steel (?) wounds.' Eg. has the passive forms *ataanaigthar* and *crechtnaigthar*, a common kind of error. Lc. has the deponent forms, but *crechtnaigethar*.

[4] *cluasaib cluinethar glaim*. We should, perhaps, read *cluinetar*, and translate 'ears which hear.'

[5] Eg. has introduced the active *samluimse* 'I compare.' Deponent forms of this verb are rare in these texts except in the ipv. *samuille*. An example is found in a poem, LL. 145[b], *fritotsamlor* 'I compare thee,' ll. 4, 8, by the side of *frissamlaim*, 3, 7, 9, 10.

Táin Bó Regamain.[1]

	Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
	adágur.	
pres ind. sg. 1.	*adagar* 'I fear,' 37, 48.	
pl. 1.	*atagumar*, Eg. 42.	
	fetar.	
sg. 1.	*rofhedar*, 15 (*rofetamur*, Eg.).	
	adgládur.	
pres. ind. pl. 3.	*adgladatar*, Eg. 39.	
	immusnacallatar, 12.	
subj. pl. 1.	*conarladmar*, 42.	
s. fut. pl. 3.	*adglaasmarni*,[2] 49.	
	con-midiur.	
s. fut. pl. 1.	*conmessamar*,[3] Eg. 38.	
	sissiur.	
pres. ind. sg. 3.	*imasisedar*,[4] 57.	
pl. 1.	*fobsisemarni* 'we stand by you,' 42, 53.	

Táin Bó Regamna.[5]

cluiniur.		
subj. pl. 1.	*cluinem*, 40 (*cluinium*, Eg.).	
cuiriur.		
pret. sg. 3.	*conid corustair*, 4.	
adgládur.		
pres. ind. sg. 2.	*adgladaitheru*, 27 (Eg. corrupts into *atgladaigtheru*).	

[1] Edited by Windisch, *Irische Texte*, ii. 2, 224 sq. from the Yellow Book of Lecan, and Egerton, 1782.

[2] In Lc. 41 occurs *conarlasar inni*, which, as the corresponding Eg. text, *connarlaidid inna macco* 'that ye may address the youths,' shows, must mean 'that ye may address him.' *Arlásar* for *arldsid* is an analogical formation to *arlásamar arlásatar*. Cf. *athgenair* 'ye recognise,' *Irische Texte*, ii. 1, 176. This form of the 2 pres. pl. did not succeed in establishing itself, *-bair* prevailing instead.

[3] This form supports my view of *coimmestar*, Ml. 127[a] 19. Windisch, as I see now, also suggests connection with *commus* 'power.' Lc. has *conisamar*; *coniccim* is regularly active.

[4] *imasisedar doib* 'sie bleiben zusammen stehen,' an impersonal use of the deponent. Cf. *immasínithar dóib*, LU. 60[a] 3.

[5] Edited by Windisch, *Irische Texte*, ii. 2, 239 sq., from the Yellow Book of Lecan and Egerton, 1782.

Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
adgladithersu 34 (*atgladaigthersu*, Eg.).	
3. *adomgladathar* 26[1]; cf. 30, *nimacalladar*,[2] Eg. 30).	

labrur.

pres. ind. sg. 3. *aralabradar*, 28.

Deponent preterite *diuchrastair* 'awoke,' 3.

Fled Bricrend 7 Loinges Mac n-Duil ṅ-Dermait.[3]

adágur.

pres. ind. pl. 1. *nitaghamar* 'we fear thee not,' 199.

cuiriur.

pres. ind. sg. 3. *doscurethar*, 126.
pl. 3. *doscuiretar bedc*, 53.
pret. sg. 3. *cotochrastar* 'so that it alighted,' 259.

fetar.

sg. 1. *nifetar*, 186.
2. *infetarsu*, 156; cf. 135, *infetarais*,[4] 203.
s. fut. sg. 1 *roessur*, 157.
s. subj. sg. 2. *cofesar*, 106.

adgládur.

pres. ind. sg. 1. *adgladursa*, 231.
3. *atagladad*[*ar*], 217.
atinglædar,[5] 198.
pret. sg. 2. *adrogailser*,[6] 231.
3. *atgladastar*, 110.

[1] Eg. has *atumgladatar*, which is to be corrected with Windisch to *atumgladathar*; cf. *atomgladathar* in the following line.

[2] Lc. is here corrupt.

[3] Edited by Windisch from the Yellow Book of Lecan, *Irische Texte*, ii. 1, 164 sq.

[4] A Mid. Ir. new formation for *fetar*.

[5] As to a possible *adgladar*, see p. 52, note. It is impossible to regard *æ* here as anything but a blunder, due perhaps to association in the writer's mind with *glaidim* 'I shout.'

[6] On the pret. stem *ad-ro-glās-* cf. Thurneysen, KZ. xxviii. 151 sq.; xxxi. 99 sq.

Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.

samlur.

ipv. sg. 2. *samailte lat*, 87.
samailtsiu (sic), 80.

sissiur.

pres. ind. sg. 3. *arsisethar* (MS. *-star*), 48.
pl. 3. *arsisetar*, 17.
subj. pl. 1. *ardanesamar* 'we will support them,' 44.
Isolated form *condarlaithir*[1] 'dass du sie triffst,' 204.
Deponent pret. *romarastar*[2] 'remained,' 272.

Togail Bruidne Da Derga (LU. 83[a]–99[a]).

águr.[3]

pres. ind. sg. 3. *atágethar*, 87[b] 24.

***búriur.**

pres. ind. pl. 3. *búrit*, 95[b] 30.

***ciallur.**

pres. ind. sg. 3. *ciallathar* (v.), 91[a] 4.

cluiniur.[4]

pres. ind. sg. 1. *rocluiniur*, 85[a] 15.

cuiriur.

pres. ind. sg. 3. *docuirethar* (*bedg*), 87[a] 30; cf. 85[a] 41, *docorethar*,[5] 92[b] 1, *toscuirethar*, 85[b] 14, *tacurethar*, 84[a] 27. } *dichuirid*, 97[b] 27.

pl. 3. *toscuretar* (MS. *toscurethar*), *bedg*, 86[b] 38. } *imdacuiret*, 87[b] 20.

fetar.

pres. ind. sg. 1. *ni hetar*, 82[a] 27, *rosfetar*, 93, 11.
fetur,[6] 85[b] 4, 92[a] 26, etc.

[1] Cf. *tarlathar*, p. 62.
[2] This verb in the Glosses and elsewhere is regularly active; deponent forms are found in the Laws, ii. 316, l. 18, *mad marathar*, 338, l. 18, *muna marathar*.
[3] *nisndigsimmis*, of the facsimile 85[b] 25, should doubtless be *nisndigfimmis*.
[4] Pres. sec. *roclótis*, 85[a] 13, fut. sec. pass. *rocechlastai*, 88[b] 24.
[5] *innan-dath n-ecsamail docorethar fair*; cf. 92[a] 26, *indat ilgné docuirthir infolt fair*. The pres. sec. is *docorad*, 85[b] 14.
[6] This form of *fetur*, with *-ur* from the present deponential ending, is common in these texts. So *nifetorsa*, Irish Notes in the Book of Armagh, 11.

Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
ipv. sg. 2. *fintai*, 92^{b} 37.	
s. subj. pl. 3. *rofessatár*, 87^{a} 9.	
adgládur.	
pret. sg. 3. *ataraglastar* .i. *roaicill*, 86^{a} 17.	
labrur.	
pres. ind. sg. 3.	*intan labras*, 88^{b} 25.
laimur.	
pres. ind. sg. 1.	*ní laimim*,[1] 98^{b} 9.
3. *ní lomethar*, 95^{a} 11,	
pl. 3, *fólóimetár*, 95^{a} 10.	
samlur.	
ipv. sg. 2. *samailte*, 85^{b} 4, 18, 86^{b} 13, *samailti*, 87^{b} 21.	*samail*, 93^{a} 11, 94^{a} 5.
sissiur.	
pres. ind. sg. 3. *tairissedar*, 89^{a} 3.	
tairisethar, 95^{b} 23.	
***tuigiur** 'cover.'[2]	
pres. ind. sg. 3. *imdatuigethar*,[2] 95^{b} 25.	
Deponent perfect, *dochoemnacair*, 98^{a} 28.	
Verbs in *-ag-*, *-ig-*.	
Deponent, *nodaiamaigetar*[3] ('place'), 90^{a} 27.	
Active, *cressaigthi* ('shakes it'), 89^{a} 28, *cressaigthe*, 95^{a} 36, *rataiges* (l. *rathaiges* 'marked'), 83^{b} 15.	

Flight of Etáin (LU. 129).

cuiriur.	
pret. sg. 3. *condacorastár*, 129^{a} 15.	

[1] In a version professedly taken from another source; it also contains *rolen* for earlier *rolil*.

[2] Cf. *ardatugethar* 'which covers him,' LU. 81^{a} 11 = LL. 78^{b} 32; in a similar description, LL. 120^{a} 47, *ratuigedar*; in a quotation in Cormac's Glossary. s.v. *Turigen*, *nitulach fri tuirigin tuigethar tuile mar muirne*, which may mean 'not a hill for a king whom a great flood of spears covers'; cf. Stokes, Trans. Phil. Soc. 1891–3, pt. i. 194.

[3] On analogy of the dep., *rodligestár*, 83^{a} 12, as in Ml.; other dep. preterites *rofersatár*, 97^{b} 42; *immaidítnestár*, 98^{b} 42.

Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.

muiniur.

pres. ind. sg. 1. *domuiniur*, 129^{b} 8.

sissiur.

pres. ind. sg. 3. *assisedar* (= *ad*+*s*°), 129^{a} 36.

Tochmarc Etáine (LU. 129^{b}–130^{b}).

-tluchur.

pret. sg. 3. *atlaigestár*, 130^{b} 17.[1]

Deponent perf. *ní ardámair*, 130^{a} 5.

Verbs in *-ag-*, *-ig-*, *budigthe* (pres. sg. 3), 130^{b} 17, *cairigius*, 129^{b} 44, *ráthaigis*, 130^{a} 13.

Tochmarc Etáine (LU. 129^{b}–132).

cluiniur.

pres. ind. sg. 3. *clunithar* (r.), 132. 8.

cuiriur.

subj. sg. 2. *cuire*, 131. 7.
tochre (r.), 132. 7.

ipv. sg. 2. *cuirthe* (r.), 132. 7.

***fo-ciallur.**

pret. sg. 3. *fochiallastar* .i. *rotinóil*, 132. 16.

Deponent perf. *dámair*,[2] 132. 1.

Deponent pret. *atraigestar*, 131. 15.

***gainiur.**

fut. sg. 3. *dogignestár do menma*, 131. 19.

Táin Bó Cúailnge[3] (LU. 55–82, LL. 53^{b}–104^{b}).

águr, *do-águr*.

pres. ind. sg. 1. *atágur*, LU. 75^{a} 30.

[1] In other LU. texts not given apart here *tothlaigestar*, 128^{b} 7 (Compert Conculaind), *atlugestar*, 133^{a} 18 (Scél Mongain); *addámir*, 133^{a} 19, *atdámuir*, 133^{b} 2. An isolated dep. pret. *eissistir* .i. *iarfaigis* 'asked,' 134^{b} 10.

[2] There is a marked contrast between the LU. and the LL. texts in their treatment of verbs originally deponent. In the LU. version the deponent inflexion is well preserved; in the LL. version deponent forms are hardly found

	Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
sg. 3.	*atotágathar* (v.), LU. 57ᵇ 5.	
	ardattágadar (v.), LL. 57ᵇ 29.	
	nagathar 'who does not fear' (v.), LL. 95ᵃ 34.	
	níttágadar,[1] 73ᵇ 9.	
pl. 1.	**itagammar**, LL. 56ᵃ 10.	
	intí tagammar, LL. 57ᵇ 47.	
3.	*inimdigetarsa* 'do they fear me,' LU. 67ᵃ 32.	
subj. sg. 2.	*ni agither*, LU. 64ᵃ 14.	
	***airliur.**	
subj. sg. 3.	*conairlither*, LU. 73ᵃ 27.	
	***búriur.**	
pres. ind. sg. 3.	*búrethar* (r.), LU. 66ᵇ 29.	
fut. pl. 3.		*comburfet*, LL. 100ᵃ 31.
	cluiniur.	
pres. ind. sg. 1.	*cluniur* (r.), LU. 66ᵇ 42.	*atchlunim* (r.), LL. 83ᵃ 11. *dochlunim* (r.), LL. 83ᵃ 21.

except in the verb *dgur*, which, as we shall see, remained deponent even in late texts, and in perfects in *-ar*, where the deponent inflexion survived longer than in other parts of the verb. The inference is that LL. represents a later redaction of this popular tale. The evidence of the deponent here supports Nettlau's view of the LL. text. Note also the frequency of verbs in *-aigim*, and of dep. forms in the third persons of the *s* preterite in LL., particularly in the Ferdiad episode, on which see Zimmer's remarks, Zeitschrift f. Deutsches Alterthum, xxxii. 302. In LU. verbs in *-aigim* are rare, as are dep. forms of the *s* pret. The passage in which these latter most occur, p. 79, agrees verbally with the LL. text, and conveys the impression that it is a later addition. Properly the LL. version of the Táin should have been put with other heroic tales in which the deponent inflexion has been lost, but it has been kept here for the sake of contrast with LU. For the most part, forms on the right-hand side of the page come from LU.; those on the left-hand side from LL. Active forms from LU. and deponent forms from LL. are printed in thick type.

[1] *nitcharadar níttágadar* 'he loves thee not, he fears thee not,' where *-caradar* is used for the usual *-cara* for the sake of the jingle, like Gr. φιλοῦμαι καὶ χαίρομαι, φέγγομαι καὶ πέρδομαι. In the corresponding passage, LU. 70ᵃ 43 has the unintelligible *nachitaiss nachitchara*. Considering the Irish fondness for alliteration one might emend *nachitchaiss nachitchara* 'who hates thee not, who loves thee not'; there might be a verb **cassim* connected with *caiss* 'hatred.' Eg. 93 (Rev. Celt. xiv. 258) has the apparently corrupt *nachatarathar nachatairithear*.

	Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
sg. 3.	*rochlunethar*, LU. 61ª 27; cf. 61ᵇ 10, 82ᵇ 20.	*rarcluin* (r.), LL. 83ª 21.
subj. pl. 1.		*clunemni*, LL. 82ª 5.
3.		*nácoclórat*,[1] LL. 95ª 18.
ipv. sg. 2.	*cluinte* (r.), LU. 66ᵇ 38.	
fut. pl. 3.		*conceechlafat*,[2] LL. 61ª 41; cf. 64ª 42.
	cobraim 'I help.'	
pres. ind. sg. 1.	**nachatchobrathar** (v.) 'it helps thee not,' LL. 84ª 42.	
pret. sg. 3.	**cobrastar**, LL. 87ᵇ 34.	
	cuiriur.	
pres. ind. sg. 1.	*friscuriur*, LU. 57ᵇ 26.	
3.	*docurethar* 'lights upon,' LU. 71ᵇ 10.	*'ɔcuirend*, LL. 78ᵇ 33.
	tocurethar (with ellipsis of *bedg*) 'springs,' LU. 63ᵇ 23.	
	focuirethar, LL. 59, l. 47.	
	fochuridar,[3] LL. 73ᵇ 49.	
pl. 3.		*curit*, LL. 96ª 25.
subj. sg. 2.		**cuire** (as ipv.), LU. 58ª 17.
	cocorastar, LU. 59ᵇ 32.[4]	*dicuris*, LL. 62ᵇ 27.
pret. sg. 3.	*dochorastár*, LU. 65ª 41; cf. 82ª 13.	*rochuir*, LL. 60ª 13. *rachuir*, LL. 73ᵇ 24.
	tocorastár, LU. 70ª 10.	*ratchuir*, LL. 102ᵇ 15.
fut. sg. 3.		*ɔcurfe* (v.), LL. 56ª 48. **immacurfi**, LU. 72ᵇ 4.
	fetar.	
sg. 1.	**rafetursa**, LU. 71ª 1, etc. and LL.	

[1] Cf. on the form p 6, note.

[2] With transition to the *b* future. A simple reduplicated future with act. inflex. *noscechla* is found, LL. 47ª 12, in a poem ascribed to Dallan M. More, the corresponding pass. *cechlaitir*, 47ª 11. Pass., *ɔcechlastar*, 100ª 25.

[3] *fochuridar aúma don chlettin forsin sruth* 'the bronze of the spear lighted (?) on the stream'; cf. LU. 70ᵇ 10, *airm inarrasar anuma don cletiniu* 'the place in which the bronze of the spear rested.'

[4] Does *corodechrastár* belong here, LU. 80ª 14 (the passage is quoted, Windisch, *Wörtb.* 668ª, top of page), where the meaning is not altogether clear? Mr. Stokes suggests that it means 'differed,' comparing *dechor* 'difference.'

	Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
	rafetar, LU. 68ª 33, etc. and LL. 54ᵇ 5, etc.	
	2. **rafetarsu**, LU. 69ᵇ 30; cf. LL. 62ᵇ 44, 65ᵇ 6.	
	3. **niconfitir**, LU. 73ª 12, etc. and LL.	
ipv. sg.	2. *fintassu*, U. 55ᵇ 26.	
fut. sg.	1.	*finnubsa*, LL. 100ᵇ 50.
s. subj. sg.	1. **co fessur**, LL. 68ª 33.	
	pl. 1. *co fessammar*, LU. 58ª 18, 71ª 4.	
	***fochiallur.**	
pres. ind. sg.	3. *fóchiallathar* (r.), LU. 78ª 30.	
	***follnur.**	
pres. ind. sg.	3. *falnathar* (r.), LU. 67ᵇ 4.	
	***gainiur.**	
perf. sg.	3. **rogenair**, LL. 85ᵇ 18.	
fut. sg.	3. *adgignethar*,[1] LU. 68ª 2.	*gigne*, LL. 87ᵇ 35.
	adgládur.	
ipv. sg.	2.	*acallsu*, LL. 70ª 30.
pret. sg.	2.	*raacallais*, LL. 70ᵇ 48, 87ᵇ 29.
	3. *ninarlasair*,[2] LU. 71ª 11.	**argládais**, LU. 78ª 15 = LL. 76ª 40.
	arlastar (rel.), LU. 71ª 40.	
	laimiur.	
pres. ind. sg.	3. *ni laimethar*, LU. 67ª 33.	
pl.	3.	*nalamat*, LL. 72ᵇ 21.
perf. sg.	3. *ní lámair*, LU. 81ª 41, 82ª 33.	
fut. sg.	3. *nocolémaither*, LU. 63ª 15.	

[1] *adgignethar dó cách ní atbath* 'everything that was destroyed shall be made good to him'; cf. *adgeinithir* (sic) 'they are returned,' Laws, ii. 312, l. 24, *aithgin* 'restitution,' ibid. 272, 276, 310, etc.

[2] Cf. p. 55, note: *arlastar* under the influence of the dep. ending *-astar*; cf. *tarrastair*, p. 22.

Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
midiur.	
pres. ind. sg. 3. *midedar* (r.), LU. 66[b] 21.	
perf. sg. 3. *conérrmadair* ('hit'), LU. 73[b] 20.	
damídair, LL. 80[a] 31, 102[b] 24.	
ramídair, LL. 92[a] 49.	
molur.	
pret. sg. 2.	*rosmolais*, LL. 83[a] 24; cf. l. 37.
	maramolais, LL. 83[a] 22.
sissiur.	
pres. ind. sg. 3.	*tarrassaid*, LL. 103[a] 31.
pl. 3. *arsiastar*, LU. 59[a] 29.	
subj. sg. 3. (as ipv.), *fasiastar* 'he shall stop,' LU. 71[a] 34.	
ipv. sg. 2.	**airisiu**, LU. 78[b] 32, LL. 76[b] 38.
dúthraccar.	
sg. 1. *dodúthracar*, LU. 67[a] 29.	
pl. 1. **duthracmar**, LL. 82[a] 9.	
***tuigiur.**	
ardatugethar,[1] LU. 81[a] 11, LL. 78[b] 33.	

Isolated deponent forms—**faichlither**, **congebethar**,[2] LU. 79[a2] 18, 81[a] 30, LL. 77[a] 3, 19; **conidtharlathar**,[4] 'so that it

[1] Cf. p. 57, note.

[2] *Faichlethar cath* (?) (r.), 95[a] 37; cf. *nadfoichledar*, Saltair na Rann, 8050, and *foichlim*, Windisch, Wb.

[3] This form seems to be used impersonally (cf. p. 54), followed by *do*. LU. 79[a] 18 (=LL. 77[a] 18), *focheird a lúrecha . . . . . immó echaib congebethar doib o thul co aurdornd do gáinib*, etc., which seems to amount to 'he throws mailcoats about the horses so that they are covered from forehead to croup with little spears,' etc. Eg. 93 (Rev. Celt. xv. 77) has *lan doghainibh*. LU. 81[a] 29, *cliabinar sróil congebethar dó co barrúachtar a dondfúathroci don dérgi mileta do srol ríg* 'a *cliabinar* (breast-tunic) of silk, so that he is covered to the upper extremity of his *fuathbroc* with the warrior scarlet of the silk of kings.' The literal translation may perhaps be 'there extends to them (him) of.' LL. 79[a] 4 has *condriced*. Cf. *thara úathroig srebhnaidhi sróill sechtair congebhéthir dhóson o thana a thaibh go tiugh a shliasda*, Eg. 93 (Rev. Celt. xv. 77): cf. LL. 77[a] 41. The third passage, *ɔnagebethar ar lúamnairecht lám dó anechtair*, LU. 79[a] 3=LL. 77[a] 3=*conachgebedh ar lúamnibh a lam amaigh anechtair*, Eg., is not clear to me. Active *congeib* 'which extends,' LL. 99[a] 37.

[4] A transitive *airlathar* is found, LU. 71[a] 26, *tdet Lugaid chuci 7 aranairlathar dó inn ingin*, which seems to mean 'let L. go to him and offer (?) him the maiden,' but I have no other examples of such a meaning.

(the spear) lighted,' LL. 73[b] 45 (cf. *cotarla*, 74[a] 37); **conlindfadar**,[1] LL. 102[b] 48, 103[a] 21, *immasinithar*[2]; of *todonethar*, *sligethar*, *nerethar* (r.), LU. 78[a] 27, 28, I can make nothing.

Deponent perfects—LU. *conacémnacair*, 77[a] 33; *conarrasair*, 81[b] 26; *inarrasar*, 70[b] 10; *tarrasair*, 80[a] 39. A further extension by analogy, *imchomarcair* 'he asked,' 62[a] 7; analogical extensions in LL.,[3] **atacœmnacair**, 97[a] 35; **ritacoemnacair**, 97[a] 22; **conarnecar**, 80[a] 21; **ni fœrlangair**, 87[a] 15; **ni arlacair**, 57[a] 2, 69[b] 28; **forromair**, 83[a] 8; **impádar**, 68[b] 21.

Verbs in *-ag-*, *-ig-*.

Deponent LU. *niairigestár*, 69[b] 34; *arigsetar*, 57[b] 17; *cotnéicnigedar*, 61[b] 20; *nonsaraigedar*, 59[a] 26; LL. *radeligetar*, 57[a] 16, *rachomfaicsigestar*,[4] 86[b] 7; *rafeochraigsetar*, 86[b] 6; *goroguasaigsetar*, 86[b] 45; *raruamnaigsetar*, 103[b] 54.[5]

[1] From the context the word seems to mean 'dare,' *cia colindfadar inn óchain mo phoba Chonchobair do thuargain amlaidseo 7 mési imbethaid* 'who shall dare to strike my father Conchobar's "Groaner" in this way, and I alive?'; *cia colinfadhar na balcbriathraso dordda frimsa* 'who shall dare to speak these mighty words to me?' But that is a mere guess, and I have no other instance of the word.

[2] Impersonally *immasinithar dóib* 'they grapple with one another,' LU. 60[a] 3; cf. p. 54, note.

[3] *Atacœmnacair*, *ritacoemnacair* are new formations for the Old and Middle Irish *atachomnaic*, which is also found in the Táin. *Conarnecar ris* 'who met him'; cf. *conarnic*, 75[b] 17. *Nifœrlangair* 'he did not endure,' from *fulangim*. *Ni arlacair* 'he did not permit' from *arleicim*; cf. *ni arlaic*, LL. 73[b] 29. *Forromair* 'he laid' =*forruim* (*fuirmim*). As to *impádar—impádar Cuchulaind friu 7 benais a sé cinnu dib* 'C. turned upon them and cut off their six heads'—I can only suggest that it may be an analogical formation from the 3 pl. *impátar* (LL. 103[a] 28).

[4] Deponent forms are very common in LL. in the third persons of the *s* preterite, and these may be retransformations of active forms.

[5] In LL. deponential forms are exceedingly common in the *s* pret., especially after p. 80, and above all in the Ferdiad episode. In LU. they are most frequent in p. 79, a passage which is found in much the same words in LL. The following list is not exhaustive. LU. *rocarastar*, 72[a] 31; *condacermnastar*, 64[a] 9; *dorétlaistir*, 68[b] 15; *rogabastar*, 79 passim; *roinnisimar*, 58[a] 4. LL. *dalastar*, 63[b] 25 (*raddl*, 64[a] 11); *raérastar*, 81[a] 33; *nirfaemastar*, 74[b] 39; *raeittchestar*, 81[a] 33; *ragabastar*, 72[b] 48, 77 passim, 86 passim, 92[b] 4; *rogésistar*, 61[a] 18; *nirragonastar*, 103[a] 51; *rognuisestar*, 61[a] 18; *rarmarnestar*, 85[b] 19; *romadmastar*, 72[b] 48; *ratmolestar*, 86[b] 21; *ratnascestar*, 86[b] 23; *radestar*, 74[a] 32; *rarepestar*, 81[a] 33; *rosniastar*, 58[a] 40; *rotfnigestar*, 86[b] 20; *darasredestar*, 68[b] 47; *ratregdastar*, 86[b] 22; *tucastar*, 72[a] 34, 103[a] 28; *rosrgnastar*, 63[a] 23; *nardernsamar*, 100[b] 6; *ratasairgsemar*, 100[b] 6; *rabertsatar*, 91[b] 28; *bachomluisetar*, 95[a] 10; *rabulgsetar*, 104[a] 2; *gorachloesetar*, 84[b] 4; *conrochrothsatar*, 98[b] 7; *radamsatar*, 80[a] 40; *gorachomraicsetar*, 86[b] 39; *rachrimsatar*, 80[b] 32; *rafucsatar*, 96[a] 51; *faitsetar*, 91[a] 26; *gorofillsetar*, 86[b] 45; *focherdsetar*, 84[b] 11, 35, cf. 85[b] 40; *gabsatar*, 68[b] 50; *ragabsatar*, 55[b] 10, 80[a] 25, 84[a] 50, 84[b] 17, 85[a] 8, 85[b] 29; *goragdrsetar*, 86[b] 48, cf. 82[b] 46; *bognisetar*, 84[b] 32; *daronsatar*, 86[b] 39, 42, 44, 47, 51, 87[a] 5; *daringsetar*, 87[a] 3; *gorolasetar*, 86[b] 52; *condaralasatar*, (MS. *-astar*), 73[b] 32; *gorolúpsatar*, 86[b] 45; *raraidsetar*, 79[b] 28, 80[a] 48, 91[b] 3, 92[a] 20; *atraigsetar*, 89[b] 9; *ratáidsetar*, 80[b] 30; *coroscaigsetar*, 92[b] 22; *rascoirsetar*, 84[b] 11, 27, 85[a] 26, 85[b] 39; *ratheigsetar*, 91[a] 43; *rucsatar*, 89[a] 4.

Active LU. *airigthi*, 57^{b} 2; *arigit*, 62^{a} 23; *bertaigthus*, 61^{a} 32; *bertaigthi*, 61^{a} 36; *bertnaigis*, 77^{b} 32; *córaigmit*, 59^{b} 34; *rachasnig*, 80^{a} 7; *cressáigis*, 77^{b} 32; *crithnaigset*, 79^{b} 24; *sidáigmit*, 59^{b} 34; LL. *arigis*, 86^{b} 18; *niairgem*, 61^{b} 47; *rambertaig* ('he shook himself'), 54^{b} 29; *bertaigis*, 69^{b} 48; *bertnaigis*, 64^{b} 27, 76^{a} 10; *buadaigfes*, 82^{a} 38; *racanig* (l. *-casnig*), 78^{a} 4; *certaigis*, 64^{b} 29; *coraigis*, 66^{b} 3; *córaig* (ipv.), 66^{a} 49; *cressaigis*, 76^{a} 9; *crithnaigset*, 77^{b} 25; *cutlaigis*, 69^{b} 48; *rachréchtnaig*, 84^{b} 24; *nacumnig* (ipv.), 84^{a} 41; *deligfit*, 57^{a} 17; *roscomdluthaig*, 62^{b} 13; *radorchaig*, 85^{a} 51; *rafadbaig*, 88^{a} 22; *fadbaig* (ipv.), 88^{a} 20; *nirofulig*, 72^{a} 29, cf. 84^{b} 24, 80^{b} 27; *raminaig*, 96^{b} 43; *rathaigid*, 63^{b} 45; *rathaigis*, 57^{b} 23; *ratsáraig*, 102^{b} 18; *ni sáriágum*, 58^{b} 38; *rasuanmig*, 85^{a} 52; *ni tharmnaigfet*, 90^{b} 43.

Mesca Ulad[1] (LU. 19^{a}–20^{b}, LL. 261^{b}–268^{b}).

	Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
	cuiriur.	
pres. ind. pl. 3.		*na cuiret*, LL. 265^{a} 6.
pret. sg. 3.		*rachuir*, LL. 265^{b} 25.
	fetar.	
sg. 1.	**nadfetar**, LL. 264^{a} 25.	
2.	**infetarsu**, LL. 264^{a} 24.	
ipv. sg. 2.	**finta**, LL. 263^{b} 5.	
s. fut. sg. 3.	*rofestar*, LU. 19^{b} 11.	
	***gainiur.**	
perf. sg. 3.	**rogenair**, LL. 264^{a} 46.	
	adgládur.	
pret. pl. 3.		*cura accallset*, LL. 261^{b} 34
fut. sg. 1.	*atagegallarsa*, LU. 19^{b} 30.	
3.	*atagegalldathar*, 19^{b} 30.	
	atageglathar, 19^{b} 33.[2]	

[1] Unfortunately the end of the tale is not preserved in LL., while in LU. only a fragment of the end has been preserved. The two versions seem to stand in much the same relation to one another as the two texts of the *Táin*, and they have been treated in the same way. A noteworthy feature in the LL. text is the frequency of *-end* so-called consuetudinal forms.

[2] *adgeglathar* would stand in the same relation to **adgegladathar* as *adgladar* to *adgladadar*, p. 52, note.

Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
labrur.	
pres. ind. sg. 3.	*ni labair*, LL. 268[a] 5 (bis).
laimiur.[1]	
pret. sg. 3.	*dr narlam*, LL. 263[a] 5.
sissiur.	
pres. ind. pl. 3.	*tairisit*, LL. 265[a] 10.

Deponent preterites[2]—LL. **ferastar**, 262[a] 28; **rafírastar**, 262[b] 1; **ratalinestar**, 263[a] 8; **rainnisetar**, 268[b] 9; **tincsetar**, 262[b] 21.

Verbs in *-ag-*, *-ig-*.

Active forms—LU. *sudigthi*, 19[a] 21; LL. *condasbethaigend*, 266[b] 35; *na héligsiu*, 265[a] 19.

Serglige Conculaind[3] (LU. 43–50).

águr.	
pres. ind. sg. 1.	*ni agur*, 44[a] 35.
pl. 1.	*atagamar*, 48[b] 27.
subj. sg. 2.	*ni aigther*, 44[a] 36.
	nitágara (r.), 49[a] 33.
***airliur.**	
subj. sg. 2.	*airlither*,[4] 46[b] 9.
cuiriur.	
pret. sg. 3.	*rochuir*, 47[b] 14.
fetar.	
subj. pl. 3.	*finnatar*, 46[b] 11.
s. subj. sg. 1.	*cofiasur*, 45[a] 26.
3.	*arinfestar* (v.), 46[b] 32.

[1] *ni lemthar*, LL. 266[a] 27, is passive in form, and may be translated as a passive 'it will not be dared.'

[2] Instead of the active *tarnaic*=*rosedich* 'was past,' *e.g.* LL. 57[a] 13, *trdth tarnaic do chdch urgnom bid 7 lenna* 'when the rest had finished preparing food and drink,' we find in this text, 262[b] 49, *nitharnacar acht a eich do scur* 'his horses had only just been unyoked,' 262[b] 31, *cotarnacar leo*.

[3] Edited by Windisch, *Irische Texte*, i. 205 sq., with variants from H. 4. 22, T.C.D. The piece contains the *Briatharthecosc Conculaind*, LU. 46[b] 1–30.

[4] So I would read for *airliter* of MS.: *airlither cumni* 'thou shalt consult memory or tradition.' In the same passage the obscure *mrogatar* seems to be deponent, *mrogatar genelaigi gesci ua geinither* (so H. 6. 22, wrongly *geniter*, LU.) *gein*. Mr. Stokes calls my attention to *broga .i. firenaigther*, O'Don. Suppl., and suggests that the meaning may be 'let them verify the branch of genealogy,' etc.

Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
***gainiur.**	
pres. ind. sg. 3. *genither*,[1] 46[b] 12.	
adgládur.	
pret. sg. 3.	*acallais*, 45[b] 36.
labrur.	
pret. sg. 3.	*labrais*, 44[b] 14.
laimiur.	
pres. ind. sg. 3. *lámathair* (r.), 49[a] 38.	
-ciu.	
(?) subj. sg. 2. *faitchither*,[2] 46[b] 17.	

Verbs in *-ag-*, *-ig-*.

Deponent[3]—*arigsitar*, 44[a] 17.

Active—*roairigset*, 49[a] 24; *créchtnaigid* (r.), 45[b] 5; *ardotchuibdig* (ipv. sg. 2), 46[b] 30; *rognathaigsem*, 45[a] 4; *roráthaig*, 49[a] 25, 49[b] 43; *dianaithiget* (v.), 47[b] 18; *taithiges*, 47[a] 14; *romthathigset*, 47[a] 2.

Fled Bricrend (LU. 99[b]–112[b4]).

ad-águr.	
pres. ind. sg. 2. *ataigther*.[5]	
cluiniur.	
pres. ind. sg. 2.	*atcluniseiu*, 104[b] 9.
cuiriur.	
pres. ind. sg. 3. *curethar* (r.), 106[a] 41; cf. 106[b] 33.	*nichuir* (r.), 104[b] 12; cf. 108[b] 18.
subj. sg. 2.	*cuire samla*, 105[b] 30, 106[a] 18.
ipv. sg. 2.	*cuir a samail*, 106[b] 3.

[1] LU. *geniter*. See preceding note

[2] *ni faitchither senori*. O'Curry translates 'You will not deride old people.' If the form be correct it might be a subjunctive from a compound, *fo-aith-chiu* 'look down upon,' 'despise,' but this is a mere guess. *Deci*, *déca*, as ipv. 47[b] 2, 3, 4, etc. (v.).

[3] On analogy of deponent *rocharastar*, 43[b] 12, 13, 15; *coromaichnestar* (O. Ir. *aithgeóin*), 48[a] 5; *roscarsatar* (v.), 47[a] 33.

[4] Edited by Windisch, *Irische Texte*, i. 254 sq., with variants from Egerton 93. Brit. Mus. and H. 3. 17, T.C.D. The concluding portion, *Cennach ind Ruanada*, which is incomplete in LU., has been published from a Leyden MS. (L.) by Stern, Rev. Celt. xiii. 28 sq., and from an Edinburgh MS. (Ed.) by Meyer, RC. xiv.

[5] L. = *attaidirsi*, Ed., Rev. Celt. xiv. 454; so *adaghaictir*, L., RC. xiii. 31 = *attadar*, Ed., RC. xiv. 453.

Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
***comalnur.**	
pres. ind. sg. 3.	*comallas*, 110[b] 12.
esur.	
s. subj. sg. 1. *condaesur*, 104[a] 14.	
fetar.	
subj. pl. 1. *finnamár*, 112[b] 38.	
adgládur.	
pret. sg. 3. *atglâddastar*, 99[b] 35, 101[b] 34.	
laimiur.	
pres. ind. sg. 3. *laimethar* (r.), 102[b] 15.	
perf. sg. 3. *roldmair*, 112[a] 37.	
***folamur.**	
subj. sg. 3. *folimathar*, 104[a] 38,[1] 110[a] 49.	
pret. sg. 3. *folmastar*, 102[a] 20.	
pl. 3.	*folmaiset*, 103[b] 31.
midiur.	
pres. ind. sg. 3. *dammidethar*[2] 'he tries,' 111[b] 45.	
pl. 1.	*cotmidem*, 110[a] 23.
s. fut. sg. 3. *conmestar*[3] (r.), 104[a] 7.	
moiniur.	
pres. ind. sg. 3. *forathmenadar*, 111[b] 33. *forathmenathar* (MS.-*atar*), 111[b] 17.	
perf. pl. 3. *doruménatár*, 111[a] 34.	
molur.	
pret. pl. 3.	*molsat*, 108[b] 40.
dúthraccar.	
sg. 1. *donúthracar*, 100[b] 10.	
tuigiur.	
pres. ind. sg. 3. *fordatuigithar*,[4] 105[b] 44.	

[1] Eg. has here *rotlemathar*, fut. of *ro-laimiur*.

[2] Cf. p. 15, note. For *miastar* the fut. pass. *cotmidfider*, 112[b] 23.

[3] *ní faigbistar fer and conmestar a æs 7 a ás*, etc., 'there will not be found a man there who will equal his age and his growth,' etc. Here *faigbistar* seems, as Mr. Stokes also has suggested, a barbaric *s* future from *fogabaim*.

[4] *infolt fordatuigithar* 'the hair which covers him'; cf. p. 57, note, and add *fordotuigithur*, Laws, ii. 284, and *orastuigithear*, Ir. Texte, iii. 18.

ádcíu.

subj. sg. 3. *ninaccathar*, 107[b] 40.

Deponent perfects—*forcóemnacair*, 111[a] 39; *ardamair*, 112[a] 41; *ni fordámair*,[1] 111[b] 12.

Isolated deponent forms—*coiblethar*[2] (r.), 102[b] 7; *dligetar*[3] (r.), 109[b] 35; *fuasnadar*[4] (r.), 106[a] 44; *gebitar*[5] (r.), 104[a] 41; *nosinithar*,[6] 110[b] 31; *immacomsinitar*,[7] 105[a] 2, 109[a] 16; *immustecrathar*[8] (r.), 102[b] 1.

Verbs in *-ag-*.

Deponent forms—*rofergaigestar*, 101[b] 3; *inrabrethaigestar*, 112[a] 40.[9]

Active forms—*mani brethaigeseo*, 107[b] 28; *brethaigfetsa*, 107[b] 29; *chat[h]aigmitni*, 107[b] 22; *rocrithnaigset*, 101[b] 2; *corodilsig*, 105[a] 30; *fortamlaigid*, 109[a] 5; *nirrathaigsem*, 105[b] 11.

Siaburcharpat Conculaind[10] (LU. 113[a]–115[b]).

cluiniur.

pres. ind. sg. 3. *rochluinethar* (v.), 115[a] 3.

subj. sg. 3. *coclothar* (v.), 114[b] 43.

[1] *nirdaimset* for *nirdamatar*, 110[b] 35.

[2] The precise meaning of the word is uncertain. The general sense of *coiblethar céim* seems to be 'who takes a leap'; cf. *coibliud búada*, LU. 102[b] 21, and *dr atchota ilchumachtai ocai fri coibled fergnim*, LU. 123[b] 1. *Coibliud* may stand for *com-filliud*, and we might perhaps compare *filliud erred náir*, one of Cuchulinn's feats.

[3] Read with Eg. *is Cuculaind dligethar* 'it is Cuchulinn that has a claim to it'; for the deponent form cf. *dligidir*, LL. 346[b] 30.

[4] Windisch seems right in taking *fuasnadar* here and *diafuasnaither*, 106[b] 2, as deponent forms used in a middle sense. The passive form in the Glosses is *fuasnither*, *amal fufuasnither*, Ml. 66[d] 17.

[5] Read *gebithar* with Eg. From *natfri goi gebithar* of Eg. we should probably emend LU. to *nad fri góe gebithar* 'who is not given to (?) falsehood.' Whether that reproduces the sense or not, *gebithar* seems to be a deponent form.

[6] In a middle sense 'he stretches himself'; the same meaning is expressed by the affixation of a pronoun to the active form in *sínithi*, LU. 59[b] 39.

[7] This should be *immacomsinithar dóib*. For the construction, cf. p. 54, note.

[8] *immustecrathar* 'covers them,' 'protects them.' Cf. Ml. 65[a] 1, *iarsindí adcuaidsom dineuch imme thecrathar crist dianechtair otoi talmaidiu duaisndis de fessin* hic 'after he has spoken of all that covers Christ without (*i.e.* his outward appearance) he suddenly turns to speak of Himself.' Cf. the dep. inflexion in the word **tuigiur*, of kindred meaning.

[9] Other deponent preterites are *roderscaigestar*, 99[b] 9; *oarlastár* (*ldaim* 'throw'?), 102[a] 28; *itallastár*, 107[a] 30; cf. 111[a] 1. 28; *faitbestár*, 100[b] 13; *ochsatar* (r.), 102[b] 24.

[10] Zimmer, *Zeitschr. f. deutsches Alterth.* XXXV. 43, dates the text from the middle of the tenth century, but it is probably earlier. Note the preservation of the old subjunctive stem *clo-*.

Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.

***gainiur.**

perf. sg. 3. *rogenair*, 115ᵃ 37.

adgládur.[1]

subj. sg. 1. *conidnarladur*, 113ᵃ 7.

pret. sg. 3. *ni arlasair*, 114ᵃ 3.

Verbs in *-ag-*.

rochruthaigestar[2] (v.), 115ᵃ 16.

Echtra Condla (LU. 120ᵃ–121ᵃ).

cuiriur.

pres. ind. sg. 3. *totchurethar* (r.), 120ᵃ 43.

pret. sg. 3. *dochorastár*, 120ᵃ 34.

adgládur.

pres. ind. sg. 2. *acailli* 'whom thou addressest,' 120ᵃ 13.

3. *adgladadar*, 120ᵃ 14.

Verbs in *-ig-*.

cotoméicnigidar 'compels me,' 120ᵃ 28.

Aided Conculaind (LL. 119ᵃ–123ᵇ).

ad-águr.

pret. pl. 1. *adraigsemar*, 120ᵃ 29.

***airliur.**

pret. sg. 3. *comairlestar*, 123ᵇ 3.[3]

***buriur.**

pres. ind. pl. 3. *comburetar* (r.), 119ᵃ 19.

***ciallur.**

pret. sg. 3. *ciallastar*,[3] 123ᵃ 31.

[1] In 115ᵃ 23 *atomglaithe* would formally be most naturally taken for an imperative = *atomgládithe*, cf. p. 52, note (but *atomglaite*, p. 48), but from the meaning it is questionable whether the writer did not intend it for an indicative. Loegaire refused to believe St Patrick till he should have seen and spoken with Cuchulinn. Cuchulinn now says to him, *atomchi a Loegairi atomglaithe leir*; *mani cretea Patraic biasu hi péin* 'thou seest me, Loegaire, thou speakest with me face to face; if thou believe not Patrick, thou shalt be in pain.' Here an indicative seems much more likely than an imperative. Possibly we should correct to *atomglaither*.

[2] A deponent preterite *beogastar* (v.), 115ᵃ 14.

[3] All in the lament of Emer over Cuchulinn.

Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
***cobrur.**[1]	
ind. sg. 3 (r.) *nachitchobradar* 'which does not help thee,' 119[b] 20.	
ipv. sg. 2. *cobairthe* (r.), 119[a] 17.	
pret. sg. 3. *cobrastar*,[1] 123[b] 14.	
conoim.	
pres. ind. sg. 3. *comathar*[2] (r.) 'which protects' (?), 119[a] 29.	
pret. sg. 3. *forcmastar*,[1] 123[b] 7.	
cuiriur.	
pres. ind. sg. 3. *docuridar bedg*, 119[b] 5, 121[b] 16; without *bedg*, 122[a] 2; cf. 4.	
***follnur.**[3]	
pret. sg. 3. *fallnastar*,[1] 123[b] 6.	
***gainiur.**	
fut. sg. 3. *gignithar* (r.), 119[b] 48.	
ad-gládur.	
pret. sg. 3. *acillestar*,[1] 123[b] 6.	
laimiur.	
pret. pl. 3. *ni rolamsatar*,[4] 121[b] 22.	
sissiur.	
fut. pl. 1. *aurisfemmar*, 120[b] 13.	
-tluchur.	
pres. ind. sg. 3.	*dosfothlaig*, 122[a] 45.
***tuigiur.**	
pres. ind. sg. 3. *ratuigedar*, 120[a] 47.	

[1] Other instances of deponent inflexion in this verb, in addition to those already given, are *nimchobrathar* 'it helps me not,' LL. 284[b] 26 (in a story of St. Molling), *nomchobradarsa*, 286[a] 28 (in a story of a sister of Molasse).

[2] Deponential forms from this verb have been given above, p. 51; as a rule it is active.

[3] *fallnabthair*, 123[a] 1, may possibly be deponent, but the passage is not clear to me.

[4] Remodelled after the *s* pret. from the old *rolamatar*.

Deponent perfects—*imchoemnacair*,[1] 122[b] 25; *nadfordamarsa*,[2] 119[a] 1; *tarrasair*, 121[b] 6.

Verbs in *-ag-*, *-ig-*.

Deponent forms—*rosdraigestar*, 122[b] 32; *miadaigestar*,[3] 123[b] 9; *rathaigestar*,[3] 123[b] 11; *urdaircaigestar*,[3] 123[b] 10.

Active forms—*crechtnaigfit* (r.), 119[a] 40; *rachoraig*, 121[b] 35; *failtniget* (r.), 123[a] 5; *rarosdraig*, 119[b] 16.

Tochmarc Emere (LU. 121[a]–127[b]).

Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
***cluiniur.**	
pres. ind. sg. 3.	*atchluin*, 126[a] 18.
***comalnur.**	
pret. sg. 3. *comallastar* (Facs. *comallastas*), 127[a] 17.	
adgládur.	
pres. ind. sg. 1. *adgládur* (Facs. *adgadur*), 124[a] 4.	
molur.	
pres. ind. sg. 1.	*co romolaim*, 124[a] 23.
suidiur.	
pres. ind. sg. 1. *fossuidiur*,[4] 124[a] 12.	

[1] In this passage *imchoemnacair* gives no sense. Perhaps we should read *imchomarcair* 'asked,' which would suit the context.

[2] From *damim* 'grant,' 'give' seem to come the new analogical formations *nirodamsat*, 122[b] 30; *rodamastar*, 122[b] 31.

[3] From the lament of Emer, in which is also found the deponent preterites *báigestar*, 123[b] 15.

[4] The word is found in the same phrase, Windisch, *Ir. Texte*, i. 141, l. 26, *fossuidiur a n-dano 7 a n-dibergai*. and in the Laws, ii. 380, l. 12, *fossuidither*; cf. l. 13, 386, l. 6, 16, 18, 19. The deponential inflexion still prevails in the text of the Laws, a fact which must be taken into account in fixing their date. I have noted the following forms in a cursory examination of the text; whether the blunders are due to the copyists or the editors, the method of printing makes it impossible to tell without an examination of the MSS. (the printed texts are very untrustworthy)—*immuscobrathar*, ii. 280; *nodacomallathar*, iii. 32 (but *comallat*, ii. 140, 306); *inidcuirithar*, *incuirither*, iv. 168, cf. ii. 284, 290, 306, 328; *rofallnastar*, iii. 30; *arafeiser* 'that thou mayst know,' iii. 106, 126, etc.; *cofinnathar*, iv. 190, cf. iii. 8, 60; *genither*, iv. 38, *lasanaithgeniter*, iv. 164, cf. ii. 312; *labraither*, ii. 306, etc.; *nach laimethar*, iv. 192 (corrupt *rochlamethar*, iv. 190); *marathar*, ii. 316, 338, 394; *conmididhar*, iv. 16, etc.; *domidider*, ii. 320, cf. 142, 232, etc.; *tairisedtar* (l. *tairisedar*), ii. 324 (but *mani tairiset*. ii. 328); *dofeisedar* (=*do-fo-sissedar* ?), iv. 62; *dotluigigter* (l. *dotluigedar*), ii. 316; *fordotuigither*, ii. 284; *airigter* (l. *airigetar*), iii. 8; *dilsigthir* (l. *dilsigithir*), iv. 168; *suidegetar*, iv. 190, cf. 180, 188; *toltanaigter* (l. *-etar*), iv. 54; *ronuaisligthur* (l. *-ethar*), ii. 12.

Deponent perfect[1] (rather *s* aorist)—*tarrasair*, 126[1] 26.

Verbs in *-ag-*.

nosbertaigend, 127[a] 27; *rochrechtnaig*, 126[a] 29.

5. Short Stories of a Religious Character, LL. 278 *sqq.*

Diás macclerech, 278[a] 37.

	Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
	cluïniur.	
pres. ind. sg. 1.		*rotchlunim*, 278[b] 19.
	3. *ni chluinethar*, 278[b] 17.	

Verbs in *-ag-*, *-ig-*.

nachamchairig (ipv.), 278[b] 15; *corothathbeoig*, 278[b] 30.

Ri irissech, 278[b] 32.

atlochur.

pret. sg. 3. *ni conroatlaigestar*, 279[a] 1.

Bái rí amra, 279[a] 35.

cluiniur.

pres subj. sg. 1. *naclórsa*, 280[a] 19.

cuiriur.

pres. ind. sg. 3. *dochuredar*, 279[b] 6.

subj. sg. 2. *cure*, 279[b] 17.

fetar.

s. fut. sg. 3. *rofestar*, 279[b] 25.

Deponent *s* preterites—*roscarastar*, 279[b] 5; *ni rophendsemmar*, 280[a] 10.

Dep. s. subj. *comairser*, iv. 18. Active, *airliut* (if the reading be right), ii. 82; *mármoigid*, iii. 34; *samaigas*, iv. 8. On the other hand the so-called consuetudinal ending *-end* is sometimes found *urnaidend*, iii. 54; *ni obund*, ii. 316; *indarbann*, ii. 306.

[1] On p. 121[b] 32 is found *nírodsathar arenga*. The meaning must surely be 'his beard had not grown,' for it was a constant reproach to Cuchulinn that he was a beardless boy (cf. LU. 74[b] 33). Of the word *renga* in this sense I have no further example. If it be a singular, *rodsathar* would be a form of the same kind as *impdar*, p. 63. But it is possible that *renga* is plural, and that *roásathar* is an error for *roásatar*.

Cethrur Macclerech, 281[a] 40.

	Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
	cuiriur.	
pres. ind. sg. 3.	*docuirethar bedg*, 281[b] 13.	
	-tluchur.	
pres. ind. sg. 1.	*atlochur*, 281[b] 4.	

Deponent *s* preterite—*cotairchellsatar*, 281[a] 51.

Bái rí amra, 282[a] 32.

	cluiniur.	
pres. ind. sg. 3.	*ní chluinethar*, 282[a] 46.	
	-tluchur.	
pres. ind. pl. 1.	*atlochomar*, 282[a] 40.	

6. Reglum Mochuta Rathin,[1] LBr. 261[a]–262[a].

[1] Such is the title which this piece bears in the *Leabhar Breac*. Mochuta of Raithin died A.D. 636, O'Curry, *Manuscript Materials*, 374. But in a manuscript in the Royal Irish Academy, 23, N. 10, p. 82 sq., the superscription is *Fothad na canoine .co. hanc regulam*. Fothad died, according to the Annals of Ulster, in the year 818. 23, N. 10 (N.) consists partly of vellum, partly of paper, which is rapidly disintegrating. The Regula stands in the paper portion. The manuscript as a whole has been copied from good sources, and in many cases in the Regula it shows a better reading than LBr. The duties of a king stand before those of a bishop, and are set forth at greater length than in LBr. At the end are five additional quatrains, beginning *Dıamba trebthach ba trebor ba fuarrach fri each, ba failidh fri haidedu cia tiıat gach trath*, and ending *Figell aine ernaigedi almsan tan noegene, nibar adbchlass dodoens ba ardia gach andene*. Then, p. 88, 4, follow more precepts of the same kind, beginning *Coma riaguil incoimded is ann ni faigbe baogal*. The following points in the language may be noted:—*deerc* is still dissyllabic, N. 84, 3 = *dercc*, B. 261[a] 42; N. 85, 25 = *ɔdoeri*, B. 261[b] 23. The n. pl. masc. of the art. is *in*, preserved in *anbradhair*, N. = *na bratair*, B. 261[b] 85; n. pl. neut. *na hilgalru*, 262[a] 26 (*na hilgaluir*, N.). Gen. sg. and nom. and acc. pl. fem. of art. are *na*, gen. pl. more frequently *na* than *inna*. The termination of the dat. pl. of the adj. is preserved, *lathib techtaidib*; for *cu frasa diana*, B. 261[a] 35, N. has *frosa dianuiph*, whence may be deduced the reading *frosaib dianaib*. Acc. of *rigain* is *rignui*, N. (= *rigan*, B. 261[a] 48). Comparatives *sruthiu, siniu*, superlative *asncairem glés*, B. 261[b] 76 = *isagaenem gles*, N. (cf. *gaoine* 'good,' O'R.). For *dandine*, 261[b] 75, N. has *dí aeine*; for *inní*, 261[a] 29, N. has *aní*. The verbal system is well preserved—*asririsiu*, 261[a] 23 (*asriasu*, N.),

	Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
	cluiniur.	
pres. ind. sg. 3.	*roscluinither*,[1] 261[b] 84.	
subj. pl. 1.	*intan cloamar*, N. 86, l. 10 (*clomar*, B. 261[b] 38).	
	comalnur.	
pres. ind. sg. 3.		*natcomalla*,[2] 261[a] 44 (*nadcomall-*, N.). *comaillius*, 261[a] 39 (*comollus*, N.).
	cuiriur.	
pres. ind. sg. 3.	*dochorathar*,[3] N. 87, l. 8.	
subj. pl. 1.		*tochram*,[4] N. 86, l. 10 (=*tocbam*, B. 261[b] 40).
	adgládur.	
pres. ind. pl. 1.	*adgladamar*, 261[b] 44.	
	atluchur.	
pres. ind. pl. 3.		*atlaigit*,[5] 262[a] 5.

nisroirr, 261[a] 66, *diatei*, N. (=*diatéig*, B. 261[b] 9), *nocometuis* (l. *nococometis*), 'thou shalt not be indulgent,' N. 84, 22; B. 261[a] 65 is corrupt. Of *s* forms in 3 sg. *s* pret. only *timarnus*, 261[a] 29 (*timarnad*, N.), but *rotsoer*, *ronáin*. For *marbud tiugla*, 261[b] 67, N. has *amal tiughlaithe*. Note also *imalle*, and *inge* 'but'; also the word *arcofuin*, N. (*arcechfuin*, B. 262[a] 1), explained in Cormac's Glossary. In some cases later forms may have crept into both texts. Taking these things and the deponents into consideration, we shall hardly be wrong in putting the text at the latest in the beginning of the ninth century. In some parts it reminds one of the Regula ascribed to *Maelruain*, LBr. 9[b] sq., also an old text, though it chances to contain little deponent material—*dóscuirither*, 9[b] 10; cf. 9[b] 12, 35, 10[b] 2, *conothar* (*conóim* 'preserve'), 10[b] 41. In LL. 148 we find a number of precepts professedly addressed by Fothad to Aed Oirdnide on his coronation, 793 A.D. But the language shows that the composition is of later date, *na* in nom. pl. masc. for *ind*, *cluin* 'hear,' *nommolam*, etc. Note also the reference to the *Gaill* supposed to be in the service of Aed, 148[b] 21.

[1] *rachluineth-*, N. But a plural is required—*racluinetar*.

[2] 261[b] 10 B. has a dep. *comalltar*=*comallo*, N. In B. the line is a syllable short—*nech natcomalltar so*: N. has *nech natcomallo ansén*.

[3] B. 261[b] 75 has less well *docorustar*.

[4] Active, as already in the Glosses; see p. 9.

[5] If this be right, the active inflexion may probably be ascribed to the influence of verbs in *-aigim*. N. has *altaiget*, which would be ipv. 'let them offer a blessing.'

duthraccar.

s fut. sg. 2. *duthraisir* [1] (variant *-er*), 261[a] 9.

Verbs in *-ag-*, *-ig-*.

Deponent—*ni fuiligther*,[2] 'thou shalt not shed blood,' 261[a] 7.

Active—*romiscneged*, 261[b] 37 (better N. *nonmiscnegat*), *athaigem*, subj. (*aithegem*, N.), 261[b] 38.

Deponent *s* preterite—*rotordnestar*, 262[a] 15.

7. Félire of Oengus.

Deponent Forms.	Active Forms.
frisailiur.[3]	
'I expect,' Ep. 560.	
cluniur.	
ipv. sg. 2. *cluinte*, Ep. 314, 365, 425.	
fetar.	
s. subj. sg. 2. *rofeiser*, Feb. 4.	
dianfesser, Oct. 24.	
***gainiur.**	
perf. sg. 3. *rogénair*, Sep. 24; cf. Dec. 25.	
***labrur.**	
	nadlabrai, Dec. 22.
laimiur.	
perf. sg. 3. *rolamair*, Prol. 58.	
molur.	
pres. ind. sg. 1. *nomolur*, Prol. 13.	
pl. 1. *nosmolammar*, Jan. 17.	*molmai*[4] (*molma*), Aug. 31.
ipv. sg. 2. *molatha*, Sep. 2.	

[1] N. has less well *duthracar*.

[2] N. has *ni chuilide*. For *cuiligde*? cf. LL. 346[b] 38.

[3] So Rawlinson; Laud and Leabhar Breac have *frisailiu*.

[4] *Aedan ingrian gelda inse medcoit molma*, 'Aidan, the bright sun of Inis Medcoit that we praise.' Stokes, after O'Clery's *molma* .i. *molta*, took *molma* as a participle. But I know of no other instance of such a participle in Irish, and *molmai* may very well be 1 pl. absolute of *molur*. As to O'Clery's gloss, it probably arose from a misunderstanding of this passage. [I am glad to find that Mr. Stokes agrees.]

-muiniur.

pres. ind. sg. 2. *admuinter*,[1] Oct. 2.

An isolated dep. *rimther* 'thou countest,' is, according to Stokes, found Prol. 286, Ep. 46. As to *conruidiur*, Prol. 277, it seems to be an instance of the dep. 1 subj., which we shall speak of later. It may be analysed into *con-ru-suidiur*. It is explained as 'may I attain to'; cf. Skr. *pra-sad* gut von statten gehen, gelingen.

Deponent perfect *damair*, Feb. 9, cf. Feb. 16.

Verbs in *-ag-*, *-ig-*:—

Deponent—*ma mebraigther* 'if thou remember,' Mar. 2.

8. Tripartite Life of S. Patrick.[2]

In this text, as in those that follow, if we leave aside for the present the 1 sg. subj., deponent forms are found for the most part in the perfect and the *s* preterite.

The following verbs are still deponent:—

águr.

pres. ind. sg. 1. *attágar* (v.), 114. 26.

cluiniur.

pres. ind. pl. 3. *roclunetar*, 120. 13; subj. sg. 2, *cocloithersu*, 244. 12.

fetar.

sg. 2. *infetarsa*, 128. 7; 3, *rofitir*, 30, 25; pl. 1, *rofetamar*, 42. 11.

laimur.

pres. ind. sg. 1. *ní lomar*, 166. 2.

[1] So Mr. Stokes. The glossator takes it as 3 sg. pass. *adamraigther no bendaich[th]er* 'is admired' or 'is blessed.' As to *féili* it can hardly be acc. sing., for that, in the Félire, is regularly *féil*; see index to Stokes' edition. It might either be nom. pl., as Ep. 16 (rhymes with pl. *céli*), or acc. pl., as Ep. 108 (rhymes with *colléri*). In the former case *féli* would be subj. to 3 pl. pass. *admuinter*; in the latter obj. to 2 sg. subj. act. *admuinter*. *Féli* could be taken as acc. sing. only on the supposition of a transition to the inflexion of *i* stems; cf. Thurneysen, KZ. xxviii. 147, but this, as we have seen, is contrary to the usage of the Félire elsewhere.

[2] The references are to the pages and lines of Stokes' edition.

***folamur.**[1]

pres. ind. sg. 3. *folamadair*, 112. 8, 226. 10; *folamadar*, 208. 4; pret. sg. 3, *folamustar*, 78. 11, 146. 20; *folamastar*, 80. 1, 156. 2, 168. 7, 200. 21; *folamustair*, 148. 28.

The following verbs have, except in the *-ar* perfect, assumed the active inflexion:—

cuirim.

ipv. sg. 2. *cuir*, 56. 4; pret. sg. 3, *dora[th]chuir*, 158. 20; fut. sg. 3, *ni chuirfi*, 78. 9; *doaithcuirfe*, 158. 14.

follnaim 'rule.'[2]

pret. pl. 3. *rofallnaiset*, 196. 20.

genim.

fut. sg. 3. *gignid* (v.), 150. 7; *gigness* (v.), 154. 18; *gignes* (v.), 216. 17; *genfess*, 158. 13;[3] pl. 3, *genfit*, 58. 12.

adgládaim.

pret. sg. 3. *rosagaill*, 114. 6.

midim.

fut. sg. 3. *midfes*, 260. 17.

-moinim.

pres. ind. pl. 3. *nosdermanat* 'they forget it,' 82. 19.

-sissim.

pres. ind. sg. 3. *tairisid*, 8. 11; fut. pl. 3, *tairisfet*, 252. 27.

-tluchim.

pret. sg. 3. *dorothlaig*, 10. 18[4]; pl. 3, *dorothlaigset*, 102. 19.

The deponent subj. of *-ciu* : *conaccomar*, 102. 12.

[1] Stokes in his glossary translates this doubtfully by 'I desire,' cf. lii. l. 27. The verb is the same as *foldmur*, which we have already had in the sense of 'suscipio,' 'tento,' pp. 13, n. 4, 67. On p. 112, l. 8, of the Trip. Life, for *folamadair Pa*traic con*gab*ad *cath*air should be read *folamadair Pa*traic con*gab*ail *cath*rach, similarly p. 156, l. 2.

[2] Another example of this verb is the sec. fut. *nudusfoilnaibed*, 188. 22. In *nochanfollamnaiget*, 94. 26, *follnaim* is replaced by the derivative *follamnaigim*.

[3] The prose shows the later *genfes* (cf. *nogenfitis*, 86. 15), while the older *gignes* is preserved in verse. In the *Lebar Brecc* text, Trip. Life, 478. 24, *gignid* of 150. 7 has been replaced by *genfid*.

[4] The dep. *durothlaigestar*, 30. 6, must be taken in conjunction with the other deponent *s* preterites of this text, and need not be regarded as a survival of the old deponent inflexion of this verb.

Deponent perfects—*forcoimnacuir*, 34. 16; *ní chóimnacair*, 126. 9; *nirodamar*, 140. 16; *adrodamair*, 148. 5; *rogénair*, 8. 8, etc.; *romidir*, 40. 12; cf. 178. 20; *ní ermadair*,[1] 126. 4; *romenair*, 136. 4 (pl. *doruimmenatar*, 100. 4); *tarrasair*, 30. 17, 38. 10, 46. 11 (*dunarrastair*,[2] 138. 20); new analogical formations—*conaitigir*, 228. 7, *conaitigair*,[3] 230. 17; *foruigénair*,[4] 16. 26; *aroirachair*, 68. 21, *arroerachair*,[5] 104. 14, 25; *dellechuir*,[6] 240. 20.

Verbs in *-ag-*, *-ig-*:—

With the exception of *coimnigedar* 'commemorates,' 136. 18, deponent forms are found only in the third persons of the *s* preterite—*rochairigestar*, 12. 16; *rocomaicsegestar*, 40. 12, *rochomaiccsigestar*, 68. 14, *rochomfaiccsechestar*, 252. 3; *roécnaigestar*, 36. 9; *rodogalsigestar*, 12. 10; *rófergaigestar*, 44. 27, cf. 58. 27, 228. 15; *fothaigesdar*, 156. 3, *forothaigestar*, 160. 2, 174. 22 (*forfothaigestar*), 194. 4, 214. 13, *rofothaigestar*, 108. 7, 134. 3; *coromeglestar*, 180. 23: *roimeclaigsitar*, 44. 26; *romachtaigsetar*, 56. 3.[7]

Active forms—*roardraig*, 10. 22, cf. 30. 2, 46. 29; *rocendaig*, 16. 19, 25; *rochomaicsigh*, 90. 22; *rocruthaig*, 206. 14; *feidligit*, 90. 15; *forfoilsig*, 46. 21; *fortachtaig* (ipv.), 128. 22, *fortachtaigfe*, 220. 21; *foruasligfe*, 42. 13; *fothaigis*, 98. 12, 110. 11, *forothaig*, 92. 12, 94. 10, 98. 2, 108. 10, 110. 6, etc., *rofothaig*, 68. 1, 72. 12, etc.; *roimeclaig*, 128. 2, *roimeclaigset*, 92. 6; *roïngantaigset*, 100. 3; *roinsorchaigset*, 126. 11; *rolagaig*, 144. 7; *ronortaig*, 16. 29; *rorathaig*, 54. 8; *rodosáraig*, 72. 26; *roslanaig*, 12. 12; *rotoilsig*, 42. 8; *rosonairtnig*, 70. 9; *rosuidig*, 46. 24, 110. 18, 126. 3, *rosuidigset*, 168. 20; *gustathaig* (v.), 252. 18; *toirthiget*, 34. 27.

[1] Cf. p. 15, n. 1.

[2] Cf. p. 61, n. 2.

[3] From *cuintgim* 'I ask,' for O.Ir. *conaitecht*, Ml. 132[d] 5, *conatecht*, LU. 97[b] 1. For *conaitecht* is also found, after the analogy of the *s* preterites, *conatig*, 112. 3; cf. *conatech*, LU. 97[a] 36.

[4] For O.Ir. *foruigéni* (sg. 1 *lasse fungensa*, Ml. 78[d] 2). The active *foruigenai* is found 16. 20.

[5] Stokes now explains this as standing for **ad-ro-rerachair*, with transition to the dep. inflexion from *ad-ro-rerach-*, a reduplicated perf. from *ad-* reccognate with *con-riug* g. ligo.

[6] Cf. Stokes, *Index*. Prof. K. Meyer compares *dellgetar*, LL. 43[b] 22.

[7] Other deponent forms in the *s* pret.—*rombaitsestar*, 36. 23, 220. 12; *robendachastar*, 106. 27, cf. 152. 23, 150. 16, 210. 5; *roselebrastar*, 182, 18; *corofrastair*, 56. 1; *roordnestar*, 156. 18, 194. 6, 214. 14; *ro[s]roiglestar*, 68. 32; *rotheichestar*, 46. 11: *corucsatar*, 236. 10.

9. Poems ascribed to various writers of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Dallán Mac More[1] (LL. 47ª 1–49, 47ª 50–47ᵇ 44).

Deponents that have become active :—

noscechla ('shall hear them'), 47ª 12; *rachuir*, 47ª 39; *darachuris*, 47ᵇ 4.

Deponent *s* preterites—*rachurestar*, 47ª 20; *curestar*, 47ª 23; *rachloastar*, 47ª 14, 18, 36 (but *robris*, 47ª 26; *rottecht*, 47ᵇ 10; *nittuc*, 47ᵇ 18; *niratluig*, 47ᵇ 34, etc.).

Verbs in *-ig-* :—

cumnigim, 47ª 41.

Eochaid hua Flaind †984.

In the various poems ascribed by O'Curry to this writer I have noted only one deponent form, *atamir*, LL. 21ª 26.

Cinaed hua Artacáin †975 (LU. 51ᵇ 13–52ª 11, LL. 31ª 43–32ª 34, 150ª 26–47, 154ª 10–42, 161ª 1–161ª 43, 161ª 44–161ᵇ 34, 161ᵇ 35–162ª 30,[2] 163ª 26–163ᵇ 22,[3] 209ª 1–209ᵇ 48[4]).

Deponent verbs preserved :—

rofitir, LL. 150ª 35, 161ᵇ 19; *fetatar*, 161ᵇ 30; *génair*, LU. 51ᵇ 32; *domunemar*, LL. 163ª 26.

Deponent verbs that have become active :—

bursit, LL. 161ª 37; *midit*, 162ª 5; *notmolfat*, 209ª 30; *airisit*, 209ª 37; *dodluig*,[5] 209ª 24.

Verbs in *-ag-*, *-ig-*:—

corosbrathaig, 162ª 27; *rochertaig*, 209ᵇ 22; *debthaigis*, 209ᵇ 6; *falmaigis*, 209ª 49; *fotroilsig*, 150ª 42[6]; *ciarotlessaig*, 209ª 14; *rorathaig*, 209ᵇ 3.

[1] Poet Laureate of Cerball, king of Leinster, who died, according to the Annals, in the year 908.

[2] Ascribed to Cinaed, *Book of Ballymote* 352.

[3] Ascribed to Cinaed by O'Curry, *On the Manners*. ii. 105; on what grounds he does not say.

[4] *Cinaed rochertaig cocert*, LL. 209ᵇ 22.

[5] This seems to be most naturally taken as a verb, *atber frit codian dodluig* 'I will tell you quickly what you ask.'

[6] *fotroilsig* 'revealed thee,' a curious misformation from *foillsigim* 'I make manifest,' as though it were a compound verb beginning with the prep. *fo*.

Deponent *s* preterite[1]—*rucsatar*, 209[a] 50 (active forms are common).

Mac Liac †1015 (LL. 152[a] 6–152[b] 7[2], BB. 189[a] 36–189[b] 30).

Deponent verbs preserved:—
rofinnathar 'may he know,' LL. 152[b] 7.

Deponent verbs that have become active:—
rachuir, LL. 152[a] 48.

Verbs in *-ag-*, *-ig-*:—
rescoraigset, LL. 152[a] 22 (*rocoirigidh*, BB.); *suidigis*, 152[a] 23.

No deponent *s* preterites.

Cuan hua Lothchain †1024 (LL. 33[b] 10–35[a] 10, 151[a] 1[3]–152[a] 4, 199[a] 35–61, 200[b] 11–201[b] 51, BB. 351[a] 47–352[a] 23).

Deponent verbs that have become active:—
rocuir, BB. 351[b] 13; *curset*, LL. 33[b] 27; *rotacél*,[4] LL. 34[a] 40; *rolama*, 34[a] 14; *moltait* (*raind* 'whom quatrains praise'), 199[a] 39; *rostattlaig*,[5] 34[b] 11.

Deponent perfects—*romidair*, LL. 199[a] 50; *tathamair*, 199[a] 60.

Verbs in *-ag-*, *-ig-*:—
randilsigset, LL. 151[b] 23; *rorathaig*, 33[b] 25; *rosuidigh*, BB. 352[a] 15. Deponent *corustoirchestar*, BB. 351[b] 21.

Deponent *s* preterites—*daratsammar*, LL. 34[b] 42; *corchursetar*, LL. 151[a] 48 (*coralsatar*, BB.), *roleicsetar*, 151[a] 33 (*rothrecsetar*, BB), *rongialladar*, BB. 352[a] 20. Active forms are much more numerous.

[1] In a poem in BB. 81[a], ascribed by O'Curry to Cinaed, these forms are common—*roadrastar*, *romarbastair*, *rochuirsedar*, *rochrechsadar*, *doluidsidar*. But I know of no evidence in support of O'Curry's opinion.

[2] Another copy, with considerable variations, BB. 389[b].

[3] Also BB. 395. This text differs considerably from LL. and ends at LL. 151[b] 16.

[4] Fut. of *adgládur*, *cid be thamsa rotacél*, lit. 'though thy time is young, I will address thee.'

[5] If this comes from *tothlaigim*, but there is something wanting after the word.

[6] Cf. *tathaim* 'he died,' O'Reilly, LL. 131[b] 37, 132[a] 18, 133[a] 1, dep. *rothathamair*, LL. 283[b] 20.

Fland Mainistrech †1056 (LL. 11[a] 19–11[b] 39, 27[b] 54–28[a] 49, 131[b] 34–132[b] 4, 132[b] 6–133[b] 10, 145[b] 20–49, 150[a] 49–150[b] 24, 181[a] 1–186[a] 10).

Deponent verbs preserved:—

ni fitir, 182[a] 22.

Deponent verbs that have become active:—

ni chlune, 181[a] 42; *rochlune*, 184[a] 41; *molaim*, 185[b] 42.

Deponent perfects—*rodúmair*, 132[a] 26; *lamair*, 184[a] 15; *dosfanair*, 182[b] 53; *diasásar*, 185[b] 1.[1]

Verbs in *-ag-*, *-ig-*:—

arigis, 181[a] 29; *robethaig*, 132[a] 23; *rochetaig*, 181[a] 18; *rochrechaig*, 185[a] 48; *roncruthaig*, 133[b] 4; *roderbaig*, 145[b] 34; *rondorchaig*, 185[a] 10; *rodubaig*, 145[b] 34; *rotainig*, 183[b] 33; *roselbaig*, 132[a] 15; *rotudig*, 184[a] 10; *rodasamṫubaig*, 145[b] 32.

Deponent *s* preterites—Of such I have noted only *follnastar*,[2] 183[b] 51, from *follnaim* 'rule,' a verb which in O.Ir. was deponent. Active forms are numerous.

Gilla Coemain †1072 (LL. 3[b] 6–4[a] 46, 127[a] 1–131[b] 33).

Deponent verbs preserved:—

noofitir, 127[a] 2.

Deponent verbs that have become active:—

eia eure, 131[a] 38.

Deponent perfects—*rogénair*, 4[a] 36; *corogenair*, 131[a] 18; *genair*, 4[a] 18.

Verbs in *-ag-*, *-ig-*:—

romúdaig, 129[a] 18, 129[b] 24, cf. 128[b] 3; *nirónomnaig*, 128[b] 4.

Deponent *s* preterite—*rogabsatar*, 129[b] 27. Active forms are common.

10. Saltair na Rann.[3]

Deponent verbs preserved:—

essur 'will eat.'

1 pl. *condessamar*, 1266.

[1] Seems to be a blunder of the MS., or the facsimile for *diardsair* 'from which grew.'

[2] It is hard to say whether or not the use of this particular pret. in a dep. form was traditional in Fland. If not, it is a very curious coincidence.

[3] Ed. Stokes; written in the end of the tenth century, as appears from a reference to a cattle-plague, l. 2342, in the year 988 (cf. Annals of Ulster under the year 986, and the Chronicum Scotorum under the year 985), and from the list of contemporary kings, 2349 *sqq.*; cf. Thurneysen, *Rev. Celt.* vi. 105, Zimmer, *Nennius Vindicatus*, 185, 229.

fetar.

sg. 1. *náfetar*, 1335, etc.; sg. 3, *rofitir*, 563, etc.; *s*-subj. sg. 1, *cofessur*, 2883; sg. 2, *cofesser*, 1327, 6113; pl. 1, *rofessamar*, 1265.

laimur.

pres. ind. sg. 1. *nilamur*, 1259.

From *-ciu* the dep. subj. *frisaiccidar*, 4137, but act. *ardosce*, 4165. An isolated dep. *foichlidar* 'takes heed'; cf. p. 62, n. 2.

Deponent verbs that have become active:—

cluinim.

pres. ind. sg. 2. *indamchluni*, 1182, 1429; subj. pl. 1, *cluinem*, 3315; dep. ipv. sg. 2, *cluinte*, 1841, 2480, 3339; act. *cluin*, 2441.

cuirim.

pres. ind. sg. 3. *cuires*,[1] 7241; subj. sg. 2 (as ipv.), *cuiri*, 1561; sg. 3, *condarcuiri*, 7827; pret. sg. 3, *rotchuir*, 1730; fut. sg. 1, *fochuiriub*, 6121.

follnaim.

pret. sg. 3. *rofallnai*, 2630.

labraim.

pres. ind. sg. 3. *labras*, 6225.

molaim.

pret. sg. 3. *rommol*, 4030; *romol*, 7557.

midim.

pres. ind. pl. 3. *domidet*, 99; *fordamidet*, 108.

-moinim.[2]

pret. pl. 3. *dorumensat*, 3689.

samlaim.

pres. ind. sg. 1. *samlaim*, 375; pret. sg. 3, *rossamlai*, 1178.

-tluchim.

pret. sg. 3. *roattlaig*, 2593; cf. 3521, 3532, pl. 3, *roattlaigset*, 3638, 4033.

Deponent perfects—*ni choemnacair*, 1514; *forcoemnacar*, 1544; *nachatamar* '(since) thou didst not confess,' 1406;

[1] But read probably *guires cech* 'that warms all.'

[2] *dermoinuir* 'forget' is replaced by *dermaitim*, *na dermaitid*, 4869.

rodamair, 7749; *duthracair*, 5941; *rogenair*, 2245, cf. 2334, 3693, etc.; *arlassair*, 3791, cf. 4791; *romidair*, 3121, *doroemadair*, 2709, 7955; *cotarrasar*, *tarrasarsu*, 1861, *tarrasair*, 1633; new formations: *condnanacair*, 2798; *targlammair*, 1637.

Verbs in *-ag-*, *-ig-*:—

Deponent forms[1] are found only in the 3 pl. of the *s* pret., *roaintadaigsetar*, 2401; *romiscnigsetar*, 2409, 3127; *rosuidegsetar*, 4084, by the side of *roḟentaigset*, 2406; *romiscnigset*, 5551; *rosuidigset*, 5095 (six instances according to Thurneysen, KZ. xxxi. 64). The 3 sg. (about 70 instances) is always active, as are the other persons—*rosárugus*, 1403; *rotmudaigeis*, 1680, cf. 1320, 1723, 1724; *rosáraigsem*, 1517. Examples of other parts of the verb are pres. ind. sg. 1, *nihetraigim*, 8001; *nisteclaigim*, 8002; sg. 2, *deonaigi*, 1431; sg. 3, *orddaigid*, 4873; *nachastathigi*, 4381; pl. 3, *bethaigit*, 7820: ipv. *coraig*, 1597, 2103, cf. 1605, 2115, 2203, 5013, 2877, 6018, 6020, 6021, 6025, 6027, 6031, 6032: fut. sg. 3, *lessaigfid*, 2059; *crithnaigfid*, 8056; *úraigfes*, 4486; pl. 3, *beccaichfit*, 8059.

11. Religious Texts in the *Leabhar na h-Uidhre*.

Dá Brón flatha Nime (17a–18).[2]

genim.

rogénair 7 *geinfes* 'who has been born and who shall be born,' 17a 17–18.

Scéla Lái Brátha (31b–34a).

Deponent—*rofitir*,[3] 32a 1.

[1] From other *s* preterites I have noted the following deponent forms:—*rosbiathastar* 3413, *roemnastar* 2767, *rooirdnistar* 5005, 5541, 7129, *rosmachtastar* 1121, *ronbaidsemmar* 3621, *rocraidsemmar* 3622, *cansatar* 4039, *roscarsatar* 1725, *rochomarleicsetar* 2737, *rodosdairsatar* 3665, cf. 5293; *rodiultsatar* 5268, *doratsatar* 3407, 3508, *conéisitar* 3771, *rofegsatar* 4669, *fosrordiñgsetar* 5297, *dorigensatar* 5929, *fosrugensatar* 5251, *cordlsatar* 5603, *nirleicsetar* 6421, *liunsatar* 5267, *roraidsetar* 5497, *dorinolsatar* 2757, *tinólsatar* 5617, *rucsatar* 5405, *tucsatar* 7539.

[2] The beginning is wanting in LU. A complete copy, containing a slightly different text, is preserved in LL. 280a–281a.

[3] As to *rofoichlitar*, 33a 14 (*uair narofoichlitar* 'because they took no heed'), the ending of the *s* pret. seems to have been replaced by that of the perf. and the *t* pret. This would then be an early isolated case of what later became the regular ending.

Active—*nacomallat*, 32b 17; *rochomaill*, 32a 33; *rochomailset*, 33b 29.

Verbs in *-ag-*, *-ig-* are always active—pres. *connachumnig*, 32b 32; *demnigid*, 32b 5; *demniges*, 32b 4; *lesaigit*, 32b 29: pret. *corochomacsig*, 32a 1; *rolesaig*, 32a 4: fut. *ordaigfid*, 32a 11 (bis).

Deponent *s* preterites—*doratsamar*, 32a 23; *nadernsamar*, 32a 43, in both cases after a preceding *atchonarcmár*.

Scéla na Essergi (34a–37b).

Active—*atchluinfet*, 34a 44; *tathcures*, 36b 29; *genit*, 37a 31; *midfid*,[1] 37a 40; *notmolfat*, 36b 8.

Deponent perfects—*doruménair*, 35b 46; *rogenatár*, 34b 45; *forodmatár*, 35a 17. Transition to the active in *forodaim*, 35a 22; *orofodaimsium*, 35a 24.

Verbs in *-ag-*, *-ig-* are active—pres. ind. *demniges*, 35a 13; *cumniges*, 35a 31; *chumtaiges*, 35b 5: subj. sg. 3, *coroathnuige*, 35b 15; *corocumtaige*, 35b 11: ipv. *demnig*, 37a 29: pret. *roarthraig*, 34b 41; *rochumtaig*, 35b 7: fut. sg. 3, *artraigfid*, 34a 42; *nosathnuigfe*, 34b 21; *comslanaigfid*, 34b 49; *cruthaigfea*, 35b 2; *ni·erchotigfi*, 34a 38; *fedligfid*, 34b 40, 35b 8, 36a 15; *arthraigfes*, 37a 42; *toltanaigfes*, 35b 3: pl. 3, *notadamraigfet*, 36b 8; *fedligfit*, 34b 8, 37a 7; *fedligfet*, 36a 21; *ócntadaigfit*, 36a 43.

Deponent *s* preterite—*rothirúarthestar*, 35b 4.

Fís Adamnáin (27a–31b).

Active forms—*ná comaillet*, 30a 11; *cocurend*, 29b 20, *tócurid*, 27a 4; *ní thairiset*, 30a 31.

Deponent perfect—*forcæmnacair*, 28a 42.

Verbs in *-ag-*, *-ig-* are active—pres. ind. *erchótigend*, 27b 20; *gnáthaiges*, 31b 1; subj. *coroscoraigea*, 27b 32: pret. *roarthraig*, 27a 34; *roscóraig*, 28b 1; *rofoillsig*, 29b 23; *rofollsig*, 31a 14, 25.

Deponent *s* pret.—*roinnisemár*, 28b 32.

[1] The facsimile has *midfed*, but the sense requires the fut.—*Isandsin midfidsom cofiren forsnadóenib* 'then he will pass just judgment on men.' So 34b 9 *fdidfed* stands in the facs., where the sense requires the future.

12. Later Heroic Tales.

Airec menman Uraird Maic Coisi.[1]

Deponent forms:—

rofetursa, nachfitir, cofessamar 'that we may know.'[2]

Deponent verbs that have become active:—

arsuisbhe,[3] *rotamolus, nosmolfat.*

Deponent perfects:—

forcaomnacair, commidair, rogenair, rolámair, tarrustar.

Transition to active in *doruimen* 'he thought,' *nimrolam* (v.) *rodam.*

Deponent *s* preterites:—

condocorustar, roairmestar, doruirmestar, rogeisestar, rofaitbaistar[4]; *treghdustar, fegustar, cocrastar, scailistar, muainistar, cinnestair*—all in a piece of rhythmical prose; *atraigsetar, rochuitsetar.*

Verbs in *-ag-, -ig-*:—

dobrethaigsit, romælaigset, roordaigset, soillsigiss: *ainmnigset, brechtnaiget, brethaigim.*

Deaths of Goll and Garb[5] (LL. 107[b] 22–111[b]).

Deponent verbs preserved[6]:—

nocondgur (v.) 111[a] 29; *cofesser* (v., subj. sg. 1) 108[a] 50; *atlochur* (*dom chumachtaib*) 111[b] 17.

[1] An allegory told to Domnall, king of Ireland, 956–979, by the poet Urard Mac Coisi, when his abode had been plundered by the king's people; cf. O'Curry, *On the Mann.* ii. 130 *sq.* I have two copies of the text—one from R.I A. 23 N. 10, which, however, owing to the closing of the Academy, I could not copy to the end; the other from Rawlinson, B. 512, which I owe to the kindness of Mr. Stokes. The texts are practically the same, only N. supplies some lacunae in R.

[2] So, under the influence of *fetar, atfiasar, atfiasor, atfesar* 'I will tell.'

[3] If this is for *arsisfe* from *arsissim.* R has *airsiusa.*

[4] From *fo-aith-tibim* 'smile.' R. has a curious *roaitfethair* after the *-ar* perfect.

[5] Translated by Stokes, *Rev. Celt.* xiv. 398 *sq.*, and in part by Zimmer, *Zeitsch. f. Deutsch. Alt.* xxxii. 208–216.

[6] Stokes takes *cenoradiur* 'tho' I speak,' (v.) 111[a] 29, as a deponent, but it must rather be regarded as 1 sg. subj.

Deponent verbs that have become active[1]:—

ní chlunim 110[a] 17, 18, 19; *menichomalla* (v.) 111[a] 32, *rachomaill* 110[a] 40; *cuir* (ipv.) 110[a] 3, 110[b] 29; *nílabair*, 108[b] 7, *nírolabair* 108[b] 8.

Deponent perfect[2]:—

tarrasair 108[b] 5.

Deponent *s* preterites:—

rotḣnigestar 108[b] 49, *rottregdastar* 108[b] 47, *rotuairgestar* 108[b] 48.[3]

Verbs in *-ag-*, *-ig-*:—

nírorathaig 109[b] 22, *conarathaig* 111[a] 17.

Bórama[4] (LL. 294[b]–308[a]).

Deponent verbs preserved:—

ítágursa (v.) 308[b] 24, *na hágumar* (v.) 308[b] 17, *natágammar*, *niagammar*[5] (v.) 308[b] 40; *rofetarsa* 302[b] 37, *fitir* (v.) 302[b] 26, *finta* 303[b] 47: *admoniursa* (v.) 308[b] 22.[6]

Deponent verbs that have become active:—

atchluiniu 301[a] 18, *atchlunim* (v.) 305[b] 29, *clunem* 308[a] 34, *cluin* (v.) 308[b] 30; *narachomaill* 299[b] 38; *cuirem* (subj.) 300[b] 28, *cuir* (ipv.) 302[a] 27; *curis* 304[b] 34, *rochuir* 303[b] 44,

[1] In 109[a] 1, *nífuil dodluig dogasced no dottárim eter dagóco h-Erenn*, Stokes sees in *dodluig* a part of *tothlaigim* "there is none that asks for thy valour, or that counts thee among Erin's good warriors." Zimmer translates doubtfully 'du hast kein anrecht auf ritterschaft oder dass du fürderhin unter die guten jungen der männer Irlands gezählt wirst,' but suggests the possibility that *dodluig* comes from *tothlaigim*. The parallel passage in the *Táin*, LL. 86[b] 24, *connachfuil do dluig na dó dúal na do díl ri gail na ra gaisced go brunni mbratha*, seems to indicate that *dluig* is a noun with the meaning of 'claim' or the like. Cf. LL. 57[a] 9, *fail dlug molta forro*, which must mean something like 'they have a right to praise.' The noun would naturally be connected with *dligim*, 'I have a claim to.' Very probably our passage is corrupt, for, apart from the parallel passage in the *Táin*, we should expect to find after *ní* not *nó* but *nd*.

[2] For O.Ir. *siassair* we find in this text *seiss*, 108[b] 21, 109[a] 6, 42; cf. Thurneysen, KZ. xxxi. 98 *sq.*; Zimmer, KZ. xxx. 151 *sq.* But it seems hardly safe to infer very much from a form found in so late a text as this. Why might not *seiss* have replaced *siassair* as *narataim* has replaced *-damair*, LL. 171[a] 4, 8, *rogein*, *rogénair*, LL. 124[b] 4, etc.?

[3] The passage in which these forms are found is a variation of a passage in the combat with Ferdiad in the *Táin*, LL. 86[b] 18 *sq.*, where the first two forms are also found.

[4] Edited by Stokes, *Rev. Celt.* xiii. 32 *sq.* Assigned by Zimmer, *Zeitsch. f. Deutsch. Alt.* xxxii. 307, xxxv. 26, to the eleventh century.

[5] The metre shows that in 308[b] 38 *nahágam* is a slip for *nahágamar*.

[6] In 308[b] 24 is an isolated dep. *bágur*, probably a formation of the moment for the sake of the jingle with *águr*.

darchuirset (v.) 302[b] 1, *corochuirset* 295[b] 10, *rochurset* 303[a] 11, *churfimmid* 305[b] 1; *arnálamat* (v.) 306[b] 18; *airis* 'stay' 297[a] 27, 47, 297[b] 10.

Deponent perfect. On *ní rofulaṅgair*, 299[b] 4, see below note 5. Actively *ni rafulṅgiusa* 'I did not endure,' 307[b] 3.

Deponent *s* preterites[1]:—

coromberbastar 300[b] 32; *connaigsetar* 304[a] 33, *gabsatar* (v.) 299[a] 31, 302[a] 10, *roiadsatar* 301[a] 9, *roinnisetar* 301[b] 5, 11, *corofersatar* (v.) 299[a] 34, *romúrsetar* 295[b] 6, *roráidsetar* 295[a] 39, 302[b] 19.

Verbs in *-ag-*, *-ig-*:—

nirachetaig 307[b] 6, *rochoraig* 304[a] 42, *rochuibsig* (v.) 295[b] 31, *roorddaig* (v.) 300[a] 50; *rédig* (ipv. v.) 308[a] 45, 308[b] 37.

Togail Troi[2] (LL. 217[a]–245[a]).

Deponent forms:—*atagur* 228[b] 24, *atagammar* 220[a] 26; *rofitir* 218[a] 16, etc., *rafetamar* 240[b] 23, etc.

Active forms:—*rachluin* 222[b] 36; *rachuir* 218[a] 37, *rasimarchuir* 218[a] 37, *rachuirset* 220[a] 35, 232[a] 11, *curfetsa* 234[a] 43; *samlait* 240[a] 32; *airisid* 234[a] 19, cf. 225[b] 1, 233[b] 29.

Deponent perfects:—*ragenair*[3] 217[a] 36, cf. 217[b] 20, 232[a] 21, *ragenatar* 217[a] 37, etc.; *rolamair*[4] 227[a] 37; *nichæmnacair* 221[b] 31; *duthracar* 228[b] 18, 20, 3 pl. *duthractar* 217[b] 28; *conafærlaṅgair*[5] 227[a] 41, *conafærlangtar* 240[a] 29.

[1] In *docerddatar* 299[b] 9, *rathócbatar* 301[a] 6, *raergitar* 305[a] 16 we have instances of the Mod. Ir. *-adar*.

[2] A text which has much of the turgid style which became prevalent in later Mid. Ir. literature. In a later portion of LL. (397[d]–408[a]) there is a simpler form of the text. I have noted from it *atagar* 400[b] 17, *rofallnaisit* 397[b] 17, *rogeinetar* 399[a] 19, *cofessatar* 400[a] 36, *ni rolam* 402[a] 24, *dorumnatar* 400[a] 10, *tarrasair* 406[b] 9, *tarasatar* 402[b] 24, *roatlagestar* 397[b] 45, 407[a] 2, *caomnacair* 402[a] 53. I have not noted the verbs in *-aigim* or the deponent *s* preterites.

[3] But *ní rogein* 225[b] 40. Similarly *ramidestar* 221[a] 8 for *romidair*.

[4] But pl. *niralamsatar* 227[a] 36.

[5] In 237[a] 2 *nirærlangair* has pass. force—*nirærlangair do rigmílid na Troianna .i. do Hectair in t-etúalang sain* 'that unequal fight was not endurable to the royal warrior of the Trojans, Hector.' Cf. *ní rofulaṅgair do leth Cuind* 'Conn's half could not sustain (the attack),' LL 299[b] 4. We seem to have here confusion between the *-ar* act. pret. and the passive. Cf. LL. 175[a] 15 *nifortulṅgither dósom beith icind intṡloig*, lit. 'it was not endurable to him to be before the host'; 177[a] 1 *nirbrulṅgether* [*do*] *Cairpre Niafer esside itir*; also LL. 175[a] 17 *ní hed barroeblaṅgair dosom itir on* 'it was not leapt by him at all.'

Verbs in *-ag-*, *-ig-* :—

Deponent forms are found only in the third persons of the *s* pret.[1]—*raitadaigestar* 231[a] 35, *raharthraigestar* 236[a] 48, 236[b] 1, *rachathaigestar* 241[b] 42, *rachomfaicsigestar* 225[a] 40, cf. 230[b] 49, 239[b] 40, *coracrithnaigestar* 240[a] 15, *roréraigestar* 223[a] 19 ; active—*raarig* 240[a] 44, *rascairig* 228[a] 16, 242[b] 48, *rachathaig* 224[b] 34, *rachóraig* 238[b] 8, *rachrechtnaig* 224[b] 40, *corachrithnaig* 236[a] 36, *cruadaigis* 236[b] 49, *rachumtaig* 223[b] 16, 17, *rasfasaig* 224[b] 43, cf. 223[a] 6, 8, *oragrádaig* 226[b] 31, cf. 231[a] 11, *raorddaig* 234[b] 47, 48, 235[a] 1, *raiantaig* 231[a] 38 ; *raordaigset* 233[b] 36, *corátreollaigset* 236[a] 39. Other parts of the verb, pres. ind. *deimnigim* 229[a] 2, *arigid* 222[b] 33, *mudaigid* 240[a] 48, *luathaigend* 243[b] 5, *orddaigit* 223[a] 31.

Cath Ruiss na Ríg[2] (LL. 171[a]–178[a]).

Deponent verbs preserved :—

fetar 171[a] 24, etc. ; *ratholathar*[3] 171[a] 3.

Deponent verbs that have become active—*coroscuir* 177[a] 23.

Deponent perfects that have become active—*niroataim* 171[a] 4, 9, 14, *nirolam* 176[a] 27.[4]

Verbs in *-ag-*, *-ig-* :—

Deponent *roredigestar* 176[a] 36 ; *rochrithnaigestar* 173[b] 18, *raluamnaigestar* 176[b] 8.[5] I have noted nine active forms, all 3 sg. *s* pret.

[1] Of deponent forms in other *s* preterites I have noted twenty-two instances of the 3 sg. (including *rosmolastar*), one instance of the 1 pl. *rachomraidsemar* 231[a] 5, and twenty-eight instances of the 3 pl.

[2] Edited by Hogan, *Todd Lecture Series*, iv. Cf. Zimmer, *Zeitsch. f. Deutsch. Alt.* xxxii. 219 *sq.*

[3] Cf. p. 47, *ruttolnastair*, *Rev. Celt.* xi. 446, l. 23.

[4] We may have an *-ar* pret. in *rarmetairne* 171[b] 2. It may come from a verb **metaim* cognate with *meta* 'a dastard,' BB. 474[a] 22, 29 (cf. Hogan, p. 6, n.). Of the infixed *arn-* 'us' for O.Ir. *n* Hogan quotes other instances. I may add one more to show how *arn-* may have spread from the infinitive to the finite verb, LL. 61[b] 15, *Cest didiu cia bad dóig diartiachtain. Dóig innartised Cúscraid* 'Who then would have been likely to have come to us? Is it likely that Cúscraid could have come to us?' Here the inf. *ar-tiachtain* is followed at once by the finite verb *-ar-tised*.

[5] Other dep. forms in *s* pret.—*raairgestar* 171[a] 41, *radercastar* 176[b] 11, 28, *corogésestar* 176[a] 19, cf. 177[a] 34, *rolenastar* 177[b] 18, *ralingestar* 175[a] 18, *rosceastar* 173[a] 14, *rothuairgestar* 177[a] 32, *tucastar* 177[a] 3; *raansatar* 176[a] 30, 177[b] 15, *robansatar* 176[b] 8, *corogésetar* 176[a] 20, 21, cf. 177[a] 34, *roinnisetar* 174[a] 21, *roraidsetar* 171[a] 15, 173[a] 5, 174[a] 18, *ratheigsetar* 175[a] 41. With ending of perf. and *t* pret. *robenatar* 176[a] 35, *racuclaigetar* 176[b] 7, *rachommóratar* 177[a] 10, *raergitar* 172[b] 4, 173[a] 24, *tuargabtar* 173[a] 51, 176[a] 37. With regard to this change, e.g. *rolommair*, *rolomsat* would easily become *rolommair*, *rolmmatar* on the analogy of *tarrasair*, *tarrasatar*, etc., *roben*, *robensat*, *roben*, *robenatar* after *atracht*, *atrachtatar*, etc. Note also cases like *rogésetar*, where *s* of the ending is absorbed in *s* of the root.

Before leaving this part of our subject we may just note briefly the state of the deponent in one or two other late texts, leaving out of sight the deponent *s* preterite, which has already been illustrated sufficiently.

In the Tochmarc Feirbe (LL. 253ª–259ᵇ, cf. Zimmer, *Zeitsch. f. Deutsch. Alt.* xxxii. 244), we find *nirodámar* 255ᵇ 1, *nidámair* (v.) 256ª 9; in a fragment of the history of the six ages of the world, LU. 1, 2, *rogénair*; in the Book of Invasions, LL. 1–26, only *rogénair*, *genair*, *tarrasair*, by the act. *romid* (v.), *cluinet* (v.), *corochuir*, *rochuirset*, *acallsat*, *imacallsat*, *nisamlaim* (v.); in the Irish Nennius of Gilla Coemain (LU. 3, 4, BB. 203–211), *fetar*, *tarrasair*, *tarrastair*, by *dorathchuir*. In the *Leabhar na g-Ceart* (according to Zimmer, *Zeitsch. f. Deutsch. Alt.* xxxv. 11, 89, "frühestens ende des 10 jhs."), I have noted only the act. *midhit*. In the Vision of MacConglinne, in the Leabhar Breac version, the composition of which is ascribed by the editor, Dr. Kuno Meyer, to the end of the twelfth century, occur *ná fetarasu*, *duthracur* 'I wish,' *conamtarrusar* 'I sank,' by *ní condam* 'did not allow,' *nomisa* 'you will devour me,' *domúnim* 'I think,' *doairis* 'which consists,' *fuisidim* 'I confess,' *atlaigis*. In 86, l. 6 *midithir lem* 'I think,' *midithir* is used as a passive, cf. *atomcuirethar suas* 'I raise myself up,' p. 87, l. 20. In the Story of the Æneid, BB. 449–486, I have noted as dep. *nirfidir* 462ª 13, *forcæmnacair* 456ª 1, *conacæmnacar* 459ª 36, 475ª 4, by *robuirsed* 476ᵇ 27; *rochuirset* 481ª 35; *rochluinim* 464ᵇ 13, *rochluinisiu* 16, *rochluin* 471ª 37; *rogenis* 458ª 19, *genfis* 462ª 28, *genfidh* 465ᵇ 41; *roagaill* 452ᵇ 14, 456ª 39, *agaillidh* 481ª 7; *labraim* 458ᵇ 45, *labraid* 456ª 2; *nilamaim* 457ª 30, *lema* 476ª 42, *nirolam* 484ª 46; *melmaid* 466ᵇ 30, *romolsat* 453ª 34; *oirisid* 464ª 10, etc., *rooiris* 463ª 29, etc.

Let us turn briefly to the later cycle of heroic tales, the Ossianic cycle. In the longest text the *Acallam na Senórach* dep. inflexion is found in *fetar—rofedarsa*, *infidir tu*, *infedrais*, *fedamar*, *fedabair*, but in the *s* subj. *cofesam*. Besides this we find [*atloch*]*amar* 'we give thanks' (to God). In this stereotyped usage *atlochur*, *atlochamar* survived as a pious expression; cf. *atlochur*, LU. 116ª 26 (by *na laim* 'does not dare'), 119ᵇ 22, *atlochar dó* 'thanks be to Him,' Martyrology of Donegal 128, *Rev. Celt.* xiv. 48, l. 14. In the Battle of Ventry I have noted *nirlamais* 'you did not dare,' l. 797, but no deponents. In the Macgnimartha Find (*Rev. Celt.* v. 197–204), *cin co fetar* § 15, *nifedar* § 25, by *nirlam* §§ 4, 17. In this text occurs a difficult poem, and here we have deponent forms

—*cuirither sal suan* 'the sea sleeps' (cf. *suanaid ler, Gött. Gel. Anz*, 1887, p. 185); *tuigither blath inbith* 'blossom covers the world'; *cuirither iasg mbrecc mbedg* 'the speckled fish leaps' (cf. *foliŋg iach brec bedc, ib.*); *buirither gort glas* 'the green corn rustles' (?). This piece was possibly taken from some old text; it has no particular connexion with the story in which it stands.

II. REMARKS ON THE HISTORY OF THE DEPONENT.

We have now brought together the forms of deponent verbs from a large number of old Irish texts. We have also seen from later texts how verbs originally deponent fared in a later period of the language. The net, it is hoped, has been cast wide enough to take in all the regularly deponent verbs. Doubtless isolated deponent forms still lurk in unexplored corners, particularly specimens of that ill-defined and fluctuating class, the verbs in *-ag-*, *-ig-*. But it is altogether improbable that such forms will be found in sufficient numbers to upset materially any results based upon the above collections.

It remains to consider what light these collections throw on the history of the deponent verb in Irish. And here it may be remarked that on some points it is as yet impossible to get beyond approximate results. I refer especially to the period of disappearance of the deponent forms. We may arrive at a sort of relative chronology; we see that certain forms disappear earlier than others. We can even fix the time before which the deponent had, except in certain forms, vanished. But, before the limits can be fixed with precision, further investigations in the history of the Irish language will be necessary, for, apart from historical references in the texts, it is on the language that we must chiefly rely for fixing their date. For works of a comparatively late period, such as the poems ascribed to Fland Mainistrech and others, preserved in old manuscripts, the headings in the manuscripts may be accepted without much distrust; but the more ancient the writer is to whom the work is ascribed, the more necessary is it to control these notices by the evidence of the language. The native tendency to antedate may be seen from a glance at Lectures II. and III. of O'Curry's

Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish. Meanwhile we will say what seems most probable, distinguishing, as far as possible, between facts and fancies, and trusting to the researches of, let us hope, a not too distant future, to correct errors, and to throw light upon what is yet dark. Even in the present state of the question the deponent will furnish a valuable criterion for testing the antiquity of a text, for it may be laid down as a general principle that the better the deponential inflexion is preserved in a text the older will the text be.[1]

As we have seen before, the deponent verbs may be divided into two classes. The first class includes radical verbs and a few denominatives, and some verbs which are deponent only in certain parts, usually in the perfect. The second class embraces derivative verbs in *-ag-*, *-ig-*. These two classes may be most conveniently discussed separately. New developments in the *s* preterite and the subjunctive will be considered afterwards.

In the Glosses (see pp. 5–24) the former class includes the following verbs and their compounds *águr* 'I fear,' *frisailiur* 'expect,' *airliur*,[2] *conairliur* 'take thought for,' 'consult,' *cluiniur* 'hear,' *comalnur* 'fulfil,' *cuiriur* 'put,' etc., *dimeccur*[3] 'despise,' *fetar* 'know,' *fociallur* 'take thought for,' *follúur* 'fly,' *folnur* 'rule,' *gainiur* 'am born,' *adgládur* 'address,' *labrur* 'speak,' *laimiur* 'dare,' *foldmur* 'attempt,' *midiur* 'judge,' *-moiniur* 'think,' etc., *molur*[4] 'praise,' *condirgur* 'direct,' 'correct,' *tremidirgur*[5] 'transfer,'

[1] Strangely enough Prof. Zimmer, *Zeitsch. f. Deutsch. Alt.* xxxiii. 269, brings forward as a proof of the high antiquity of the *Imram Maelduin* the fact that no deponential forms appear in the pres. system. I have noted in the LU. version only one instance to the point, 1 pl. subj. *cuirem*, beside the *s* preterites *rolabair*, *rosamlaisetar*, *roformdigestar*, and the perf. *dorumenair*. This argument involves the assumption of a pre-deponential period in historic Irish, at least in the pres. system, an assumption which the preceding pages will have shown is completely opposed to the facts. As to the dep. forms in the *s* pret. and the perf., we shall see that the deponent survived there, when it had disappeared from the other parts of the verb. Some of the other proofs of the antiquity of the text are not very convincing. In Fland Mainistrech (†1056) may be found parallels to the perf. forms quoted, such as *geguin*, *cechaing*, *giuil*, *reraig*, *rodciuir*, *corondedaig*, to *bi*, *rodmbí* (LL. 132[a] 10, 20), to the *s* fut. and subj. *iarfais* (*iarfaigim*), *conécsem* (*adcuad*); *biru* is paralleled by *taccu* in a poem of Cuan hua Lothchain, LL. 34[b] 40. So that these arguments hardly prove that the text, in its present form, is particularly old.

[2] According to Ascoli, *Lex.* cxliii. a derivative from *airle*.

[3] A word of uncertain origin; cf. W. *dermygu* 'despise' = *dī-ro-mec-*, *edmygu* 'honour,' *myged* honoratus.

[4] Add to the examples *molfait* 'they will praise,' Ml. 69[b] 1.

[5] In other compounds *reg-* is regularly active. It may be noted that in these two compounds the verb has a mental, not a physical, application. Cf. Asc. *Lex.*

'refer'; *samlur* 'imitate,' *sechur* 'follow,' *dofuisliur*[1] g. labor, *-sissiur* = ἵσταμαι (only in compounds), *-tluchur* (in *atluchur* (*buidi*) 'give thanks,' *du-thluchur* 'demand'), *dúthraccar* 'wish'; the isolated *admachdur* 'wonder' (16), *remiaisindider* (10), *arafochladar* (11), *atmuilniur* (19), *coinedar*,[2] *immethecrathar*, *fochelfatar*,[3] (24): *esur* √*ed*, which supplies the fut. stem of *ithim* 'eat'; the pres. subj. of *-ciu* 'see' (23); the perfects *coneccar*, *-dámar*, *-siassar* (24), cf. *tarrastair* (22).[4]

In the other old texts most of these verbs are found:—*águr* (53, 54, 55, 56, etc.), *frisailiur* (75), *airliur*, *conairliur* (65, 59, 69), *cluiniur* (46, 48, 52, 56, 58, etc.), *comalnur* (71, 74), *cuiriur* (46, 48, 51, 52, etc.), *fetar* (46, etc., subj. *finnar* 65, 67, 80), *fociallur*[5] (61), *folnur* (51, 61, 70), *gainiur* (46, 48, 58, 61, 70, etc.), *adgládur* (46, 48, 52, 54, 55, 61, 64, etc.), *labrur* (46, 52, 55, 57, 66), *laimiur* (57, 61, 66, 67, etc.), *foldmur* (51, 57, 67, 77), *midiur* (49, 51, 54, 62, 67), *-moiniur* (46, 58, 67, etc.), *molur* (75), *samlur* (53, 56, 57), *-sissiur* (49, 54, 56, 57, 58, 62, 70), *-tluchur* (47, 49, 58, etc.), *dúthraccar* (47, 62, 67, 75): *esur* (52, 67, 81); dep. subj. of *-ciu* (47, 51, 52, 68, etc.). Additional deponents are *búriur* 'roar' (50, 53, 59, 69, 70),[6] *cobrur* 'help'[7] (60, 70), some forms of *conóim* 'preserve' (51, 70),[8] *derdrur* 'roar' (53), *tuigiur* 'cover' (57, 62, 67, 70, 71 n.). Isolated forms are *immustecrathar* 68, *airlathar* (62 n.), *bágur* (86 n.), *caradar* (59 n.), *coiblethar* (68), *faichlethar*[9] (62),

[1] The dep. forms are found only in the subj. But as only two active forms are found in the Glosses, and these in parts of the verb where the active forms are most commonly found, this is probably a mere matter of chance. The word is cognate with Lat. *salio*.

[2] In anu nusual construction, *coinedar dá insalmso* 'that David utters this psalm of lamentation,' where *salm* is an acc. of the internal object. Cf. expressions like θρηνεῖν ὕμνον.

[3] Cf. note 9.

[4] Cf. p. 61 n.

[5] Cf. *arusciallador* 50, *ciallathar* 56, *ciallastar* 69. The verb seems to be a denominative from *ciall* 'understanding.' To *ciallaim* corresponds W. *pwyllo* considerare, deliberare, Bret. *poella* comprendre, concevoir, to *fochiallaim*, W. *gobwyllo* procurare, curare. Distinct from this verb is *fochiallaim* 'collect,' 58; cf. *Idg. Forsch.* ii. 369, Stokes, *Urkelt. Sprachschatz* 85.

[6] *beccestar* (52) is perhaps a somewhat slender basis on which to establish a dep. *becciur* 'roar,' though it may be noted that the word belongs to the same sphere of meaning as *búriur*, *derdrur*.

[7] I have no examples of this verb from the Glosses, except forms where the dep. inflexion is not distinct from the act. Wb. 3[d] 16, 12[b] 8.

[8] In the Glosses the verb is active.

[9] The verb is usually active; cf. *Windisch*, Wb. 539; Zimmer, *Kelt. Stud.* i. 72; Ml. 90[c] 15. In Wb. 30[d] 15 Zimmer takes *fochelfatar* as a dep. = expectabunt. And that seems required by the meaning. Akin in meaning to *fochiallur*.

dligethar (68), *temadar*[1] (47), *ronfeladar*[2] (47), *colindfadar* (63), *luinethar* (49 n.), *marastar*, *marathar*[3] (56, 71 n.), *fuinethar* (49), *mrogatar* (65 n.), *muinethar* (47 n.), *condarlaithir* (56), *conidtharlathar* (62), *rimther* (76), *rodomscrútadar*[2] (47), *fossuidiur* (71), *rontolomar* (47, cf. p. 88); cf. also *congebethar* (62), *gebethar* (68), *fuasnadar* (68), *immasinithar* (63), and the obscure *todonethar*, *sligethar*, *nerethar* (63).

Deponent perfects as in the Glosses *docoemnacair* (49, 57, cf. 63), *forcoemnacair* (68, etc.), *dámair* (52, 58, etc.), *ardámair* (58, 68), *fordamar* (71), *siassar* (47), *arrasair* (63), *tarrasair* (63, 72, etc.). As we shall see, the dep. perf. survived longer than other deponent forms; it even spread by analogy in the later language. I have noted the following forms :—*roásair* (*ásaim*), LU. 52[a] 42, LL. 288[a] 43; cf. p. 81 n., *rocesair* (Stokes, *Lives of Saints*, lxxiii.), *dosfanair* (*anaim*), *immoscoemarcair* (*comaircim* 49, cf. 63, 71 n.), *færlangair* (63, etc.), *atacœmnacair*, *ritacoemnacair*, *conarnecar*, *arlacair*, *forromair* (63), *tarnacar* (65 n.), *foruigénair*, *conaitigair*, *arroerachair*, *dellechuir* (78),[4] *tathamair* (80), *targlammair* (*tecmallaim*), *condnanacair* (83), *rarmetairni* (83 n), *roaitfethair* (85 n).

Apart from a few sporadic forms, some of which, as we have seen, are probably to be explained as momentary analogical formations, these verbs form a compact and well-defined class. And there are clear indications of the connexion of this class with the Idg. Middle voice.[5] And this connexion will probably

[1] Another example is found in a poem in R.I.A. 23 n. 10, p. 20—*basi bacs fomtemadar etir lesuib land.*

[2] Borrowed from Lat. *velo*, *scrutor*. In the Glosses *scrútaim* is active Wb. 31[b] 10, Ml. 80[c]; *feladar* probably under influence of native *temadar*.

[3] In the Glosses active, and usually elsewhere.

[4] In this text *folamadair* and *folamastar*, without any apparent difference of meaning. Stokes takes *folamadair* as a present, and such it undoubtedly is in its origin, cf. p. 13 note, but it may be questioned whether it does not owe its preservation to association with the perfects *ermadair* and the like.

[5] Prof. Zimmer, in a well-known paper in KZ. xxx., has tried to show that the deponent in Irish is a purely Irish formation, of a later date than the vowel-syncope produced by the working of the Irish accent, and consequently later than the introduction of Latin words like *peccatum*, Ir. *peccad*, gen. *pectho*. He points out (p. 263) that, taking *e.g.* the dep. *cairigedar* and the pass. *cairigther*, *cairigther* is the regular Irish development of **carigitor* or the like, while *cairigedar* as the development of the same form is an anomaly. He also (p. 264) urges that the dep. shows irregularly *d*, while the passive has the regular *th*. His explanation is that *cairigedar*, etc., are late formations built up upon the active *cairigid*, etc. If that were so, of course any connexion of the Irish deponent with the Idg. Middle is out of the question, and we should have to resign ourselves to the strange fact that, some time after the vowel-syncope produced by the Irish accent, for some mysterious reason these deponent verbs arose in Irish; that, setting aside the fluctuating class of verbs

become clearer when the uses of the middle voice in Indo-Germanic have been investigated. Meanwhile the following points may be noted. Many deponent verbs in Irish correspond to middle (or deponent) verbs in other Indo-Germanic languages (cf. Thurneysen, *Idg. Forsch.* i. 462). Thus *sechur* corresponds to Lat. *sequor*, Gr. ἕπομαι, Skr. *sácate*, Zd. *hacaitē*; *gainiur* corresponds to Skr. *jā́yate*, Zd. *zayeitē*, Gr. γίγνομαι (a formation corresponding, except in the grade of the root, to the Irish fut. *adgignethar*, p. 61), Lat. *nascor*; *-moiniur* corresponds to Skr. *mányate*, Zd. *manyetē*, cf. Lat. *-miniscor*. So *-tluchur* has been compared by Stokes with Lat. *loquor* for **tloquor*, *-glādur* with Skr. *hrādate*. Further, *águr* (perhaps with the vocalism of the

in *-gur*, the deponent inflexion established itself in a small and well-defined class of verbs, some of which correspond to deponent forms in Lat., and others to middle verbs in Greek and Sanskrit, and that this new formation had begun to pass again into the active in the earliest Glosses, and before the eleventh century had, except in certain forms, practically vanished. But before we give credence to this strange tale, it would be well to examine the facts, and see whether no probable explanation offers itself. Zimmer's statement that a form like *cairigedar*, if old, is not in accordance with the laws of the Irish accent must simply be accepted. His other statement that the deponent shows *d* where the passive shows *th* is only partly true. The ending *-dar* is the usual one in deponent verbs in *-gur*, though even here we find *-thar* in *adamrigethar*, *erbirigithir*. But in the other class of deponents, as a glance at the lists will show, *-thar* is much more common than *-dar*. Now, on Zimmer's theory, this *-thar* is as difficult of explanation as *-dar* is easy. Thurneysen, KZ. xxxi. 63, has suggested a way of avoiding the inference that Zimmer draws from forms like *suidigidir*. The distinction between dep. *suidigidir* and pass. *suidigthir* is a secondary one, due to the desire to distinguish deponent from passive forms. Active forms like *ainmnigid*, *demnigid* might easily produce in place of the regular **suidigthir* a form *suidigidir*, which then drew after it a conjunct *suidigedar* instead of **suidigther*. For this class Thurneysen's explanation is very probable. But how about the other class of deponents, where there were no parallel active forms? The difference of ending *-thar*, *-dar* forbids us to see in them analogical forms after verbs in *-gur*. Besides, as we see from a comparison of the Glosses with the profane texts, these verbs in *-gur* must have been to a very great extent learned formations, though, of course, the type must have been there before. Why then do we find *laimethar* instead of **laimther* from *lamitor*, *-ciallathar* instead of **cialltar* from **ceillātor*? I would suggest the following explanation. From *cómlanàtor* would come **comḷnatar*, *comalnatar*. This should have given **comalntar*. If this form is to be assumed as an intermediate stage, *n* must have had the value of a vowel, whence **comalnatar*, *comalnathar* (cf. the pass. *foircnither* from *fórcennàtor*). The passive is here distinguished by a change of conjugation, *comalnithor*. So in the pl. *cómlānāntor* would give *comalnatar*. Similarly **librātòr* would give first **labṛtar*. Under the influence of *labrur* ṛ might here develop not to *ar* but to *ra*, whence *labrathar*, and in the pl. *labratar*. A similar explanation would apply to *airlethar*, *conairlethar*, *tomnathar*, *tomnatar*, *insamlathar*, *disamlathar*, *dofuisledar*. Since the Irish were evidently resolved at any cost to keep the deponent inflexion apart from the passive, a ready enough means of doing so lay to hand by simply extending the endings *-athar*, *-ethar*, *-atar*, *-etar* throughout the deponent—*gainethar* : *gainiur* = *airlethar* : *airliur*, etc. In

perfect, Brugmann, *Grundriss*, ii. 1256) may be compared with Gr. ἄχομαι, *midiur*, perf. *midar*, with Gr. μέδομαι, μήδομαι, though the formation of the present stem is different; with the forms from this verb meaning 'to measure' cf. Lat. *metior*, Skr. *mimīte*. Ir. *-sissiur* with its intransitive signification suggests comparison with the Gr. middle ἵσταμαι. Vedic Sanskrit has both *tishṭhati* and *tishthate* in a neuter sense. But this use of the pres. act. is probably less original than that of the Gr. ἵστημι, compared with ἔστηκα, ἔστην. For the usage in Vedic Sanskrit see Delbrück, *Altindische Syntax*, 257 *sq.* *Marathar* suggests at once Lat. *moror*. The Glosses certainly have the active, and that is so far against the direct comparison of the two deponents. On the other hand, the language of the Laws is highly archaic, and it is not impossible that an old deponent survived there, which had become active in the Glosses. The root *ḱleu̯*, which elsewhere is usually active (but cf. Lat. *cluor* by *cluo*), is in Irish deponent, except in the perfect.[1] Root *ed-* 'eat' appears only in the *s* formation *ed-s-* and as a deponent; cf. Gr. ἔδομαι and isolated forms of Skr. *ad-* (Delbrück, *Altind. Synt.* 233). In

some cases in the passive itself a similar secondary distinction has been introduced. Thus *to-éllātòr* and *to-éllāntòr* would have become *do-elltar*. Perspicuity demanded a separate plur. form, and we have *doellatar*, though the ending *-atar*, probably under the influence of the active *-at*, spread further than was absolutely necessary. As to the *d* in *moladar*, etc., whether it is to be explained as due to *-igedar* or in some other way, it is also found in the passive, *e.g. cuicsedar*. It was only in the third person that the regular developments of the deponent could collide with the passive. In the other persons it was free to go its own way. Thus, in 1 pl. **cosmiligimor* became *cosmiligmmer*, **dechrigimor dechrigmir*, in 2 sg. **miditer* became *mitter*, **maniter mointer*, **carigiter cairigther*. It may be noted that in Class I. a vowel is regularly found before the heavy *m* in the 1 pl., *sechemmar* by *cosmiligmer*. This difference seems to depend upon the different number of syllables. It is only necessary to refer briefly to a couple of Prof. Zimmer's other assertions. On p. 259 he says, "im präsens dagegen ist deponentialflexion bei wurzelverben d. h. bei präsensstämmen auf *o* (Lat. *lego-*, *dico-*) äusserst selten und aktive formen liegen daneben." How far this is true will be seen from a glance at the forms from the radical verbs *cluiniur*, *gainiur*, *midiur*, *-moiniur*, *sechur*, *-sissiur*. As to the assertion that we can still, in O.Ir., see the deponent growing, the above lists confirm Thurneysen's remarks, KZ. xxxi. 63. A further indication of the connexion of the Irish deponent with the middle voice is the ending *-the*, *-ther* of the 2 sg. (Thurneysen, *Idg. Forsch.* i. 460 *sq.*). In the 2 pl. Ir. uses the active ending where Lat. has the new formation *-mini*. This was probably to avoid coincidence with 3 sg. In the pres. sec. *r* endings are wanting in the dep. as in the pass. Here an *-adar* (*-athar*), *-edar* would in most cases have been identical with the conjunct form of the present.

[1] Is the prevalence of the deponent inflexion in Irish due to the influence of *labrur* 'speak'? On the other hand it looks as though Idg. **ḱluneumi* had become in Irish **cluniō-(r)* under the influence of **cesiō* 'see.' The active perf. *cúala* compared with the dep. perfects *génair*, *ménair*, *midair* indicates that the dep. inflexion in Irish is secondary.

√kes 'see-' (cf. Skr. *cáshte cákshate*) only the present subjunctive is deponent. *Conóim* 'protect' (Skr. *ávati*) is, as in Skr., active in the Glosses, but shows deponent forms in some old texts. Instances of verbs middle in some parts and active in others are found in other languages, cf. Delbrück, *Altind. Synt.* 235, Gr. *βαίνω βήσομαι*, etc.; in Greek it is particularly in the fut. that middle forms are found.

Let us glance briefly at the meaning of these deponents. One well-defined group denotes the exercise of the organs of speech—*-tluchur*,[1] *labrur* 'speak,' *ad-gládur* 'address,' *arafócladar*, p. 11, *atmuilniur* iterum dico, *buriur*, *derdrur* 'roar.' With these may go *molur* 'praise,' if, as seems likely, the sense of praising has been developed from that of speaking.[2] Cf. Lat. verbs like *vociferor*, *quiritor*, Skr. verbs like *bhā́shate* 'speaks,' Greek verbs like *βρυχάομαι*, *μυκάομαι*. Other verbs denoting the exercise of a bodily function are *-cear* 'see,' *esur*, further *follúur* 'fly' (cf. Skr. *právate*). Of the other deponents it may be noted how many belong to the mental sphere (cf. the Sanskrit verbs, Delbrück, *Altind. Synt.* 233)—*águr* 'fear,' *frisailiur* 'expect,' *comalnur* 'fulfil' (but *línaim* 'fill'), *condirgur* 'direct,' *dimeccur* 'despise,' *fetar* 'know,' *laimur* 'dare,' *folámur* 'attempt' (cf. Lat. *conor*), *midiur* 'judge,' *-moiniur* 'think,' *-samlur* imitor, *dúthraccar* 'wish,' *tolur* 'please,' *folnur* 'rule,' *airliur*, *fochiallur* 'take thought for.' Akin in meaning to the last verbs is *cobrur* 'help' (cf. Lat. *auxilior*), with which go the deponent forms of *conóim* and *temadar* 'may he protect.' With these may be mentioned *fosuidiur*, which in the Laws is translated 'entertain'; cf. *fosughadh* 'maintenance,' O'Donovan Suppl. In *cuiriur*[3] we often find an intransitive meaning (p. 8 n.), or a middle force 'take to oneself,' but in some passages, *e.g.* Ml. 52, the meaning seems to be simply active. It may be noted that the active forms in the Glosses (p. 9) have an active force, so *dichuirid*, *imdacuiret* (p. 56). As to *dofuisliur* (Lat. *salio*), *dufuislim* is found glossing *labo*,

[1] In *atluchur buidi* 'I give thanks.' In *do-tluchur* it has rather the sense of asking for oneself, *αἰτεῖσθαι*.

[2] Cf. p. 19 n., also Wb. 14[b] 26, *guide* et *tomoltid armbdis* 'praying and calling for (?) our death,' 20[d] 4 *nímthomóldid* 'do not call upon me' (?), where see Stokes' note, cf. KZ. xxxi. 240.

[3] With this I would put *immethecrathar* 'covers' = **imme-do-aith-corethar*. This verb may have influenced *-tuigiur* 'cover,' which was also exposed to the influence of derivatives in *-giur*.

dofuisledar, etc., glosses *labor*, *elabor*. The other verbs call for no further remark.

With regard to the perfects *cotanecar*, *forodamar*, *adrodamar*, *siassair* (from √*sed*-), it is hard to say whether they come from Idg. middle forms, or whether they are the beginning of the analogical extension of the *-ar* perfect which is found in later Irish. If the variation between active and deponent here be old, we may compare Lat. *gaudeo*, *gavisus sum* and the like.

Of deponent forms related to active verbs as the Greek and Sanskrit middle to the active the examples are few and not very certain. I have already noticed *coinedar*, Ml. 74^{b} 1, with its peculiar construction. In LU. 110^{b} 31 (p. 68), Windisch takes *nosinethar* (probably from *no-n-sinethar* with infixed pronoun) as deponent 'he stretches himself.' The regular passive to *sinim* 'I stretch' would be *sinter*. So *immasinithar dóib* (p. 63 n. 2, cf. p. 68 n. 7) lit. 'there are mutual stretchings to them.' For the construction cf. Wind. Wb. 415, *ómanacca dóib* 'when they saw one another,' LL. 256^{a} 37, and, from a deponent, *imasisedar doib*, p. 54 n. 4. In LU. 106^{a} 44 (p. 68), Windisch takes *fúasnadar* as a deponent form from *fúasnaim*, and the reflexive meaning suits the passage well; *nosfuasnaithar im Conculaind*, LU. 127^{a} 36, seems certainly passive; cf. the passive construction of **dássaim*, Wind. s.v. *dastar*, Ml. 50^{d} 2, LU. 63^{a} 8. In the Glosses and usually in the profane literature *bertaigim* 'shake' is active. On p. 53 we have *nombertaigedar*, etc., 'he shakes himself.' I may refer also to *congebethar* p. 62 n. 3, *gebethar* p. 68 n. 5. Perhaps an examination of other old texts will bring more examples to light.

The second class of deponents, the denominatives in *-giur*, resembles, in respect of the freedom of its formation, the various Latin denominatives with the suffix *-i̯o-* (Brugmann, *Grundr.* ii. §§ 777–8). It is a formation common to the two branches of Keltic, cf. Ir. *sáraigur* with W. *sarhaf*, though of course deponent forms are found only in Irish. In Irish it spread most widely in the learned language, the language of the church, and it is found in the largest numbers in the Old Irish Glosses. In the great majority of cases there the verbs are evidently new formations coined after the stamp of the Latin words. In some instances the glossator makes this clear enough. In Ml. 128^{c} 8 *tutabitur* is glossed by *inilligfid* i. *doemfea*: here *inilligfid* is coined

to express *tutabitur*; *doemfea* is the usual Irish for 'will protect.' Similarly in Ml. 30c 18 *potabunt* is glossed by *deugaigfit* .i. *ibait son*. As might be expected, the formation is not very frequent in the old heroic tales. In some of the simpler of them, such as the *Táin Bó Regemain* and the *Táin Bó Regamna*, it is not found at all. In the comparatively long *Táin Bó Frdich* are found only forms from *airigiur*, which in the Glosses is regularly deponent. A comparison of the older LU. version of the *Táin Bó Cuailnge* with the later more literary version in LL. in respect of the frequency of verbs in *-ig-* is instructive. In later ecclesiastical texts like the Tripartite Life of S. Patrick, the *Saltair na Rann*, and the Passions and Homilies edited by Atkinson from the *Leabhar Breac* these verbs swarm. From the language of the church they must gradually have made their way into the language of the people; in Mod. Ir. the formation is very numerous. It would be a vain task to try to enumerate the verbs of this class, for each newly discovered text will probably add new forms. Thus the Regula of Columbcille furnishes the forms *nomuinichit-*,[1] *coscelaigetar*, the Arrada *mani cumrigedar*, the metrical treatises edited by Thurneysen, *Irische Texte* iii. 1 *sq.*, *oentadaigetar* by *deochraigetar*.[2] But it may be of interest to arrange the forms found in the three great collections of Glosses, to see how far the deponent and how far the active inflexion prevails in different parts of the verb.

Pres. ind. sg. 1. Deponent—Wb. *noadamrugur*, *niconairigursa*, *nochairigur*, *nomisligur*; Ml. *coasmecnugursa*,[3] *nothorisnigiur*.

[1] Read *nomuinichither—cach bec nó cech mór domuinichether*. Reeves translates 'thou possessest.' I have no further examples of the word.

[2] It is interesting to note how the deponent forms are found in the questions, while the answers show active forms, *e.g.* § 3, *et na soerbaird dā, cid nosdeocraigethar ingradaib*? *Niansa : as aidanaib forberat* 7 *deocruigid*. It looks as though the questions had become formulæ in which the old forms survived. Exceptions to the rule are, however, found in the version on p. 24. In the grammatical tract, BB. 314 *sq.*, the text has the dep. *condadeligitar*, 323a 26 by other deponents like *nosdeachrathar* distinguishes them (=*di-corethar*) 319b 5; the comm. has the active *fograigit*, *faillsiges*, etc., but also *nasdeligidar* 320a 37.

[3] Cf. p. 40 note. At the same time the syntax is decidedly in favour of the subjunctive, for the meaning is 'that I should root out,' not 'that I do root out,' so that I should be inclined to leave it an open question whether we have not here an early instance of the subj. in *-ur*. The other instance, *nothorisnigiur*, seems to be indicative, but we have as yet no investigation into the uses of the moods in Irish. In the absence of such an investigation, I fear I may have in some cases classed indicatives as subjunctives, and *vice versâ*.

Active—Wb. *conasarcagim, sulbi*[*rigim*][1]; Sg. *bruthnaigim, cumachtaigim, cumcigim, daiṅgnigim, nidephthigim, dechrigim, imtrénigim, dlgenaigim, athrigim, baithaigim, cuiligim, failligim, fescrigim, fliuchaigim, gaigim, gortigim, intonnaigim, múnigim, réchtaigim, trebairigim, uallgim*; Ml. *tosṅgachtaigim.*

sg. 2. Deponent only—Wb. *nocairigther*; Sg. *cumachtaigther*; Ml. *adbartaigther, dixnigther.*

sg. 3. Deponent—Wb. *adamrigethar, beoigidir, nombeoigedar, cairigedar, cuimnigedar, dixnigedar, fedligedar, firianigedar* (bis), *fogrigedar, foirbthigedar, toirthigedar*; Sg. *deligedar* (bis), *desimrechtaigedar, disruthaigedar, dixnigedar, coméicnigedar, engraicigidir* (bis), *engracigedar, etarcnigedar, ilaigedar* (bis), *oenaigedar, sainigedar, -suidigedar* (bis), *trebrigedar*; Ml. *adamrigedar, adbartaigedar, adsitchethar* (ter), *aidlicnigedar, adribaigedar, bruthnaigedar, cluchigedar* (bis), *cobrigedar, comadasaigidir* (bis), *cruthaigedar, danaiged*[*ar*], *dixnigedar, écmailtigidir, erbirigithir, erdarcaigidir, erladaigidir, erladaigedar, etuailngigedar, nosessrassaigedar, fercaigedar, fiachaigedar, foilsigidir* (bis), *foilsigedar* (ter), *follaigedar, -fortachtaigedar, guaigedar, imdaigidir* (ter), *lobraigedar* (bis), *londaigedar* (bis), *mothaigedar, rodigedar, sonartnaigedar, subaigidir, -tesaigedar, immetrenaigedar, -tuailngigedar.*

Active—Wb. *dlgenigid*; Sg. *demnigid, ailigid*; Ml. *erbirigid, imdaig*[*id*], *nosilaigid.*

pl. 1. Deponent — Wb. *adilgnigmar*; Sg. *cosmiligmmer*; Ml. *dechrigmir.*

Active—Wb. *foruaisligem*; Ml. *demnigmi, elithrigmi, failtigmi.*

pl. 3. Deponent — Wb. *boltigetar, dixnigetar, -éttigetar*; Sg. *aidlignigitir, aidlicnigetar, bindigeddar, cosmailigetar, dechrigetar* (bis), *engraicigetar* (bis), *-failsigetar* (bis); Ml. *adamraigetar, cluichigetar, dechraigetar* (bis), *condogailsegetar, ecndigitir, -findbadaigetar, guaigitir, imdaigitir* (bis), *imdaigetar, lobraigetar, mindchigitir, suidigitir, huatigidir.*

Active—Ml. *subaigit, -feidliget, cofinbuanaigit, -airiget*; relative Wb. *iudigte* (19[a] 13), Sg. *foilsigdde*; Ml. *cathaigte,*

[1] Both Stokes and Zimmer read *sulbi*[*rigim*], but it seems equally possible, and it would be more in accordance with the usage in Wb., to read *sulbi*[*rigur*].

dechraigte, demnigte, feidligte, fograigte, greschaigte, mencigite, saithraigte, semigte (86[a] 10), *taraisnigte, acarbaigte, aithirgigte, intledaigte, lainnigte, menaigte, sétaigte.*

subj. sg. 1. Deponent only—Wb. *rofoirbthiger*; Ml. *coerladaig:ar, nufailtiger, nosilaiger.*

sg. 2. Deponent—Wb. *cairigther*; Ml. *adnamraigther, danaigther, étaigther* (bis), *fotchridigther, inraiccaigther.*

Active—Ml. *-daingnige, -imdaigi.*

sg. 3. Deponent—Wb. *dechrigedar*; Sg. *senaigidir*; Ml. *bresminigedar, friscathaigedar, comaicsigedar, comdemnigedar, cutrummaigidir, diummussaigedar, -dixnigedar, -etarcnigedar, focridigedar, gréschaigidir, lobraigedar, fommamaigedar, moithaigidir, semigidir, sochenelaigidir, sonartnaigedar, uraigedar.*

Active—Ml. *co adbartaigid, co mothaigid, co thirmaigid, mani mesraigea.*

pl. 1. Deponent—Wb. *fedligmer.*

Active—Ml. *nuallaigem* (cf. *boltigme*, Acr.).

pl. 3. Deponent — Wb. *inbothigetar*; Ml. *adamraigetar* (bis), *failtigetar, inlinaigetar.*

Active—Wb. *herassiget.*

ipv. sg. 2. Deponent only—Ml. *aditchide, fercaigthe, fochridigthe, foilsigthe, trebrigthe, dianaigthe, ollaigthe, ruccaigthe* (27[c] 11), *slánaigthe.*

s pret. sg. 1. Deponent only—Wb. *-airigsiur* (bis), *roardrigestar, rocathichsiur*; Ml. *roadbartaigsiur* (bis), *rodoichenslaigsiur, rufrepthanaigisiur, rusuidigsiur.*

sg. 2. Deponent only—Ml. *rucestaigser, rofoerbthichser, rolethnaigser, rosudigser, rosuthchaigser, rotaitnigser.*

sg. 3. Deponent only—Wb. *roardrigestar, rodánaigestar, radeemnigestar, rafirianigestar, rosfailsigestar, romiscsigestar, roordigestar* (bis), *rosuidigestar*; Sg. *cichnaigistir, rotoltanaigestar*; Ml. *roadbartaigestar, roainmnigestar* (ter), *roscosmailigestar, ruculigestar, racumgaigestar, rocutrummaigestar, rodaingnigestar, rodánaigestar* (bis), *rodumaigestar, roetarcnaigestar, ruétuailng[ig]estar, rofassaigestar, rondfirianaigestar, rofoilsigestar* (quater), *rolondaigestar, fosroammamigestar, rondoirammaigestar, romincigestar, rudmrechtnigestar, rusaithraigestar, rusarigestar, rosonartnaigestar, rosuidigestar* (ter), *rutessaigestar, rotorasnaigestar, rothuailngigestar, runuaibrigestar.*

pl. 1. Deponent—Sg. *rochruthaigsemmar*; Ml. *rufeidligsemmar*.
Active—Ml. *rondoirmaigsem*, *roerbirigsem*.
pl. 3. Deponent—Wb. *roirladigsetar*, *rofoilsigsetar*, *forrusuidigsetar*; Ml. *rodebthaichsetar*, *roechtrannaigsetar*, *rognathaigsetar*.
Active—Wb. *rósárichset*; Ml. *adruamraigset*, *roadbartaigset*, *rofeidligset*, *rufáilsigset*, *robertaigset*, *rondilmainaigset*, *roétrummaigset*, *rofeuchraigset*, *rumadaigset* (bis).
fut. sg. 1. Deponent—Wb. *gaimigfer*; Ml. *adbartaigfer*; (cf. Acr. *-scithigfar*).
Active[1]—Ml. *-etarcugube*, *greschaigfea*.
sg. 2. Deponent—Ml. *mescaigfider*.
Active—Ml. *adbartaigfe*, *ilaigfe*, *-daingnichfe*.
sg. 3. Active—Ml. *comaicsigfid*, *dánaigfea*, *addanaigfea*, *feidligfid*, *foilsigfid*, *imdaigfid*, *suidigfith*, *arsadaigfith*, *étrummaigfid*, *inilligfid*, *erdarcaigfes*.
pl. 3. Active—Ml. *cumachtaigfet*, *dechraigfet*, *trem-feidligfet*, *deugaigfit*.

If we compare these different sets of Glosses with one another, we see clearly a falling-off in the deponent inflexion and an increase in the active. In the oldest of the three collections of Glosses, the Würzburg Glosses, active forms are few; in the Milan Glosses, even if we make allowance for the greater number of instances, the proportion of active forms is greater. But it would hardly be safe to reason backwards, and assume that at one time these verbs followed the deponent inflexion entirely, for, as we have seen, the influence of the active forms is probably to be seen in the development of deponent forms like *suidigidir*, *suidigitir*.

The proportion of active forms to deponent differs in different parts of the verb. Some parts, *e.g.* the singular of the *s* preterite and the 2 sg. imperative, show only deponent forms. In the future, on the other hand, except in the 1 sg., and one instance in the 2 sg., the forms are all active. But it must be borne in mind that the examples come from the Milan Glosses. Another thing that may be noted is the prevalence in Sg. of the active inflexion in the 1 sg. pres. ind. It is true that most of the examples are imitations of Latin words, and that many of them are found only in this one form, but even then there is no reason

[1] In Wb. 12[d] 12 Stokes and Zimmer extend *sul.* to *sulbairigfea*.

why the writer should have used the active form, had it not been more familiar to him in this part of the verb. Unfortunately Ml. has very few examples of this person. But the same thing is seen in the former class of verbs—*frithalim* Ml., *domeccim* Sg., *dofuislim* Sg., *duthluchim* Ml. Wb. has here always the deponent form. And in the old secular texts that I have examined the deponent inflexion prevails—*atamidiur* (p. 51), *adgladur* (55), *rocluiniur* (56), *domuiniur* (58), *cluniur* (59), etc., but *rotchlunim* in a religious text (p. 72). In the other old texts it is difficult to compare the inflexion of the *-ig-* verbs with their inflexion in the Glosses, both because of the rarity of their occurrence, and because such instances as are found come almost entirely from the third persons of the present and the *s* preterite. A 1 sg. pres. ind. *nochosnagur* is found p. 47, a 2 sg. *-muinichither* p. 98. Of the 2 sg. subj. we have examples in *fuiligther* p. 75, and *mebraigther* p. 76, by the side of the active *mani brethaigeseo* p. 68. Of the 1 pl. pres. ind. active forms are found in *cathaigmit* p. 68, *córaigmit, sidaigmit* p. 64; dep. *airigmer* p. 52. Of the 1 pl. pres. subj. an active form occurs in *aithigem* p. 75. In the 2 sg. ipv. I have noted only the active inflexion, *ardotchuibdig* p. 66, in a text where the active inflexion prevails in these verbs; similarly in the future 1 sg. *brethaigfit* p. 68, 3 pl. *crechtnaigfit* p. 71. In the 3 sg. of the *s* preterite deponent forms are common, less frequent in the 3 pl. But active forms are not rare—*samaiges* p. 47, *rofuachtnaig* p. 53, *rathaiges* p. 57, *rachasnig* p. 64, etc. This represents a later state of matters than in the Glosses. The evidence indicates that the deponent inflexion passed into the active at an earlier period in this class than in the other. The Milan Glosses clearly point in this direction; so do the old profane texts, unless indeed we are to assume that time and the scribes have dealt more hardly with these verbs than with the others. In the Regula Mochuta, too, p. 73, where deponent forms would have been protected by the metre, are found the active *nonmiscnegat* and *aithigem*. All these facts are in favour of the above conclusion. As this class of verbs is found chiefly in the Glosses, and as it is not largely represented in our other old texts, it has seemed most convenient to treat of it briefly as a whole, before we proceed to remark on the history of the deponent generally in Irish.

As in the deponents in *-giur* so in the others the deponent inflexion has already in the Old Irish Glosses begun to give place to the active. This change has naturally gone furthest in the

latest of the three great collections of Glosses, the Milan Glosses.[1]

Active forms are found most frequently in *comalnur* 'fulfil.' Of active forms in the 1 sg. pres. ind. I have already spoken. The other active forms are distributed as follows—pres. ind. sg. 3 *comallaid* Ml., *comalnas* Wb., *labraid* Ml.; pl. 1 *labraimme* Ml., *duntlucham* Wb.; pl. 3 *comalnat* Wb., *comallait* Ml., *chomallaite* Ml., *immusaccaldat* Ml., *molat* Ml.:—subj. sg. 1 *fristacor* Ml.; sg. 2 *cuiri* Bcr., *intamlae* Ml.; sg. 3 *comalla* Ml.; pl. 1 *labraimme* Ml.; pl. 3 *chomalnit* Wb., *dichret* Ml., *molait* Ml.:—*s* pret. sg 1 *rocomallus* Ml.; pl. 3 *rochomalnisset* Wb., *orufoluassat* Ml., *foruraithminset*[2] Ml., *arrumuinset* Ml.:—reduplicated future only deponent *cechladar* Wb., Ml.:—*s* fut. and subj. sg. 1 *doduthris* Wb.; sg. 2 *dúthrais* Carm. Ml.; pl. 3 *imroimset*, *imruimset* Ml., *dunfutharset* Ml.—*b* fut.[3] sg. 2 *folnaibe* Ml., *dundamroimnefese* Ml.; sg. 3 *deintamlafa* Ml., *nicontuislifea* Ml.; pl. 1 *atluchfam* Wb.; pl. 3 *comallaibte* Ml., *molfait* Ml. The 2 sg. pres. ind. and pret., the 2 sg. ipv., and the 3 sg. pret. are always deponent.

If we turn to the other deponent texts, we find in some of them the deponential inflexion preserved as well as, if not better than, in the Glosses, while in others the active inflexion has made greater inroads. This encroachment of the active inflexion might be explained in two ways. Either it represents the fluctuation of the language at the time of the redaction of the

[1] According to Thurneysen, *Rev. Celt.* vi. 318, the manuscript in which the Milan Glosses are found belongs to the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century. From a comparison of the language with the Irish of the Book of Armagh, on which however see now Zimmer, *Zeitsch. f. deutsch. Alterth.* xxxv. 53, 78, he would place the original at the latest in the middle of the eighth century. It is clear from the scribal errors that the glosses have been copied once, if not oftener. The Würzburg Glosses are preserved in a manuscript of the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century, but, as Thurneysen points out, the language is considerably older than that of the Milan Glosses. He would put the original in the seventh century. The St. Gall Glosses, preserved in a manuscript written in 845 or 856, KZ. xxxiii. 93 note, he suggests, lie between the two. Of course this dating is only approximate. It were greatly to be desired that some one well versed in the theology of the time should examine the subject-matter of the Würzburg and the Milan Glosses. Therein, so far as I see, lies the only hope of fixing more accurately the date of composition. It would be interesting to know, for example, if there be any trace of the influence of Isidore on the Würzburg Glosses. A superior limit for the date of the Glosses on Bede is fixed by the date of the original; unfortunately these glosses are scanty.

[2] With transition to the *s* pret.

[3] The 1 sg. fut. is always deponent; of the 2 sg. no deponent forms occur in this class of verbs, but it is to be noted that the only two examples are from Ml. To the dep. forms in sg. 3 should be added *comálnabadar*, Ml. 46c 20.

text, or active forms have been at a later time substituted by copyists for deponential. Of the latter examples are not wanting. Thus, on p. 51 *cotnofadar* is evidently more original than *cotnóba*.[1] On p. 54, for *adglaasmarni*, of the Yellow Book of Lecan, Egerton 1782 has *atroglésimni*, and H. 1. 13, T.C.D., which agrees closely with Egerton, has *atroglesimni*. On p. 69, for *acailli* of LU. and H. 1. 13 the Yellow Book of Lecan has the deponent *adglaiter*. But such cases are few compared with the huge mass of instances in which the deponential forms have been faithfully preserved. I may say that I started with a prejudice against these Irish scribes — so many are the sins that have been laid to their charge,—and was prepared to find the old deponential inflexion freely altered in later manuscripts. But, as the investigation went on, I was more and more struck by the fidelity with which these old forms at least were copied. Thus, the later Yellow Book of Lecan furnishes texts in which the deponent inflexion is every whit as well preserved as in the earlier *Leabhar na h-Uidhre* or the Book of Leinster. In order to subject this point to as severe a test as possible, during a visit to Dublin I collated *Táin Bo Fráich* (p. 52), *Longes Mac n-Usnig* (p. 53), *Táin Bó Regemain*[2] and *Táin Bó Regamna* (p. 54), and *Echtra Condla* (p. 69), with copies in the modern paper manuscript, H. 1. 13, in Trinity College. The result was a triumph for the fidelity of the scribe. I take as an example the text *Echtra Condla* (p. 69); the corresponding forms in H. 1. 13 are, in the same order, *totcuirether*, *docorustuir*, *accalli*, *adgladadar*, *cotomegnigetar* (=*cotomeionigetar* Yellow Book of Lecan). The conclusion has forced itself upon me that where active forms are frequent, or where the deponent inflexion has practically given place to the active, we have to deal with something more than a mere copyist's alterations. But to this we shall have to return again.

In the texts of which we have been speaking certain parts of the verb are represented by numerous examples, particularly the third persons of the present indicative and subjunctive, the perfect, and the *s* preterite. It would be useless to repeat all

[1] If we should not here speak rather of the redactor than of the scribe. There are clearly several redactions of this old text (cf. p. 50 n.), of which the LL. version is by no means the best.

[2] The *Táin Bó Regemain* stands on pp. 346–7, the *Táin Bó Regamna* on p. 346. The text is the same as in Egerton 1782.

these forms again. It is sufficient to note the forms of less frequent occurrence. We have already remarked that here the 1 sg. pres. ind. is usually deponent:—*attágur* (52, etc.), *frisailiur* (75), *cluniur* (56, 59), *tocuiriur* (46, cf. 60), *adgládur* (71, 55), *lamur* (82, 76), *atlochur* (49, 73), *atamidiur* (51, cf. 49), *nomolur* (75), *domuiniur* (58), *fossuidiur* (71): active *rotchlunim* (72), *laimim* (57), *romolaim* (71). The corresponding person in the subjunctive is regularly deponent; we shall have the examples later. Pres. ind. sg. 2 *ataigther* (66), *adgladaither* (54), *admuinter* (76)—*atclunisiu* (66), *acailli* (69).[1] Pres. subj. sg. 2[2] *agither* (59), *aigther* (65), *airlither* (65), *arafolmaider* (?) (51)—*cuire* (58, etc.), *tochre* (58). The 2 sg. ipv. is usually deponent *cluinte* (48, 53, 60, 75), *cobairthe* (70), *cuirthe* (58), *finta* (61), *atomglaitese* (48), *molatha* (75), *atlaigthe* (47), *samailte* (56, 57, 87)—active *cuir* (66), *samail* (57, 88). Pret. sg. 2 *adrogailser* (55). The third person is regularly deponent. *s* fut. and subj. *condaesur* (67), *roessur*, *vofessar* (55, cf. 61, etc.); *rofeiser* (75), *mesir* (49), *duthraiser* (75); *fiastar* (48, cf. 51, 72), *admestar* (51), *conmestar* (67), *midúthrastar* (47); *cofessamar* (61), *adglaasmar* (54), *conmesamar* (54), *condessamar* (81); *rofessatár* (57). Red. Fut. *atagegallarsa* (64); *gignithar*[3] (70), *adgignethar* (61), *atagegalldathar* (64), *lémaithar* (61). The *b* fut. is scantily represented, *cotnofadar* (51), *aurisfemmar* (70)—*immacurfi* (60), *cotnóba* (51), *nosseichfe* (51).

Our next task should properly have been to trace the decay of the deponent inflexion. But in the absence of a sufficiency of examples in dated and trustworthy texts we should here find ourselves on very slippery ground. The safer course is first to start from a time by which it can be shown that the deponent inflexion had disappeared, and then to work our way backwards as far as we can.

Here we may first call attention to certain forms that survived for a while the general breaking-up of the deponential system, and that are found in texts in which the deponent has otherwise passed into the active. Of these forms the *s* preterite and the

[1] On *atomglaithe*, see p. 69 n.

[2] On forms like *essara* (52), *nitágara* (65), see Zimmer, KZ. xxviii. 342 *sq.*

[3] In *dogignestár* (58) we seem to have a mixture of the red. fut. with the *s* fut. Cf. the fut. pass. *atatchigestar* 'you will be seen,' Ml. 59[c] 12, with *dianaicigther*, LU. 74[b] 25, *acciged*, LU. 64[a] 39. With the phrase *dogignestár do menma* cf. *niba sldniu de lat do menma*, LU. 74[b] 24.

1 sg. subjunctive will be noticed in the third part of this paper. Apart from them, the chief instance of the kind is the *-ar* perfect, which not only lived on but even extended itself analogically, cf. p. 93. Examples of this are *atacaemnacair*, *conarnecar*, etc. (63), *forcoimnacuir*, *rodamar*, etc. (78), *atamir*, *génair* (79), *romidair*, *tathamair* (80), *rodámair*, *lamair*, *doefanair*, *diarásair* (81), *coemnacair*, *rodamair*, etc. (82), *doruménair*, etc. (84), *forcaomnacuir*, *commidair*, etc. (85), *ragenair*, *rolamair*, etc. (87), *nirodámar*, etc. (89), *roiarair* (*iarraim*, LL. 158[b] 32), *rocesair*, *conanacar*, *rodamair*, *forodamair*, *forcoemnacair*, *rogénar*, *foroerlangair*, *duthracair*, *tarrasair* (*Passions and Homilies from the Leabhar Breac*, ed. Atkinson). If it be asked why this form outlived the rest of the deponent, the answer may be that it found support, which the other parts of the deponent did not, in forms outwardly similar from active verbs in which the *r* belonged to the verbal stem. Compare, for example, *rogénair* with *dorochair*, *dorochratar* 'fell,' *rofrecair* (for older *frisrogart*), *rofrecratar* 'answered,' *rolommair* (*lommraim* 'strip'), etc. Even here the *s* preterite began at an early period to exert an influence. In the Würzburg Glosses *rumuinestar* (18) seems to have replaced *ruménair*, and in the Milan Glosses (*ib.*) *roménatar* has been ousted by the *s* preterite in *foruraithminset* and *arrumuinset*. Further examples of the same kind are *narlam* (65), *rolamsatar* (70), *rodamsatar* (71), *dorumensat* (82), *rofodaim* (84), *doruimen*,[1] *rolam*, *rodam* (85), *nirogein*, *ramidestar* (87), *roataim*, *rolam* (88), *romid rogenis*, *rolam* (89), *nirlam* (LU. 42[a] 45), *rogein* (LL. 124[b] 4), *rolam* (LL. 271[b] 22). Of single verbs the deponent inflexion lived on in *fetar* 'know,' which, in the phrase *ní fheadar*, has survived to the present day. In the later Middle-Irish literary language the old forms are found transformed after the *s* pret., e.g. *fedarais*, *fedrais*, for 2 sg. *fetar*. The survival of the verb is probably due to the frequency of its use. Another deponent verb found in texts in which the active inflexion prevails is *águr* 'fear,' cf. pp. 59, 85, 86, 87. The only instance of the active that I have noted is the ipv. *aigsiu*, LL. 278, lower margin. A remarkable thing about this verb is its complete disappearance

[1] In the *Amra Coluimbchille* 108 *dorumeoin* is doubtless to be explained as a momentary analogical formation after *-geóin* 'knew,' cf. *nadígói geóin* 66[b]. It is one of the many artificial forms in that composition, cf. p. 46 n. Another long poem composed in the same obscure and artificial style is the *Amra Conroi*, H. 3. 18 (T.C.D.), 49 *sq.*, ascribed in the MS. to Ferchertne.

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in long texts like the *Passions and Homilies*, where it is replaced by *immeclaigim* as in late versions of the *Tdin Bó Cuailnge*. So far as I can see, the only hypothesis that will explain the facts is that the verb vanished from the language in the deponent stage. In the later texts in which it occurs it is probably a purely literary survival. The absence of corresponding active forms would account for the retention of the verb as a deponent. In considering further the loss of the deponential inflexion we shall leave these forms and words out of account.

The *Leabhar na h-Uidhre* was written before A.D. 1106, cf. Introduction to the Facsimile, p. xi. Hence any piece contained in it must belong at the latest to the eleventh century. Now side by side with the old texts in which the deponent inflexion is found, there is another series of texts in which it has disappeared, cf. p. 83; further, the *Comthoth Loegairi* (117^{b}–118^{b}, cf. *Z.f.D.A.* xxxv. 73), where stands *forsatairisfe* 118^{a} 27 by the *s* pret. *immusnarlasatar* 117^{b} 37, *Cath Cairnd Conaill* (115^{b}–117^{a}), where we find *nalaim* 116^{a} 3, 4, by *atlochur* 116^{b} 26 (cf. p. 89), *Imram Maelduin*, cf. p. 91. It follows from this that the deponent inflexion had been lost at the latest before the end of the eleventh century. The poems (p. 81) of Gilla Coemain †1072 and his translation of Nennius (p. 89), the poems of Fland Mainistrech †1056 (p. 81), and the poems of Cuan hua Lothchain †1024 (p. 80) carry us back towards the beginning of the eleventh century. In none of these are deponent forms found except in the parts of the verb referred to above, p. 105 *sq*. Mac Liac †1015 (p. 80) has the deponent *rofinnathar*. It is quite in accordance with the usage of Irish literature that isolated instances of a formation should be found under the influence of literary tradition after the formation as a whole has been lost, and *rofinnathar* is a case in point. In the Borama, which may without hesitation be referred to this century, cf. p. 86 n., is found another example of the same kind, *admoniur*, which may be compared with *atlochur*, p. 89. We may say with certainty that the deponential inflexion had, except in special forms, disappeared by the beginning of the eleventh century.

We come now to the tenth century. To the latter part of this century belong the Saltair na Rann, cf. p. 81 n., and the Tripartite Life of S. Patrick, the latest reference in which is to a person who died A.D. 936, Stokes, Introduction, lxiv., cf. Zimmer, *Nennius Vindicatus* 210. We have also the poems ascribed to Cinaed hua

Artacain †975, and Dallán Mac Móre, cf. p. 79 n. Here we may also mention the *Airec Menman Uraird Maic Coisi* (p. 85 n.), cf. Zimmer, *Zf.D.A.* xxxv. 35. In the Saltair deponent forms are few. Of these *condessamar*[1] may have been used for the sake of the jingle with *rofessamar*; the words occur in two successive lines. The ipv. *cluinte* is found in somewhat late texts, *e.g.* LL. 269[b] 7, 272[b] 11. The form *lamur* is found also in the Trip. Life, and thus may be ascribed to at least the literary language of this century. Of *folamadair* in the Trip. Life I have already spoken, p. 93 n. In the verb *cluinim* the Saltair has only active forms; the two forms found in the Trip. Life are deponent. A couple of decades may have elapsed between the composition of the two works; but whether the difference is to be explained in this way, or whether these deponent forms[2] have been inherited from the sources from which the Trip. Life was compiled, I do not venture to decide. The latter explanation seems to me the more probable in the case of the isolated *coimnigedar*. The evidence seems to prove decisively that the deponent inflexion of verbs in *-ig-* had disappeared before the beginning of the tenth century. In the poems of Cinaed the isolated *domunemar* is probably a literary survival. In the poems ascribed to Dallán Mac Móre, which would thus fall about the beginning of the century, the examples are neither very numerous nor very decisive. The verb *cuirim* shows active forms in deponential texts, cf. pp. 56, 66; similarly *atlaigim*, p. 74, if the reading *atlaigit* represents the original. The fut. *cechla*[3] proves nothing for the present stem. As to *cumnigim* we have already seen that the deponent inflexion was probably lost earlier in this class of verbs than in the other. On the facts before us we may, I think, say that the deponent inflexion had, except in certain forms, practically vanished by the middle of the tenth century, and we shall hardly be wrong in adding that in all probability it was at least well broken up by

[1] The active *maniessat* occurs in the Battle of Mucrima, LL. 289[b] 22. Later *essaim* becomes *isaim*, cf. p. 89, Atkinson, *Passions and Homilies*, s.v. *ithim*, *Three Shafts of Death*, s.v. *ithim*. The change of vowel may be ascribed to the influence of the pres. *ithim*; *is-* : *ith-* = *ris-* : *ric-*, etc.

[2] It is interesting to note that similar forms are found in the *Siaburcharpat Conculaind* (p. 68), which Zimmer dates from the middle of this century, and which, so far as I can judge now, need not be much earlier.

[3] The same future *conacechlat* is found LL. 188[c] 13 in the Dialogue of the Two Sages, which, if O'Curry be right, dates from the tenth century, cf. p. 110. *Cechla* represents the first stage after the dep. *cechladar*, and is older than *cechlabat* (p. 69) and *atchluinfet* (p. 84).

the beginning of the century, though here additional evidence would be most welcome.

As we try to penetrate yet further back, the ground becomes very shaky. There can be no reasonable doubt that at the beginning of the ninth century the deponent was still in a good state of preservation. But its history through the century I have been unable to trace with any degree of certainty. Possibly the poems ascribed, rightly or wrongly, to persons of this period might yield some results, though there great caution would have to be exercised, but I have been able to see but few of them, and these few have given little help.

The various scraps preserved in the Four Masters contain under the year 845 *nochongignethair* 'will not be born,' under the year 848 *atcluin*, under the year 885 *rommenair* by *doruimen*, but these dates fix only a superior limit for the compositions. A quatrain in LL. 278, ascribed by Atkinson to one Daniel †861, has *dgur*, *aigsiu*, *rolamur*, *notchuirfe*.[1] A poem, LL. 133^{b}, containing *adocorsat* 134^{b} 4, is said to have been written by Maelmuire Othna †884, but the authorship has been rightly questioned by Zimmer, *Z.f.D.A.* xxxv. 83. As to the older prose texts, before anything very definite can be said, further investigation will be necessary both of the language and the matter, and, in the case of the heroic tales, it would be of the utmost moment to determine the precise amount of Teutonic influence on them, and the way by which it came. As matters stand, the wisest course seems to be to refrain from any too positive assertions about the history of the deponent during the ninth century, and to content ourselves with some general remarks on the texts that we have collected.

First, as to the Glossary which passes under the name of Cormac Mac Cuilennáin. In the beginning of my paper I referred to this work as a fixed landmark in the history of the deponent. Further reflexion has led me to modify this opinion. Before any certain inferences can be drawn from this composition with respect to the state of the deponential inflexion at the end of the ninth century, it must be shown that the articles in which the deponent forms occur proceed from the pen of Cormac or some one of his time, and that they were written in the language in common use in the literature of the period. In the absence of any positive proof, the traditional authorship of the Glossary

[1] Cf. the active *immacurfi*, p. 60.

could be accepted with confidence only if it could be shown that the language of the work is the language of the period to which it is ascribed. If that be so, in arguing from the Glossary as to the state of the deponent at the end of the ninth century, we should be moving in a vicious circle. Of Cormac's connexion with the Glossary we know absolutely nothing. Even granting that he did put together some part of the work that bears his name, we do not know that he did not incorporate with it older material, the language of which, as the work was a learned one, he did not think it necessary to modernize; it can hardly have been first in the ninth century that the Irish showed themselves apt pupils of Isidore. It may be noted that the examples of the deponent come from a few articles, the longest of which, *prull*, is preserved as an independent text in Harleian 5280, British Museum, and in 23, N. 10, Royal Irish Academy. As to the language of these articles, it seems to me much more archaic than might have been expected in the end of the ninth century, though here it is difficult to get a certain standard of comparison. Note particularly the deponent inflexion in the *-ig-* verbs. I hinted at the possibility of a traditionally archaic language. Of this we seem to have an example in the Dialogue of the Two Sages with its *asmidetar* LL. 186^{b} 41, *docuridar* 186^{a} 24, 27, 29, 49, *fuinethar* 186^{b} 43, if O'Curry, *On the Manuscript Materials of Irish History*, 385,[1] be right in assigning it to the tenth century. We find even in the commentary, which is obviously late, *docuridar* LL. 187^{a} 52. But it is impossible to go into this question here. It will have, however, to be faced when the history of the Laws and of the treatises on grammar and versification comes to be written. The answer to it does not affect the history of the regular development of the deponent in Irish.

Another work which has been placed in the tenth century is the Félire of Oengus. Chiefly from linguistic considerations Stokes, Introduction 11, concludes that the poem was written towards the end of the tenth century. Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, p. xv., says that it was certainly written after A.D. 982. But the state of the deponential inflexion seems to me to prove that the Calendar is at the latest not

[1] The references in Cormac's Glossary prove nothing to the contrary, for we do not know when they were put there, any more than the reference in the commentary on the *Amra Coluimbchille*, p. 26.

later than the ninth century. Compare it with the condition of affairs in the Saltair na Rann and other poems of the tenth century. And the language of the Félire as a whole is, so far as I can judge, more archaic than the language of these tenth-century poems. Mr. Stokes admits that most of the Middle Irish corruptions may be due to the transcribers. Some of those that he would impute to the author seem to me to admit of the same explanation. Thus it is not impossible that the old neuter of the article was replaced by the masculine or feminine form, cf. similar corruptions p. 73 n. In June 21 the verse *hua liathain inligach* would be improved by reading *hua liathain ligach*; the insertion of *in* may be reckoned among the devices that later copyists had for restoring an apparently defective verse according to their lights. For *berthair*, *trebthair*, *conicsid* might be substituted without compunction the correct forms and who will guarantee that in Ep. 6 *dosruirmisem* has not been altered to *dosrimemar*, or in Prol. 25, etc., *bebai* to *bebais*? In March 11 the reading *uasflaithib* is better attested than *itir flaithib*; in November 23 there would be no difficulty in changing *etir tonnaib* to *etir tonna*, or in Ep. 315 in altering *iarsinmbáigsi* to *iarsinbáigsi*. Forms which admit of so easy correction can hardly be considered decisive proof of the lateness of the text. As to other forms which Stokes refers to, pp. 6, 7, it has to be proved that they cannot go back to, let us say, the beginning of the ninth century. For example, *asa* is found in the Reglum Mochuta, p. 73, and in other old texts. Mr. Warren's assertion doubtless rests on the reference to the two Sinchells, March 26. But the Rawlinson and Laud copies mention only one Sinchell, and a poem quoted in the commentary in the *Leabhar Breac* refers to one only. The inference is that *dasinchell* of *L.Br.* is due to a corruption that got into that text after A.D. 982. As to the reference to Oengus himself, March 11, it seems clear from a comparison of the readings that *Oengus* did not stand in the original text. Further, if the Calendar had been composed in the tenth century, we might have expected to have had mention of some of the noted saints of the ninth and tenth centuries. I have had no time to hunt up all the saints in the Calendar, but O'Curry, *Manuscript Materials* 362, says that he knows of none later than A.D. 798. Again *Donnchad* †793 is referred to as the type of earthly glory. Why should he have been selected above all others in the tenth century? It may be that I have overlooked evidence from the

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language or the matter, but until such evidence to the contrary is produced, I shall be content to refer the poem, whether composed by Oengus or not, to the ninth century.

The so-called *Reglum Mochuta Rathin* has already been discussed, p. 73. I should have preferred to give it an earlier place, but I did not make its acquaintance in Dublin till the first seventy pages or so of my paper had been printed off. However, this matters the less as the arrangement of these old texts generally does not profess to be strictly chronological. As to the Irish Hymns I have nothing to add to what I have said already, except that most of them seem to me to be best placed in the ninth century. Section 5, pp. 72–3, does not call for special remark. It furnishes examples of the deponent in a special kind of texts of indeterminate date, but which need not be later than the ninth century. We have still left sections 4 and 12, which form a considerable proportion of the first part of the paper, and which call for some further discussion.

These tales may be divided roughly into two classes. In the one class the deponent inflexion is well preserved, in the other it has disappeared or survives only in fragments. This difference in language[1] cannot, so far as I see, be explained except by difference in date of redaction. The deponential texts are more or less faithful copies of texts of the ninth century or earlier; the others are either of later origin altogether, or in them old texts have been remodelled in accordance with changes of language and circumstances. This is exactly what might have been expected. After all, the business of the *scélide*, the professional story-teller, was to amuse, and he could hardly have held his audience enthralled by any tale, however exciting, which they, and possibly he, did not understand. Is the evidence of the language supported by the evidence of the subject-matter? Zimmer has devoted a paper in the *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum* xxxii. 196 *sq.* (cf. also xxxiii. 129 *sq.* xxxv. 1 *sq.*) to the influence of the Teutons and particularly of the Norse

[1] It would be interesting and it should be instructive to compare the language of these two sets of tales in other points. Much may be learned from Prof. Zimmer's paper, KZ. xxviii. 313 *sq.*, which throws light on many things in Mjd. Ir. grammar. There the examples of later formations come chiefly from later texts, though sometimes they have crept in the course of transcription into the earlier ones. Here we must distinguish the different dates of origin of the different new formations. Thus, the 3 sg. pret. pass. in *-ta*, *-tha* is as old as the Irish Hymns, *fechta* 'was fought' ii. 57, and so may have stood from the outset in texts of the ninth century.

on the literature and language of Ireland. As might have been expected, his clearest and most indisputable instances of Norse influence in the moulding of Irish tales come from our second class. See his remarks on the *Aided Guill* (85), p. 208 *sq.*, on the *Cath Ruiss na Rig* (88), p. 219 *sq.*, on the LL. version of the *Mesca Ulad* (64), p. 265, note. Of the relation between the LU. and LL. versions of the *Tûin* I have already said something (58 note). Here again the clear traces of Norse influence are found in the LL. version, *ib.* pp. 204 *sq.*, 263 *sq.* In the passage, LU. 79 *sq.*, which agrees verbally with LL., and which, as I have remarked, p. 59, looks as though it were a latter addition, Zimmer seems to me to be right in seeing Norse influence, *ib.* 317 *sq.*[1] In one of the tales which, because of certain deponential forms I put in the first class, but which it would be better to place on the border line between the two, the *Siaburcharpat Conculaind* (68), Norse influence is clear enough, Zimmer, *ib.* 248 *sq.* As we have seen, this piece may be put in the first part of the tenth century, when the deponent was drawing its last breath.

So in the *Tochmarc Emere* (71), Zimmer, *ib.* 239, may be right in seeing Norse influence in the episode, LU. 126[a] 11–41. He is followed by Meyer,[2] *Rev. Celt.* xi. 438, who sees in this version of the tale a post-Norse redaction. On the part of the deponent there seem to be no insuperable difficulties in the way of this. The only two decisive forms, *adg[l]ádur* and *fossuidiur*, are found in a passage very like one in the *Compert Conculaind*, LU. 128[b], and which may have been some sort of traditional formula, on which the modernizer did not dare to lay his hands. But as to this I should not care to express a decided opinion from the short fragments in LU.

[1] In part of the LU. version Zimmer, *ib.* 308 *sq.*, sees a more subtle influence of the story of the Nibelungs. Unfortunately I am too little acquainted with the Teutonic tale in its various forms to follow all the reasoning, but the resemblance seems to me to be too slight to draw any conclusive inferences from. And could the story of the Nibelungs have reached Ireland only through Norway? Against Zimmer's hypothesis is the language. I see no evidence that this passage is later in language than the rest of the LU. version. And unless our conclusions with regard to the disappearance of the deponent are altogether wrong, that version cannot at the latest be later than the ninth century, and I should be inclined to say not later than about the middle of it. And such far-reaching Norse influence would at that period be out of the question.

[2] He has published, *Rev. Celt.* xi. 442 *sq.*, what he considers a pre-Norse version. Here are found deponent *adgladastar* l. 23, cf. ll. 47, 63, *roairigestar* l. 42, and analogically *dufochtrastar* l. 98; active—*cotnacalt* l. 10, *molsi* l. 64.

As to the other tales which I have included in this class, Zimmer, *ib.* 332, sees Norse influence in the *Fled Bricrend* (p. 66), in the fight on horseback with Ercoil. If I mistake not, in a paper in the *Sitzber. der Berliner Akademie*, he has shown that the Irish knew of the Norse form of sport, the *hestavig*, before the Vikings established themselves in Ireland. As to a direct reference to Norsemen in these texts, that depends, so far as I see, on Zimmer's interpretation of *fiann* and *dibergach*. As is well known, Zimmer, *Z.f.D.A.* xxxv. 12 *sq.*, identifies *fiann* with the Norse *fiandR* 'enemy,' and regards it as the first name by which the Irish knew these ruthless invaders. If that were so, it would bring Norsemen into many of these early texts, such as the *Fled Bricrend* (p. 55), the *Orgain Bruidne Da derga*, the *Scél Muicce Maic Dáthó*,[1] and the LU. version of the *Táin*.[1] In many ways the theory is attractive, but the objections against it seem to me to be much stronger than the arguments in its favour. As to *dibergach*, his identification of it with an imaginary Norse *Tyverk* (*Gött. gel. Anz.* 1891, p. 195) is yet more improbable. At all events the word can be traced to a considerable antiquity. In *Glossæ Hibernicæ* 284 Zimmer corrects *iddemergach* very probably to *aithdibergach*, cf. introduction, p. xlv. In the *Arrada*, Rawlinson 512, B. 42^{b} 2, *diberg* is mentioned along with many other sins—*sicut rongabsat fingala* 7 *duinecorcni* 7 *duinetáidi* 7 *sicut rogabsat diberga* 7 *druidechta*, etc., 'such as are fratricides and homicides and secret murders with concealment of the body, and such as are *diberga* and sorceries,' etc.[2] It is *à priori* improbable that the

[1] Zimmer seems to suppose that the word may have got into the Irish Sagas in the first part of the ninth century.

[2] In *Z.f.D.A.* xxxii. 267 *sq.*, 464 *sq.*, cf. xxxv. 19, etc. (cf. also Meyer, *Rev. Celt.* xi. 493 *sq.*, xii. 460 *sq.*, Stokes BB. xviii. 122 *sq.*), Zimmer notes a number of Teutonic loan-words in Irish. As might have been expected, these words abound in the later texts. Here loan-words from Norse may be looked for in large numbers. In the old texts supposed Norse loan-words must be regarded with suspicion and strictly questioned as to their origin. Here the probabilities are that any Teutonic words came rather from Anglo-Saxon. Zimmer's identification (p. 466) of the common word *ól* 'drink' with Norse *öl* can be proved wrong. The word is already found in the Milan Glosses 94^{c} 12, 118^{c} 9, 129^{d} 14. Moreover, *ól* was originally disyllabic, as is shown by the line in the story of Bran Mac Febail, Rawlinson 512 B. 119^{a} 2, *hool fino oengrinde*. I have also seen it disyllabic in the *Saltair na Rann*, but I cannot find the reference. Zimmer (pp. 279 *sq.*) derives *laith* 'beer' from a purely hypothetical Teutonic *laiþu-* or *laiþo-*, but a derivative (*in*) *laithertach* g. crapulatus is found Ml. 100^{a} 10, and Stokes *Urkelt. Sprachschatz* compares *laith* with Corn. *lad* g. liquor. In other instances Teutonic origin is uncertain or improbable. There is no strong proof that *rudiud* (p. 278) is borrowed. If I am right in deriving *rucce* 'disgrace' from **rudciâ* the grade *rud-* is also Keltic.

Vikings should figure in tales of so early a date, and much more conclusive evidence will be required before their presence can be accepted as an established fact.

It does not belong to the subject of this paper to enquire minutely into the date of redaction of the old heroic tales. At the most the deponent inflexion can only help to fix an inferior limit. It is to be regretted that we should have been unable to find surer data for the history of the deponent in the ninth century. Judging simply from probabilities I should hesitate to place any tale in which the deponent inflexion is well preserved later, at the latest, than about the middle of the ninth century, but that as yet is only a subjective opinion. These tales need not all belong to the same period. Thus, the simple stories *Táin Bó Regemain* and *Táin Bó Regamna* furnish, if my observations are accurate, no examples of preterites like *gabais* which are found in other tales. But an answer to such questions could be found only by a detailed investigation and comparison of the language of the several texts.[1]

III. NEW EXTENSIONS OF THE DEPONENT.

1. The *s* Preterite.

Deponential forms spread by analogy in the *s* preterite, first in the 3 sg.,[2] later in the 1 pl. and 3 pl. In the Old Irish Glosses there are only a very few instances, all in the 3 sg.[3]:—*rodligestar*,

The derivation of *fuine* 'cooking,' *fonoim* 'cook' from Norse *funi* 'fire' (xxxv. 159 n.), is altogether improbable. Nor is it at all certain that *gilla* is borrowed from Norse *gildR* (xxxv. 15).

[1] A few words may be not amiss with regard to one of our texts, the *Serglige Conculaind* (p. 65). Here it is to be noted that most of the decisive deponent forms come from the *Briatharthecosc Conculaind*, which reminds one of the *Tecosca Cormaic*, LL. 343. The language of this seems to be more archaic than the language of the rest of the text, in which, for example, the pres. in *-nd* is found repeatedly even in verse, *funend, nicharand, ninaccend.*

[2] Probably because the need was felt of a more distinctive ending.

[3] I know of no such analogical formation in the 1 sg. Hence *forderisiur*, Ml. 133^{b} 8, must stand on a different footing. According to Ascoli it glosses *lustravi*. The whole sentence runs—*excelsa quæque aspectu lustravi susperans expectans solutionem malorum.* Perhaps *forderissiur* is to be analysed into *for-di-ro-sissiur*, a compound of which I have no further examples. As to *forderet*, Ml. 78^{b} 8, it can have no connexion. Does *forderet* come from *for-di-rethid*?

arruneastar, *adroneestar*, *arruneillestar* (25). In the other deponential texts the formation is either not found at all or is infrequent, and it is almost confined to the 3 sg. :—*sénastar*, *rodglinnestar*, *noconmellestar*,[1] *aridralastar* (47), *diuchrastair* (55), *romarastar* (56), *rodligestár*, *immárditnestár* (57), *rocarastar*, *condacermnastar*, *dorétlaistir*, *rogabastar* (63), *rocharastar*, *coromaichnestar* (66), *roderscaigestar*, *arlastár*, *tallastár*, *faitbestár* (68), *beogastar* (69), *báigestar* (71), *roscarastar* (72), *rotordnestar* (73). Examples of the 3 pl. are rare, and come from texts that show a certain breaking up of the deponential inflexion :—*rofersatár* (57), *roscarsatar* (66), *ochsatar* (68), *cotairchellsatar* (73). The 1 pl. is found in *roinnisemar* (63, in a parenthetical remark of the writer), *rophendsemmar* (72).

Let us see now how the forms are distributed in the later texts.[2] In the Tripartite Life the examples are still almost all active (78 n.). In the secular poems ascribed to writers of the tenth and eleventh centuries the 3 sg. only is found in the poems of Dallán Mac More (79) and Fland Mainistrech (81). In poems ascribed to Eochaid hua Flaind, Cuan hua Lothchain, and Gilla Coemain (80, 81) are found pl. forms; the examples are found chiefly in a couple of poems attributed to the second writer. In the *Saltair na Rann* examples are much more numerous in the plural than in the singular. In some of the later tales the singular prevails, in the *Airec Menman Uraird Maic Coisi* (probably end of tenth century), and in the *Deaths of Goll and Garb*; in others the pl., as in *Cath Ruiss na Rig* (where the sg. and pl. are pretty evenly balanced), the *Boroma*, and the later portion of the LL. version of the *Táin*. This would seem to indicate a difference in the time of composition. The earliest of our texts which show numerous plural forms is the *Saltair na Rann*, in the end of the tenth century. But the use of the one form or the other in the plural would seem to have been, to some extent at least and during a certain period, a matter of individual taste, for, as we have seen, Fland

[1] The three first instances all come from one hymn.

[2] In these texts we have also forms from the *s* preterite of *-ag-*, *-ig-* verbs, which in O.Ir. were prevalently deponent, and in the 3 sg. s. pret. always so. Without going into detail, we may note here how in the 3 sg. the deponential inflexion tends to disappear, while it shows a tendency to spread again in the 3 pl. Compare the instances in the Tripartite Life with those in the *Saltair na Rann*, the *Togail Troi*, and the *Cath Ruiss na Rig*.

Mainistrech †1056 regularly uses the singular. For the later history of these forms I have no collections of material.[1]

2. The 1 Singular Subjunctive.

Here the deponential inflexion spread by analogy, *ruc*, for example, becoming *rucur*, *dognéo*, *dognéor*. The reason for this may be found in the convenience of having a more distinctive ending for this person than was supplied by the active forms, such as *fadam* Wb. 29^{d} 27, *pridach* 10^{d} 25, *tormal* Ml. 109^{b} 6, *conrúrélsa* 41^{d} 12. Owing to the paucity of the examples and the suspicion that later forms were introduced into old texts, it is impossible to give a detailed history of the formation, and to trace with certainty the various stages of its development. I shall content myself with putting together the instances I have noted in the above texts,[2] and then suggesting some possibilities as to the spread of the form.

In the Glosses the deponent ending is found only in deponent verbs, including the verbs in *-ag-*, *-ig-*, which in this person are regularly deponent:—*labrar*, *-samlar*, *frisaccar* (orthotonic *adcear*, p. 23 n.), *cothuthlucher*, *erladaigear*,[3] *nufailtiger*, *nosilaiger*, *cloor*, *-mesur*.

In the other texts the treatment of the present subjunctive differs from that of the subjunctive of the *s* aorist, and it will be better to take the two tenses separately.

First as to the present—

Táin Bó Fráich.

Active forms:—*condatucsa* 251^{a} 34, *niconbéosa* 251^{a} 38.

Scél Muicce Maic Dáthó.

Deponent form from deponent verb:— *corotacilliur* 112^{b} 47.

Longes Mac n-Usnig.

Deponent=old deponent:—*conidnaccur* 260^{a} 24.

[1] Further examples may be found in Atkinson's Glossary to his *Passions and Homilies*. I might just call attention to the great fondness for the deponent forms in the glosses on the Irish Hymns.

[2] Further instances from LU. and LL. will be found in KZ. xxviii. 347 *sq.*

[3] Cf. p. 34 n. If *-gear* is the reading of the MS., it is probably due to the hesitation of the scribe between *-er* and *-ar*; or could *-ea-* have been suggested by the active ending *-ea* in the third conjugation, e.g. *cofotheasa*, Ml. 3^{a} 9?

Togail Bruidne Da Derga.

Deponent forms from active verbs:—*condrlór* 83^{b} 14, *conidralór* 84^{b} 32.

Táin Bó Cuailnge, LU.

Active forms:—*niobéo* 73^{b} 6, *ceinnonbéo* 74^{a} 36, *condatuc* 60^{a} 15, 58^{b} 6, *corrucsa* 69^{a} 5, *cofarcabsa* 69^{a} 5, *conidndérna* 62^{b} 13.

Deponent forms from active verbs[1]:—*conapror* 82^{a} 26, *condernar* 70^{a} 20, *conidrolursa* 63^{b} 15, *cotopachtur* 73^{b} 2.

Fled Bricrend.

Deponent forms from active verbs:—*corochotlur* 112^{a} 47, *manifetur* 100^{a} 8, *cotallursa* 104^{a} 15.

Siaburcharpat Conculaind.

Deponent forms from deponent verbs:—*conidnarladur* 113^{a} 7, *conidnacur* 113^{a} 6.

Short stories, etc. (p. 72).

Active form:—*conerborsa* 279^{a} 25.

Deponent forms from deponent verbs:—*clór* 280^{a} 19, *conidnaccur* 282^{a} 1.

Deponent form from active verb:—*dernur* 279^{a} 30.

Félire of Oengus.

Active form:—*robeo*, Prol. 271, 273, Ep. 315.

Deponent form from active verb:—possibly *conruidiur*, Prol. 277.

Saltair na Rann.

Active forms:—*beo* 1844, 1540, *nadern* 1563, *coromarb* 5828, *corucsa* 1595, *conostuc* 1665, *cotuc* 5827, *dianamthairbiur* 'if I humble myself,' 844.

Deponent forms from active verbs:—*corobadur* 1667, *arnahérbalur* 1260, *contorchrorsa* 1533, *conasrucur* 1666.

The remaining texts, except in one case, show only forms in *r*:—

Trip. Life:—*conacor* 52. 24, *corochreitiur* 46. 23, *corothadcuirer* 180. 11, *corofoillsigiur* 52. 22, *manitoimliur* 200. 13, but *cen mbéosa* 116. 20.

Cuan hua Lothchain:—*cofargbur*, LL. 209^{a} 27.

[1] At 71^{a} 14 *nadbenur* is, as Zimmer has pointed out, a gloss on *nadneema*, which has crept into the text.

Fland Mainistrech:—*corinniseor*, LL. 11ª 19.

Gilla Coemain:—*coroinnisiur*, LL. 127ª 37.

Airec Menman Uraid Maic Coisi:—*conerbharsa*.

Táin Bó Cuailnge, LL.:—*menibenur* 102ᵇ 34, *cancorabur* 65ª 7, *gofaccursa* 88ª 21, *doneor* 81ᵇ 26, *condernur* 81ᵇ 28, *dianomgluaisiur* 67ᵇ 14, *danamluur* 67ᵇ 17, *corucur* 72ª 31, 26, *conastardur* 63ª 10, *corotholiur* 82ᵇ 30, from reduplicated form[1] *gorosiblur* 103ª 43, cf. l. 46.

Deaths of Goll and Garb:—*aned beorsa* 108ᵇ 32, *nadatfaccursa* 108ª 7, *cofagbur* 108ᵇ 24, *corofromur* 110ᵇ 35.

Borama:—*corochennagur* 300ᵇ 39, *manidiglorsa* 296ᵇ 37, but *céinbeo* 307ª 3.[2]

Cath Ruiss na Ríg:—*corochuriur* 175ª 39, *condigiursa*[3] 173ª 39.

I have not noted the instances in the Togail Troi.

We see that the 1 sg. subj. of the old deponent verbs still remains deponent, only with a change of vowel of which we shall have to speak later. I see no reason for supposing that an active stage came between the old forms in *-ar*, *-or* and the later forms in *-ur*. As to the date of the substitution of *-ur* and the spread of *-ur* to verbs originally active, it is impossible to speak with certainty from the evidence before us. In any texts *-ar* might very easily have been altered by copyists to the familiar *-ur*, and in prose texts forms like *rucur* may have been substituted for forms like *ruc*. On the other hand, I have found no evidence that forms in *-ur* were unknown, let us say, in the ninth century. In the Félire *conruidiur* would be an example of the kind, if my suggestion about it be right, but it is not absolutely certain. It would be simpler, as we have seen (p. 98), to take *asmecnugur* in Ml. as a subj., but it is possible that the glossator misunderstood his Latin. The Saltair na Rann shows that the shorter forms still lived, in literature at all events, towards the end of the tenth century. The question whether they may not, for metrical convenience, have been kept longer

[1] The future stem.

[2] In *maniimriu* 296ᵇ 37 we seem to have an active form, if the reading of the facsimile be right.

[3] This form has been put here because it contains no *s*. But *condigiur*, like *connechur* LL. 115ª 36, is based on an active form of the *s* subjunctive of *dochuad*, cf. *condechsa* in Glossary to *Passions and Homilies* 632ª, and, for the vocalism of *digiur*, *condigussa* Windisch, Wb. 468ᵇ.

in verse is one which does not readily admit of an answer. The other poems of about the same time show one form, and that a deponent *fargbur*, and that is too slight a basis to argue from. At all events, from the beginning of the eleventh century the deponent form was the rule. There is one notable exception, the subj. *béo*. Add to the examples given above *hiceinbéo* LU. 40ª 41, *céin nombeosa* LL. 269ᵇ 3. The only explanation that I can suggest for this is that *béo* may have become associated with the adj. *béo* in expressions like *nochor'beosa* LL. 272ª 52, *inhed bam béo*, *céin bes béo*, and the like. Even here a couple of examples of *béor* are found, cf. Deaths of Goll, etc., above, and *céin beorsa béo* LL. 203ª 45.

The disappearance of this form is closely connected with the decay of the subjunctive mood generally, and falls in a period for which I have no collections. It is still found sometimes in Keating, probably as an archaism. I have noted a few cases in which it is already syntactically superseded by the secondary present, LL. 176ᵇ 18, *incath barthoesum . . . . corocherdaind*, similarly ll. 26, 31, 37; LL. 108ª 12, *fodail innechraid . . . arbith contulind*; further, Battle of Ventry, ll. 175, 433, 625, 687, 960. In all these instances the Old Irish rules for the sequence of tenses would have required the subjunctive.

The subjunctive of the *s* aorist has fared differently. In our texts deponent forms appear from old deponent verbs, *condaesur* (67), *cofessur* (61), *cofiasur* (65), *cofessur* (82), *cofesser* (85). And, apparently from the similarity of the sound of the words, the deponent ending was extended from *fiasur*, *fessur*[1] to *tias* from *tiagaim*, and *tis* from *do-iccim*, e.g. *tiasur* Orgain Bruidne Da Derga 97ᵇ 7, *gotiasur* Táin, LL. 102ª 42, *cotisor* Táin, LU. 66ª 6 (but *cotisa*, l. 5), *manithisiur* Aided Conculaind 121ᵇ 10. Otherwise active forms, *corisa*, LU. 58ª 20, *corrius* 62ᵇ 21, *conécius*, *condeochus* 70ª 19, *condechos* 129ª 10, *conathoithus*, LL. 32ª 34, *condécius* 200ª 13, *corius*, BB. 462ᵇ 43.

[1] This particular verb, as we have seen, lived long as a deponent. According to Mr. Stokes, *rofesser* is the only old deponent form found in Gorman's Martyrology, which he says was written between 1160 and 1174. Under the influence of *fiastar*, etc., a dep. future is formed from *adfiadaim* 'relate,' cf. 85 n., *ciatfesar* Fled Bricrend 7 Loinges Mac n-Duil Dermait l. 291, *adfesar* Trip. Life 222 l. 5; act. *adfessam* LL. 11ᵇ 48, 131ᵇ 35. A further coincidence with forms of *fetar* is found in the pret. pass. *adfessa* LU. 59ª 7 = *adfeta* LL. 62ª 21. At LL. 123ᵇ 35 *rofersur* seems either corrupt or a misformation.

In the Glosses *-ur*[1] appears in the middle subjunctive of the *s* aorist, *-mesur*.[2] This is as might have been expected. In the active a present subj. like *dober*, stands to an *s* aor. subj. like *-rius* in the same relation as Lat. *dicam* to *dixō*; the former ended originally in *-ām*, the latter in *-ō*. To *-ō* in the active would correspond, as in the pres. ind., *-ōr* in the middle, *-mesur*: *corrius*=*lamur*: *do-biur*. Thus, *mesur*, *fessur*, *esur* would be regular developments.

In the later language many of the pres. subjunctives in *-ur* could be derived from the old deponent subjunctive by the change of *-ar*, *-er*, to *-ur*, *e.g.* *-accar*, *-accur*; **arladar*, *arladur*; *failtiger*, *cennagur*. It is hard to say whether we have here simply the influence of *-ur* of the *s* aorist along with that of *cloor*, or whether there may not have been also some confusion of the subjunctive with the indicative forms, a confusion that would have been helped by their coincidence in the *s* forms. As in the deponent *-ar*[3] became *-ur*, so in the active *berim*, *erbar* became *erbor*, *erbur*.[4]

Dognéo became by the simple addition of *r* *dognéor*, similarly *béo* when it underwent any change. *Derna* became *dernar*[5] and that,

[1] On p. 6 n. I suggested that *cloor* is an *s* subjunctive=**cleusōr*. But against this is the quantity of the vowel, for, so far as I have observed, the first *o* is short except in contracted forms like *clór*. *Cloor* might come from **clusōr*, but we should rather expect the grade *cleus-*. So it seems best to take it from a presential *cleu-*. The ending *-or* may seem strange in a present, but cf. *béo* to *biu*, *conigléu* Ml. 86 b8 to *glenim*, *dognéo* to *dogniu*. One thing common to all these forms is the loss of an internal consonant; so far as I know, the vocalism has not yet been explained. In the same way the 1 sg. subj. of *aithgninim* would probably be *aithgnéu*; the 3 sg. *aithgné* is found LU. 71a 34, cf. *aithgnead* LU. 72a 25.

[2] On p. 15 *dummessursa* has by a slip been printed for *dummessarsa*. The *a* is strange. Ascoli corrects to *dommessursa*, the regular dep. form. Can the glossator have imagined he was translating a passive?

[3] An ending *-ar* is found in *conidnarlasar* LU. 40a 31, *corolamnar* LL. 126a 9. Considering that these texts are apparently later than others containing *-or*, *-ur*, it is unsafe to connect *-ar* here with the old deponential *-ar*. It must rather be regarded as a new analogical formation, possibly after *dernar* and the like. In later manuscripts *-ar* in this person stands on a different footing; there it may be explained from the confusion of vowels in final syllables.

[4] Zimmer, KZ. xxviii. 348, ascribes the spread of the deponential form to the influence of the compounds of the root *ber* (*asbiur*, *dobiur*, *forbiur*, etc.)—"da bei ihnen die erste sing. activi des conjunctivs auf *or*, *ur* ausging (*conerbor*, *dianepur*, *manithabur*, etc.)"—but surely the regular ending would have been *-ber*, *-bar*, and the *o* is due to analogy. It is possible that besides the deponent verbs the subjunctive *-cor* (*fristacor* Ml. 118c 3) may have helped in bringing about the change to *o*.

[5] Similarly *arld* becomes *arldr*, LL. 204b 49.

under the influence of the usual *-ur*, *dernur*.[1] In other verbs the ending *-ur* was added bodily, *rucur*, *benur*, *tardur*, etc. So from *berim -bor* became *-bror*, and we even find for *fessur*, *fessarur* (Atkinson, *Passions*, etc., s.v. *fetar*), seemingly a new formation to 2 sg. *fessara*.

In deponents of the third conjugation the ending *-er* may be postulated, **mider*, etc., cf. *duthlucher* and examples from verbs in *-giur*. In later texts the usual ending here is *-iur*, *midiur*,[2] *cuiriur* (in Glosses active *fristacor*), *gluaisiur*, *senniur*, *innisiur*, etc.[3] The reason for this form can only be conjectured. It may be noted that both in the dep. **mider* and the act. *leicea* the preceding consonant was slender, as indeed it was throughout this class of verbs. Hence it may very well have been that the slender quality of the consonant was preserved in the remodelled 1 sg. subj. and was expressed graphically by the following *i*. It is probably only a coincidence that the new subj. *midiur* is the same as the old indicative. But before anything can be asserted with certainty, it will be necessary to have examples from good copies of old texts. This ending *-iur* seems to have extended further in *tisiur*, *condigiur*, cf. also *tairbiur*, Saltair na Rann, 844.

In Mod. Ir. the 2 sg. ends in *-ir*. The full development of this ending falls long after the period to which our texts belong. But it may not be without interest to note the few forms that I have met, which indicate that this was originally a subjunctive ending, formed analogically to the 1 sg. in *-ur*. The only examples that I have noted from LL. are *arnatiasair* 65[a] 26, and *acht natisirsiu* 262[b] 28, but act. *gotisiu* 102[a] 53. These are evidently new formations to *tiasur*, *tisor*, perhaps under the influence of *fesser*: *fessur*, *-bir*: *-biur*, *-bur*. Similarly *comairser*, Laws iv. 18. In the Glossary to the Passions and Homilies I have noted two present subjunctives, *diafuilngir* and *corolenair*, cf. *dféchair* 'look,' l. 7543; in l. 7541 *dingir* may be subjunctive.

[1] Similarly from *rola* 'went' is formed a subj. *rolur*. In LU. 83[b] 14 comes the phrase *condrlór teinid*. Is *árlór* here formed on **ārlā*, **adroslā*, an *s* subj. from *ad-slaidim*, cf. W. *lladd tan*? In 84[b] 32 *-ralór* is formed from *-ralā*, *laaim* 'throw.'

[2] Presupposed by *-mider*, Passions and Homilies. The *-er* here has nothing to do with the old deponent ending *-er*, but is a phonetic development of *-iur*, cf. in the same work *ronailes* by *rosailius*, *dorinnes* by *dorignius*, etc.

[3] But in LL. 11[a] 19 *inniseor* is clearly modelled on the active **innisea*.

But the old form is still the common one. From the Book of Ballymote I have noted a couple of indicative forms, *soichfiursa* (by *geba*, *dobéra*) 462[b] 31, *fogebairsiu* 481[b] 2. In the Acallam na Senórach I have noted but few forms, subjunctive *dátucairsi* 114, l. 34, *cofinnair* 107, l. 5, fut. ind. *dogénair* 225, l. 7. Active forms are numerous. But to pursue the subject further lies beyond the scope of this paper, which is already long enough.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

Page 449, l. 25. For *clóar* read *cloor*. Correct the footnote from the note on p. 564.

,, 451. Add to the examples of *comalnur* fut. sg. 3 *nud comdlnabadar*, Ml. 46c 20.

,, 453, ll. 26, 27. *Estir, estar* should have been given as subjunctives of the *s* aorist.

,, 454, l. 16. *Dele* [1] before *confesatar*.

,, ,, 19. For $114^{b}\ 3^{2}$ read $114^{b}\ 3^{1}$.

,, ,, note 1. But there seem to be two verbs *fochiallaim*, cf. p. 535, n. 5.

,, 455. *Dele* ll. 4, 5.

,, 457, note 4, l. 2. For *dianermastá* read *dianirmastá*.

,, 458, l. 21. For *dummessursa* read *dummessarsa*, and cf. p. 564, n. 2.

,, 462. Add to the examples of *molur* fut. pl. 3 *molfait*, Ml. 69b 1.

,, 464. In Wb. 25c 6, *seichem*, which may be most naturally derived from *sechur*, is probably a copyist's error for *seichemmar*.

,, 467, note 2. Add cf. *aconrodastar*, Rev. Celt. xi. 450, 122.

,, 470. In Phil. 12 occurs the gloss *bliefithir* g. flavescet, which should probably be corrected to *bláichfithir* and inserted here.

,, 474, l. 3. For *naddanaiged*[*ar*] read *nadda*[*nai*]*ged*[*ar*].

,, 476, l. 25. For sg. 1. read sg. 3.

,, 477, l. 2. For *celebro* read celebro.

,, 479, l. 2. The Ir. equivalent of W. *gwynfyd* appears in *findbuth*, Ml. 128d 18.

,, ,, l. 33. *Dele* eos.

,, 480, l. 13. For pl. 3. read sg. 3.

,, 495. On p. 250a 13 the facsimile of LL. has *arandalfarsa*. As *dálaim* is regularly active, this is probably a blunder for *arandalfasa*. Unfortunately I did not note the reading of the Yellow Book of Lecan.

,, ,, l. 13. The Yellow Book of Lecan has *adgladhar*, H. 1. 13, T.C.D. *adngladust-*.

,, 497, l. 12. For pl. 3. read pl. 1.

,, ,, note 4. Cf. further *nimanarlastar doib* 'they did not speak to one another,' *Tochmarc Becfola*, p. 178, l. 12.

,, 499, l. 9. But perhaps *condárlaithir* is for *condárladither* from *adgládur*.

Page 503. Add *s.v. cuiriur*, subj. sg. 2 *tochræ*, LU. 73[b] 18.
,, ,, note 4. Cf. *deachrathar* 'differs' p. 541, n. 2.
,, 505. Add subj. sg. 2 of *fomoiniur, fomna* 'cave,' LU. 73[a] 14. LL. 74[a] 33 has *frithalti* from *frisailiur*. With the use of *fomna* in the active cf. the common *decce*.
,, ,, note 2. Cf. *faichled incath*, LL. 151[a] 34.
,, ,, note 3, l. 14. Active *congeib*, also LL. 189[a] 46, 53.
,, 508, note 4, l. 3. For H. 6. 22 read H. 4. 22.
,, 512, note 3. This note applies to *cobrastar*, *forcmastar*, *fallnastar*, *acillestar* on p. 513.
,, 513, note 1. This applies only to *cobrastar*.
,, 515, note 1. The MS. has clearly *nirodsatar*, and this is supported by 23 N. 13, Royal Irish Academy. Perhaps *reng* may be taken in its usual sense 'his pudenda were not grown.'
,, 516. It should have been added that the five additional quatrains of N. are found by themselves in H. 4. 22, T.C.D. 87[b], with the heading Mo[d]cuda cc.
,, 535, note 2, l. 1. *For* anu nusual *read* an unusual.
,, 536. An isolated deponent form from the active verb *indlim* is found LL. 124[a] 24, *nosindlethar Cet inchind Mesgrada isintdbaill* 'Cet fits Mesgrada's brain in the sling,' in the *Aided Conchobuir*, a text which contains other deponent forms.
,, ,, note 1. For 23 n. read 23 N.
,, 541, note 1. For *domuinichether* read *nomuinichither*.
,, 545, l. 34. Put a full stop after *aithegem*.
,, 551, l. 10. *After* forms *add* except in the 2 sg. imperative.
,, ,, note 1. For a more probable explanation of these forms see Thurneysen, KZ. xxxi. 76.
,, 554, l. 24. With the use of the fem. n. pl. of article for masc. cf. *maic cóima*, Wb. Gl. 27[b] 16. For an early example of the pleonastic possessive cf. Wb. 28[c] 25.
,, 555, note 1, l. 10. We seem to have an example in Wb. 27[a] 16, *bái and ní roerthe* 'there was something that had been given,' cf. *rithe* venditus est, ZE. 1096[b].
,, 557, note 2, l. 12. Saltair na Rann 1944, *dool huile do Chaeîn*.
,, 561, l. 26. For 1563 read 1583.
,, ,, l. 28. Add *dober* 1277, *oslac* 1273.
,, 563, l. 20. Add Saltair na Rann 1423, 1575.

I cannot conclude without expressing my deep obligation to Dr. Whitley Stokes for his kindness in undertaking the wearisome task of reading the proofs of this paper. For such errors as may still remain I am alone responsible.

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